

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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Modern Language Notes

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS WRITTEN IN ENGLISH BY BRILLAT-SAVARIN AND BENJAMIN CONSTANT

BRILLAT-SAVARIN TO SAMUEL MILES HOPKINS

Driven from France by the Reign of Terror, Brillat-Savarin spent three years in the United States (Aug., 1794-Sept., 1797). That he was pleased with his sojourn in the New World is evident from the following lines:

Je parlais pour la France, je quittais les États-Unis après trois ans de séjour; et je m'y étais si bien trouvé, que tout ce que je demandai au ciel (et il m'a exaucé), dans ces moments d'attendrissement qui précèdent le départ, fut de ne pas être plus malheureux dans l'ancien monde que je ne l'avais été dans le nouveau.

Ce bonheur, je l'avais principalement dû à ce que, dès que je fus arrivé parmi les Américains, je parlai comme eux, je m'habillai comme eux, je me gardai bien de vouloir avoir plus d'esprit qu'eux, et je trouvai bon tout ce qu'ils faisaient; payant ainsi l'hospitalité que je trouvais parmi eux par une condescendance que je crois nécessaire, et que je conseille à tous ceux qui pourraient se trouver en pareille position.¹

Brillat-Savarin was proud of his knowledge of the English language. In an article (*Bataille*) appended to his *Physiologie du goût*, he quotes the following verbal assault made by him on a bully during a boat trip from New York to Philadelphia:

Do you believe to bully me? you damned rogue. By God! it will not be so . . . and I'll overboard you like a dead cat . . . If I find you too heavy, I'll cling to you with hands, legs, teeth, nails, everything, and if I cannot do better, we will sink together to the bottom; my life is nothing to send such dog to hell. Now, just now . . .

The addressee of the letter published below, Samuel Miles Hopkins (1772-1837), was later a successful lawyer, a judge of the

¹ *Physiologie du goût*, Brussels, 1839, p. 418.

New York State circuit court, and a member of Congress. He was the author of several works on legal subjects, on crime, prison discipline, and temperance.² On August 12, 1796, he went to England for the purpose of selling land owned by himself and another in Virginia. After a year in the British Isles, he went to Paris (August 10, 1797), where he renewed acquaintance with Brillat-Savarin, whom he had known previously in New York. He returned to the United States in the summer of 1798.

The following letter was written by Brillat-Savarin to Hopkins early in the year 1798 (after January 25).

Bourg³ le 12.

I was willing, dear Sam, to answer your obliging letter, but the want of time, and I do not know what weariness of mind that seizes me whenever I part from my friends prevented me of doing so; to make amend for it my first seating down at my bureau is in your behalf

Never was so dull and painfull voyage⁴ as mine has been; we were five in the coach, a smoaki tar, a dismissed [*sic*] fournisseur, a patient-less phisician, and his presumed daughter dressed in man's clothes. The latter had so unhappily chosen her time that her breeches betrayed her sex in a very loathsome manner.

Besides, three of them were so many provincial witts, and tired me to death with their blunt puns, & the other who sang out of tune, had undertaken to sing for me all the new operas plaid in the year 1797, and would sing himself into consumption had I not prevented such a double misfortune by saying that I was wonted to go every night at the play house, and knew 300 opera[s] by heart so that I was myself ready to sing for him as much as he would have me to do.

Since my arrival, my time has been wholly employed in receiving and paying visits, because every one is anxious to see such a rare bird as I am, that has travelled all the world over, and so many visitors I receive, so many times must I become visitor myself, on the penalty of being held an unpolite and good for nothing fellow.

The land is not barren sand for love, I see every day such wenches as the St. Marc Street⁵ beauty is only a penny worth when compared with them, they are for the most part suplid with marble-hard and snow-white

² He also wrote an autobiography: *Sketch of the Public and Private Life of Samuel Miles Hopkins, of Salem, Connecticut, written by himself . . .*, Rochester, N. Y., 1898. On page 27 he tells of his relations with Brillat-Savarin.

³ A town of 18,000 inhabitants, thirty-six miles northeast of Lyons.

⁴ From Paris to Bourg.

⁵ The rue Saint-Marc, near the Opéra-Comique, in Paris.

breasts on which I gaze panting to kiss, and I am sure that the future time is big with good slaps for your harmless friend, on their occasion.

When you leave France, if you take your way through Lyon, you must come and see me, you will see what is the matter with the inhabitants of small town in our departments, it'll be not an indifferent diversion for you who are a little bit of philosopher, as everybody knows very well, and *the decus et gloria* of the Savarinian School

If you favour me so far, you'll advise me of it and I give you the *itinéraire*. The way is only by eight leagues longer,⁶ and that is not to be considered, at least I hope so.

You know that Switzerland is full revolutionated (new things, new terms) They have shot at an aide de camp of the general mena and killed two dragoons of is escort.⁷ To revenge this attempt the people of Lausanne has raised in masse, and going to the village where the case happened, has burned the houses to ashes and levelled them to the ground.⁸ It is now, and just now reported that the thing is settled, owing to sixty millions of livres, that the Switz government shall pay.⁹ *Vae victis*.

I hope this will find you in good health and spirits. Thousand thing for me to our dear friend Harry, to which I intend to write by the next courier. My respects to his sister,¹⁰ and some more open to this little wag who in return of your lessons will learn you I don't no what.¹¹

Do the same at Mr Gouget's and tell especially Miss ———¹² that she has robbed my heart.

⁶ That is, longer than the direct road from Mâcon to Lyons.

⁷ This incident, famous in the annals of the Vaudois rebellion against Berne, is known as the *affaire de Thierrens*. On January 25, 1798, General Ménard, commander of the French troops in the Pays de Gex, despatched his aide-de-camp Autier to Yverdon, to request the Bernese general, de Weiss, to evacuate the Pays de Vaud. Near the village of Thierrens, Autier and his escort, which was composed of two French hussars and two Vaudois dragoons, had an altercation with a patrol of the militia of Thierrens. During the fight that ensued, the two hussars were killed, a dragoon suffered a fractured arm, and a member of the patrol received a saber cut in the face. General Ménard saw in the incident a violation of international law, and on January 28 marched his troops into the Pays de Vaud.

⁸ Brillat-Savarin's account hardly conforms to fact. After the *affaire de Thierrens*, there was some excitement in the region and a few deeds of violence (certain historians mention the burning of one house).

⁹ General Ménard demanded subsistence for his soldiers and an *emprunt forcé* of 700,000 livres. The loan was repaid later by France.

¹⁰ In his autobiography (p. 27), Hopkins says: "Through M. Savarin I got into a French family from Dijon, and afterwards into still another." In these families Hopkins and Brillat-Savarin may have made the acquaintance of the persons mentioned in this and the following paragraphs.

¹¹ This sentence is written most legibly. The meaning is doubtful.

¹² The manuscript is torn here.

Adieu dear Sam, think sometime of me Be not wholly lost in mathematics,¹³ sip a little in the smacki cup of pleasure and have your rhumatic rubd by a virgin's hand if she is to be found in this sublunary world.

Le president du tribunal
criminel du dept de l'ain
a Bourg

Brillat-Savarin.¹⁴

[Address:]
Sam. Hopkins
Paris
No 552 Rue Varennes.

Immediately after the close of the letter is this note in Hopkins' hand:

Mr. Brillat Savarin was man of respectable fortune and finished education from a department not recollected in the S. E. of France. He was a Member of the Constituent Assembly of France and in the reign of terror fled to this country. Here he supported himself by his Violin at the Orchestra of the Theatre [in New York] & by teaching me French. I was his first Scholar. In 1797 I met him in the Palais Royal in Paris most unexpectedly. He afterwards held distinguished ranks in the Staff of Jourdan's army in Germany.

S. M. H.

BENJAMIN CONSTANT TO WILLIAM CLARKE SOMERVILLE

Benjamin Constant spent in all nearly three years in the British Isles. In 1780, when thirteen years of age, he studied for two months in England under a tutor, Mr. May, who subsequently passed eighteen months on the continent with his pupil. On July 8, 1783, Benjamin matriculated at the University of Edinburgh and remained there twenty months.¹⁵ He visited England and Scotland for three months in 1787. Finally, in 1816, when forty-

¹³ In his autobiography (p. 27), Hopkins speaks of his studies during the winter of 1797-1798: "My leading occupations were scientific. I followed assiduously the course of lectures by Charles, on Physics . . . Le Sage on Mineralogy a little, but more particularly Fourcroy on Chemistry . . ."

¹⁴ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Gratz Collection, *French Authors* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp. 4to.

¹⁵ Some biographers state erroneously that he also attended Oxford University.

nine years old, he lived eight months in London.¹⁶ The letter published in the present article shows, in spite of a few gallicisms, that Benjamin Constant's statement that he "possessed perfectly" the English language was not far from the truth.

William Clarke Somerville, to whom this letter is addressed, was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, on March 25, 1790, and died at Auxerre, France, on January 5, 1826. He was appointed minister to Sweden by John Quincy Adams. Besides the work mentioned below, he was the author of a *Letter on the Mode of Choosing the President* (1825).

Benjamin Constant's letter to Somerville was written only five months after the accession to the throne of Charles X who, in spite of his oath of adherence to the charter, was determined to restore the absolutism of the *ancien régime*.

Paris February 1825.

Sir,

I have many apologies to make for having so immensely long [*sic*] answering the letter with which you were kind enough to accompany the book¹⁷ you sent me last year. I read it with an extreme pleasure & am happy to think your countrymen will judge our affairs with more impartiality than we can hope for in France. The slight inaccuracies which might be found in your letters are of so little importance comparatively to the general principle which dictated them, & to the very sound knowledge of more essential facts, that I would not trespass on your time, by useless & too minute criticism.¹⁸ The whole of our power & strength must besides be entirely devoted to the very ominous events which await the civilisation & liberty in Europe. We are far from enjoying the happiness of your country. All the prejudices of superstition political & religious, & the rapacity of privilege invade our rights on all sides. Our representative system is a deception, & we are surrounded with absolute governments which envy us even the delusive appearance of debates doomed to be fruitless & of struggles that cannot succeed.

¹⁶ The first edition of *Adolphe* was published in London in 1816.

¹⁷ *Letters from Paris on the Causes and Consequences of the French Revolution*, by Wm. C. Somerville, Baltimore, 1822, 390 pp., 8vo. In a foreword the author says that the letters, twenty-two in number, "were written in Paris in the spring of 1820, after a residence of some months in that capital. Their object was to embody an American's views of the actual moral and political condition of the French people; and to suggest the consequences that are likely to flow from it." He says that the letters favor the Liberal party.

¹⁸ Benjamin Constant, leader of the Liberal party from 1817 to his death

Were I unmarried & some years younger, I would certainly seek a refuge in your country, the only one on earth where there is real freedom and real repose.¹⁹

in 1830, naturally approved of Somerville's book, which was in the main only an echo of his own political views. In his *Letters*, Somerville mentions Benjamin Constant eleven times, and always in the most complimentary terms. Somerville cites Mme de Staël a score of times.

¹⁹ Benjamin Constant was at this time fifty-eight years old. As early as his twentieth year he looked towards free America. In a letter to Mme de Charrière, dated at Dover, England, June 26, 1787, he said:

"... qu'il [mon père] me donne à présent une portion de quinze ou vingt mille francs, plus ou moins, du bien de ma mère, et qu'il me laisse aller m'établir en Amérique. En cinq ans je serai naturalisé, j'aurai une patrie, des intérêts, une carrière, des concitoyens. Accoutumé de bonne heure à l'étude et à la méditation, possédant parfaitement la langue du pays, ... très riche pour ce pays-là, voilà bien des avantages" (G Rudler, *La Jeunesse de B. C.*, Paris, 1908, p. 241).

On September 1, 1787, he wrote to Mme de Charrière:

"Mes plans d'Amérique sont plus combinés que jamais ... J'emprunterai d'une de mes parentes ... huit mille francs, si elle les a, et je me ferai *farmer* dans la Virginie" (*ibid.*, p. 250).

Seven days later to the same lady:

"Mon projet d'Amérique me reste toujours ... Pour s'établir en Caroline, un homme a pour le moins besoin de 353 £ 5 sh. 6 s ... Ne vaut-il pas mieux vivre en Caroline que mendier ici? ... Avant mon Amérique je te reverrai" (*ibid.*, p. 337).

In 1793, during the Reign of Terror, he again dreamed of liberty in America:

"Amérique! Amérique! ... si je vois toute liberté mourir en Europe, il me restera donc un asile, ... j'irai à Kentucky respirer en paix" (*ibid.*, p. 483).

However, in 1794, in a letter to an aunt, after remarking that he is tempted to go to the United States, he adds: "Une vie simple n'est pas encore ce qu'il me faut!" (*ibid.*, p. 470).

It is doubtful whether Benjamin Constant ever seriously intended to go to the United States. He was fully aware that the brilliant social and political circles of Europe were his element, and that his restless, inquisitive mind could find but little pabulum in the humdrum life of America. On September 19, 1794, his acquaintance with Mme de Staël began. Between that date and 1825, when the letter to Somerville was penned, his enthusiasm for various States of the Union seems to have cooled completely.

Let me again return the most hearty thanks for your valuable work & suscribe [sic] myself most sincerely your humble obedient

Servant

Benjamin Constant ²⁰

[Address:]

Wm Ch.²¹ Somerville Esq:

Baltimore

United States.

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS.

Harvard University.

CALEB BINGHAM'S TRANSLATION OF *ATALA*

"Il parle aussi de deux traductions angloises d'*Atala* qu'on vient de lui envoyer et dont il *juge la valeur littéraire*." Thus Chateaubriand, who occasionally spoke of himself in the third person in business letters, wrote to the Reverend Bence Sparrow on Dec. 11, 1802.¹ So far as the present writer is aware, no one has tried to interpret this statement or questioned a similar remark made by Chateaubriand in 1805 in the preface to the 12mo edition of *Atala et René*:

Les deux traductions angloises d'*Atala* sont parvenues en Amérique; les papiers publics ont annoncé, en outre, une troisième traduction publiée à Philadelphie avec succès. Si les tableaux de cette histoire eussent manqué de vérité, auroient-ils réussi chez un peuple qui pouvoit dire à chaque pas: Ce ne sont pas là nos fleuves, nos montagnes, nos forêts

Now the catalogues and check-lists available at Stanford University give no indication that the above mentioned Philadelphia translation was ever published. But on the other hand, the *English Catalogue of Books*, Vol. I, lists under Chateaubriand's name, one item, an unsigned translation published by Ridgway, July, '01: "*Atala*. Transl. from the French. 12mo., 3s. 6d." Then *Sabin's Dictionary*, the *Bibliotheca Americana*, under Chateaubriand's name, mentions "*Atala*; or the Love and Constancy of Two Savages in the Desert. Translated from the French of F. A.

²⁰ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *Letters of Statesmen of Continental Europe* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp.; p. 3 blank, address on p. 4. Folio.

²¹ Somerville's middle name was Clarke, not Charles.

¹ *Correspondance générale de Chateaubriand*, éd. Louis Thomas, no. 46.

Chateaubriand, By Caleb Bingham, *Boston: Caleb Bingham*, 1802, 12mo., pp. 177." Next comes the letter "H," meaning that the book was owned by Harvard College, then the symbol +, indicating the repetition of the previous item, followed by the entry: "London, 1802, 12mo., pp. 129. Plate." Is this a pirated London reprint? Perhaps not, for this London publication appears identical with an item more fully described in the *Catalogue of the American Library of George Brinley* (No. 5481), an unsigned version of *Atala* with a subtitle quite different from that of Bingham: "*Atala, or the Amours of Two Indians, in the Wilds of America*, pp. 129. Plate. *London*, 1802."

If we have now accounted for the *deux traductions angloises* mentioned by Chateaubriand in his letter to the Reverend Bence Sparrow, "*dont il juge la valeur littéraire*" (the italics are his own), we may suggest that the supposed Philadelphia translation was the Boston text by Caleb Bingham. The present writer would be very grateful for assistance in determining whether Chateaubriand knew Bingham's translation. The New England version of *Atala* does not seem to have been studied hitherto and yet the literary characteristics of the Boston *Atala* have a direct bearing upon the claim in Chateaubriand's preface of 1805 that the truthfulness of his story was guaranteed by the success of *Atala* in America.

In the first place, the name of the translator, Caleb Bingham, was well-known throughout New England. Born in Salisbury, Conn., in 1757, graduating from Dartmouth in 1782, Bingham taught in Boston, collected and sold books, and compiled a number of successful school-books. His previous interest in French writers is evident from the selections from Berquin, Buffon, Chastellux and a tale: "The Victim, an Indian Story, by Bossu" which appear in his textbook of elocution, *The American Preceptor* (1794, 640,000 copies sold). Bingham's popular *Columbian Orator* (1797, 190,000 copies), to mention only one other of his school-books, contains two harangues by Buonaparte and the address of welcome to Franklin pronounced by the abbé Fauchet in the name of the Commons of Paris. Chateaubriand was therefore fortunate in having a popular American writer sponsor his book, if only for the edifying reasons which Bingham put forward in this prefatory "Advertisement":

AS this Book was evidently written with a view to promote the cause of christianizing and civilizing heathen nations, and has a special regard to our tawny brethren of the western wilds, the Translator flatters himself, that, while he has respect to pecuniary recompense, he shall render some little service to mankind by the publication

Boston, April, 1802.

Had Chateaubriand considered the literary value of Bingham's *Atala* he would have noted a score of blunders and slips,² and an unmusical style that may be judged by comparing the famous lines :

La lune brillait au milieu d'un azur sans tâche, et sa lumière gris de perle flottait sur la cime indéterminée des forêts,

with the Boston text which reads :

The moon illuminated the azure vault of heaven, unspotted with clouds; and her pearl coloured rays floated among the uneven tops of the forest trees.

Elsewhere he would have noticed that in certain particulars Bingham seems to have made a conscious effort to recast and improve the original text, much as Chateaubriand himself revised the first edition of *Atala* a few months later.

1) The most casual examination of Bingham's book shows that he redivided and shortened all of Chateaubriand's longer paragraphs certainly with startling effect in a portion of the *Épilogue* (subsequently rewritten by Chateaubriand, introducing allusions to the tombs of Crassus and the Cæsars to replace the following "allegory" of the tree) :

Oh! how affecting is this Indian custom! In their aerial tombs, these bodies, penetrated by the etherial substance, covered with tufts of verdure and flowers, refreshed by the dew, emblamed [*sic*] by the breezes, and rocked by them on the same branch where the nightingale has built its nest, and makes its plaintive melody; these bodies, after having been thus exposed, lose all the deformity of the sepulchre. Whether it be the spoil of a young woman, which the hand of a lover has suspended on the tree of death, or the remains of an infant, which a mother has placed in the habitations of little birds, the charm is equally affecting.

² *éphémère, m.*, the sun; *la crosse du labour*, labouring staff; *cigogne*, pelican; *chevet du lit*, bolster; *trépas chrétien*, dying Christian; *les voies du salut*, ways of safety.

TREE OF AMERICA!³ which, bearing bodies on thy branches, removest them from the mansion of men, by conveying them towards that of God, I stop in transport under thy shade! In thy sublime allegory, I discover the tree of virtue: its roots grow in the dust of this world; its top is lost among the stars of the firmament; and its branches are the only ladder, by which man, journeying upon this globe, can climb from earth to heaven.

Atala; or the Love and Constancy of Two Savages, etc., pp. 162-3.

. . . Oh! que cette coutume indienne est touchante! Dans leurs tombeaux aériens ces corps pénétrés de la substance éthérée, enfoncés sous des touffes de verdure et de fleurs, rafraîchis par la rosée, embaumés par les brises, balancés par elles sur la même branche où le rossignol a bâti son nid et fait entendre sa plaintive mélodie; ces corps ont perdu toute la laideur du sépulchre. Si c'est la dépouille d'une jeune fille que la main d'un amant a suspendu à l'arbre de la mort; si ce sont les restes d'un enfant qu'une mère a placés dans la demeure des petits oiseaux; le charme redouble encore: arbre américain qui portant des corps dans tes rameaux, les éloignes du séjour des hommes, en les rapprochant de celui de Dieu, je me suis arrêté en extase sous ton ombre! Dans ta sublime allégorie, tu me montras l'arbre de la vertu: ses rameaux sont les seuls échelons par où l'homme voyageur sur ce globe, puisse monter de la terre au ciel. . . .

Atala, Giraud's reprint of the 1st edition, pp. 191-2.

2) A few quotations from the American text will suffice to reveal an intentional effort to denature the Catholic dogmas to which Chateaubriand gave expression:

"Ma fille, dit-il à Atala, il faut offrir vos souffrances à Dieu, . . ."
(*Atala*, Giraud, p. 103).

"My child," said he to Atala, "you must spread your case before God, . . ." (Bingham, p. 89).

Non, je ne doute point qu'au moment où nous nous prosternâmes le grand mystère ne s'accomplît; et que Dieu ne descendît sur toutes les forêts, . . . (*Atala*, Giraud, p. 118).

No, I do not doubt, but, at the moment when we fell with our faces to the ground, the great mystery was accomplished, and that the spirit of God descended upon all the forests; . . . (B, p. 101).

Le prêtre ouvre un lieu secret, où étoit renfermé une urne d'or, couverte d'un voile de soie: il se prosterne et adore profondément. La grotte parut soudain illuminée; on entendit dans les airs les paroles des anges et les frémissements des harpes célestes, et lorsque le Solitaire tira le vase sacré de son tabernacle, je crus voir Dieu lui-même sortir du flanc de la montagne

³ This is the only place in Bingham's translation where use is made of capital and small capital letters.

Le prêtre ouvrit le calice; il prit entre ses deux doigts une hostie blanche comme la neige, et s'approcha d'Atala en prononçant des mots mystérieux . . . (*Atala*, Giraud, pp. 166-7).

No sooner had he pronounced these words, than I was constrained to fall upon my knees, and incline my head towards Atala's couch. The priest prostrated himself, and prayed fervently. He then opened a secret closet, and took out a piece of sacred bread, as white as snow, and approached Atala, pronouncing mysterious words . . . (B., p. 141).

3) Bingham suppressed Chateaubriand's boldest figures of speech and altered equivocal passages:

Je vis qu'il y avoit des larmes au fond de cette histoire, et je me tus. (*Atala*, Giraud, p. 195).

I saw tears starting in his eyes, and inquired no further. (B., p. 165).

Le chien marchoit devant nous, en portant au bout d'un bâton la lanterne éteinte. (*Atala*, Giraud, p. 100).

The dog went before us; and in carrying the lantern on the end of a stick, it went out. (B., p. 86).

4) Bingham's paraphrase of Chateaubriand's sub-title, his change of *les Amours de deux Sauvages* into "the Love and Constancy of Two Savages," indicates in itself an effort to reduce the erotic or physiological element to a degree that would not startle the reading public of Boston:

Ame de mon fils! charmante âme! ton père t'a créée jadis sur mes lèvres par un baiser. (*Atala*, Giraud, p. 190).

Soul of my son! charming shade! the great Spirit at first created thee by his breath. (B., p. 161).

. . . la jalousie s'est glissée à l'autel de gazon où l'on immoloit le chevreau, elle a régné sous la tente d'Abraham et dans les couches mêmes où les patriarches goûtoient tant de joie qu'ils oublioient la mort de leurs mères. (*Atala*, Giraud, p. 153).

. . . jealousy crept to the altar of green turf, where the kid was sacrificed; it reigned under the tent of Abraham, and in the dwellings of the patriarchs. (B., p. 130).

5) Bingham made use of such words borrowed from the Indians as were familiar in America, whereas Chateaubriand described Indian life in the vocabulary of classical French: thus "powow of joy" for *cri d'arrivée*, tomahawks for *haches*, oil of butternuts for *crème des noix*, wampum for *collier de porcelaine*, warwhoop for *cri de mort*, and wigwam for *cabane* or *hutte*.

It seems therefore to the present writer that, if Chateaubriand had ever seen Caleb Bingham's translation, he would have passed

immediate judgment upon its "literary value," and could not have made such a detached and matter-of-fact allusion to the *deux traductions angloises d'Atala* as he did in his letter to the Reverend Bence Sparrow. On the other hand, it is very probable that the emendations and excisions of the Boston text favored the success of the "tableaux of this story" in America, and made it acceptable there for reasons that Chateaubriand never understood.

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ.

Stanford University.

COLERIDGE'S HEALTH

One of the puzzles of literature has long been the sudden cessation in the poetic genius of Coleridge at the age of twenty-six immediately following the great year that had produced *The Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, and *Kubla Khan*. Never again after 1798 could Coleridge produce poetry at all comparable with that just named; even *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan* could never be finished. Critics in trying to account for this phenomenon have usually referred to Coleridge's opium taking or to the predominant philosophic cast of his mind that supplanted the poetic gift, or have hinted at some innate flaw in Coleridge's character.

Another quest has recently sent me to a reading of Coleridge's letters. As I read, certain facts about the author's health became surprisingly clear. Coleridge was very evidently the victim of a definite physical ailment that any physician of to-day could diagnose in an instant from the consistent series of symptoms given in the letters; but no physician of Coleridge's day would have been able to recognize the ailment or its cause. Its nature was such as to cause the impairment of Coleridge's physical and mental powers that all his friends saw so clearly; that made him in his later years, as Lamb describes him, "an archangel, a little damaged" in contrast to the radiant promise of his youth.

No amount of discussion could make the case so clear as merely setting down the series of extracts from the letters. I give first, however, two pertinent comments on Coleridge's appearance at about the time with which we are dealing. The first is from Dorothy Wordsworth and describes him as she first saw him and

recorded her impression in a letter to a friend soon after the meeting in June, 1797: "He is pale, thin, has a wide mouth, thick lips, and not very good teeth, longish, loose-growing, half-curling, rough black hair."¹

The second is from Coleridge's own account of himself given in a letter to John Thelwall, written November 19, 1796: "I cannot breathe through my nose, so my mouth, with sensual thick lips, is almost always open."²

This is the third day of my resurrection from the couch, or rather, the sofa of sickness. About a fortnight ago, a quantity of matter took it into its head to form in my left gum, and was attended with such violent pain, inflammation, and swelling, that it threw me into a fever. However, God be praised, my gum has at last been opened, a villainous tooth extracted, and all is well. I am still very weak, as well I may, since for seven days together I was incapable of swallowing anything but spoon meat, so that in point of spirits I am but the dregs of my former self—a decaying flame agonizing in the snuff of a tallow candle—a kind of hobgoblin, clouded and bagged up in the most contemptible shreds, rags, and yellow relics of threadbare mortality.³

I wanted such a letter as yours, for I am very unwell. On Wednesday night I was seized with an intolerable pain from my right temple to the tip of my right shoulder, including my right eye, cheek, jaw, and that side of the throat. I was nearly frantic, and ran about the house naked, endeavouring by every means to excite sensations in different parts of my body, and so to weaken the enemy by creating division. It continued from one in the morning till half past five, and left me pale and fainting. It came on fitfully, but not so violently, several times on Thursday, and began severer threats towards night; but I took between sixty and seventy drops of laudanum, and *sopped* the Cerberus, just as his mouth began to open. On Friday it only *niggled*, as if the chief had departed from a conquered place, and merely left a small garrison behind, or as if he had evacuated the Corsica, and a few straggling pains only remained. But *this morning* he returned in full force, and his name is Legion. Giant-fiend of a hundred hands, with a shower of arrowy death-pangs he transpierced me, and then he became a wolf, and lay a-gnawing at my bones! I am not mad, most noble Festus, but in sober sadness I have suffered this day more bodily pain than I had before a conception of. My right cheek has certainly been placed with admirable exactness under the focus of some invisible burning-glass,

¹ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Knight, Boston, 1907, I, 109.

² This and the following extracts from letters are all taken from *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, Boston, 1895.

³ To Mrs. Evans, Feb. 5, 1793.

which concentrated all the rays of a Tartarean sun. My medical attendant decides it to be altogether nervous, and that it originates either in severe application, or excessive anxiety. My beloved Poole! in excessive anxiety, I believe it might originate. I have a blister under my right ear, and I take twenty-five drops of laudanum every five hours, the ease and *spirits* gained by which have enabled me to write you this flighty but not exaggerated account. With a gloomy wantonness of imagination I had been coquetting with the hideous *possibles* of disappointment. I drank fears like wormwood, yea, made myself drunken with bitterness, for my ever-shaping and distrustful mind still mingled gall-drops till out of the cup of hope I almost *poisoned* myself with despair.⁴

I wrote you on Saturday night under the immediate inspiration of laudanum, and wrote you a flighty letter, but yet one most accurately descriptive both of facts and feelings. Since then my pains have been lessening, and the greater part of this day I have enjoyed perfect ease, only I am totally inappetent of food, and languid, even to an inward perishing.⁵

And besides, my health has been very bad, and remains so. A nervous affection from my right temple to the extremity of my right shoulder almost distracted me, and made the frequent use of laudanum absolutely necessary. And, since I have subdued this, a rheumatic complaint in the back of my head and shoulders, accompanied with sore throat and depression of the animal spirits, has convinced me that a man may change bad lodgers without bettering himself.⁶

I am very poorly, not to say ill. My face monstrously swollen—my recondite eye sits distant quaintly, behind the flesh-hill, and looks as little as a tomtit's. And I have a sore throat that prevents my eating aught but spoon-meat without great pain. And I have a rheumatic complaint in the back of my head and shoulders.⁷

An illness, which confined me to my bed, prevented me from returning an immediate answer to your kind and interesting letter. My indisposition originated in the stump of a tooth over which some matter had formed; this affected my eye, my eye my stomach, my stomach my head, and the consequence was a general fever, and the sum of pain was considerably increased by the vain attempts of our surgeon to extract the offending member. Laudanum gave me repose, not sleep; but you, I believe, know how divine that repose is, what a spot of enchantment, a green spot of fountain and flowers and trees in the very heart of a waste of sands! God be praised, the matter has been absorbed; and I am now recovering apace.⁸

⁴ To Thomas Poole, Nov. 5, 1796.

⁵ To the same, Nov. 7, 1796.

⁶ To John Thelwall, Dec. 17, 1796.

⁷ To Thomas Poole, Dec. 18, 1796.

⁸ To the Rev. George Coleridge, April, 1798.

My eyes are painful, but there is no doubt but they will be well in two or three days.⁹

I am harassed with the rheumatism in my head and shoulders, not without arm-and-thigh-twitches—but when the pain intermits it leaves my sensitive frame so sensitive! . . . the rheumatism is no such bad thing as *people make for*. And yet I have, and do suffer from it, in much pain and sleeplessness and often sick at stomach through indigestion of the food, which, I eat from compulsion.¹⁰

For the last month I have been trembling on through sands and swamps of evil and bodily grievance. My eyes have been inflamed to a degree that rendered reading and writing scarcely possible; and, strange as it seems, the act of metre composition, as I lay in bed, perceptibly affected them and my voluntary ideas were every minute passing, more or less transformed into vivid spectra. I had leeches repeatedly applied to my temples, and a blister behind my ear—and my eyes are now my own, but in the place where the blister was, six small but excruciating boils have appeared, and harass me almost beyond endurance.¹¹

But I have no heart for poetry. Alas! alas! how should I? who have passed nine months with giddy head, sick stomach, and swollen knees. My dear Southey! it is said that long sickness makes us all grow selfish, by the necessity which it imposes of thinking about ourselves. But long and sleepless nights are a fine antidote.¹²

On my return from Durham (I foolishly walked back), I was taken ill, and my left knee swelled "pregnant with agony" as Mr. Dodsley says in one of his poems. Dr. Fenwick has earnestly persuaded me to try horse-exercise and warm sea-bathing, and I took the opportunity of riding with Sara Hutchinson to her brother Tom, who lives near the place, where I can ride to and fro, and bathe with no other expense there than that of the bath. The fit comes on me either at nine at night, or two in the morning. In the former case it continues nine hours, and in the latter five. I am often literally *sick* with pain. In the daytime, however, I am well, surprisingly so indeed, considering how very little sleep I am able to snatch.¹³

Well I am not, and in this climate never shall be. A deeply ingrained though mild scrofula is diffused through me, and is a very Proteus.¹⁴

I was not at all unwell when I arrived there, though wet of course to the skin. My right eye had nothing the matter with it, either to the sight of others, or to my own feelings, but I had a bad night, with distressful dreams, chiefly about my eye; and awaking often in the dark

⁹ To his wife, Dec. 3, 1798.

¹⁰ To Robert Southey, Oct. 15, 1799.

¹¹ To Sir H. Davy, Dec. 2, 1800.

¹² To Robert Southey, July 22, 1801.

¹³ To the same, Aug. 1, 1801.

¹⁴ To the same, Christmas day, 1802.

I thought it was the effect of mere recollection, but it appeared in the morning that my right eye was bloodshot, and the lid swollen. That morning, however, I walked home, and before I reached Keswick my eye was quite well, but *I felt unwell all over*. Yesterday I continued unusually unwell all over me till eight o'clock in the evening. I took no *laudanum* or *opium*, but at eight o'clock, unable to bear the stomach uneasiness and aching of my limbs. I took two large teaspoonsfull of ether in a wine-glass of camphorated gum water, and a third teaspoonfull at ten o'clock, and I received complete relief,—my body calmed, my sleep placid,—but when I awoke in the morning my right hand, with three of the fingers, was swollen, and inflamed . . . This has been a very rough attack, but though I am much weakened by it, and look sickly and haggard, yet I am not out of heart. Such a *bout*, such a "perilous buffeting" was enough to have hurt the health of a strong man. Few constitutions can bear to be long wet through in intense cold.¹⁵

My spirits are dreadful, owing entirely to the horrors of every night—I truly dread to sleep. It is no shadow with me, but substantial misery foot-thick, that makes me sit by my bedside of a morning and cry.¹⁶

I am tolerably well, meaning the day. My last night was not such a noisy night of horrors as three nights out of four are with me. O God! when a man blesses the loud screams of agony that awake him night after night, night after night, and when a man's repeated night screams have made him a nuisance in his own house, it is better to die than to live.¹⁷

My left hand is swollen and inflamed, and the least attempt to bend the fingers very painful, though not half as much so as I could wish; for if I could but fix this Jack-o'-lanthorn of a disease in my hand or foot, I should expect complete recovery in a year or two.¹⁸

I have been dangerously ill for the last fortnight . . . about ten days ago on rising from my bed I had a manifest stroke of palsy along my right side and right arm. My head felt like another man's head, so dead was it that I seemed to know it only by my left hand, and a strange sense of numbness. Enough of it, continual vexations and preyings upon the spirit—I gave life to my children, and they have repeatedly given it to me, for, by the Maker of all things, but for them I would try my chance. But they pluck out the wing-feathers from the mind. I have not entirely recovered the sense of my side or hand, but have recovered the use. I am harassed by local and partial fevers.¹⁹

The story these extracts tell is of infected teeth. This infection spread to the nasal sinuses. Infected tonsils almost certainly added

¹⁵ To Thomas Wedgwood, Jan. 9, 1803.

¹⁶ To Robert Southey, Sept. 10, 1803.

¹⁷ To the same, Sept. 13, 1803.

¹⁸ To Matthew Coates, Dec. 5, 1803.

¹⁹ To Washington Allston, June 17, 1806.

their share of pus. The symptoms of inflammatory rheumatism, inflamed eyes, and dreams recounted in the letters are a natural consequence. Coleridge's whole system was suffering from the poison. This chronic sepsis was having, of course, its deadly effect on the brain-cells. The record of illness from 1796 to 1798 accounts fully for the inability of Coleridge to do his best work again after that time. The opium, which was taken to allay the pain, was not the cause of the progressive decay, as many writers have stated or hinted. De Quincey's verdict that "opium killed Coleridge as a poet" is wrong. But equally wrong is the verdict of the poet's latest biographer, Mr. Hugh Fausset:

But meanwhile the conflict between his sense of what great poetry implied and his inability to realize it, undermined his physical as well as his spiritual life. It is of course arguable that ill-health and opium were the cause and not the effect of his imaginative impotence. Similarly, his domestic infelicity might be considered rather as generating than as accompanying a temperamental discord. But while there can be no doubt that all these were aggravating conditions, the root cause must surely have been spiritual.

It is clear that, whatever may have been the "aggravating conditions" the "root cause" was quite other than spiritual.

Further confirmation of these conclusions may be found in a study of Coleridge's portrait as sketched in pencil by C. R. Leslie about 1818; the engraving by Henry Mayer made the next year from this sketch is somewhat idealized and does not show the ailments so clearly. It is interesting to compare Carlyle's famous description of Coleridge at Highgate in the *Life of John Sterling*, his shuffling gait and snuffling, sing-song voice. The final evidence is to be found in the autopsy, the fullest account of which is given by Lucy E. Watson in her *Coleridge at Highgate* (London, 1925). The acute dilatation of the heart there described would be the natural consequence of the physical ills indicated in the letters I have given above.

The only surprising feature of the case is that Coleridge survived so long, though with the loss of much of his poetic ability. Life and Death-in-Life had been playing at dice for him and Death-in-Life had won. Coleridge's own epitaph for himself is exactly correct:

Here lies a Poet; or what once was he;
Pray, gentle Reader, pray for S. T. C.

That he who three score years, with toilsome breath,
Found Death in Life, may now find Life in Death.

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[This article has been submitted to an eminent odontologist who is of the opinion that the conclusions reached are probably correct and who suggests that Coleridge may have suffered from osteomyelitis or from impacted teeth. Eds.]

SCOTT ON COOPER AND BROCKDEN BROWN

On November 16, 1823, Samuel G. Goodrich sailed from New York on his first voyage to Europe. Already a familiar figure in publishing circles in America, he was to become on his return even more notable as editor of the annual which introduced Hawthorne to the public¹ and as author of some one hundred seventy educational publications under the name of Peter Parley. According to Goodrich's narrative, based on notes taken during his tour and at length published in *Recollections of a Lifetime . . .*,² he was presented in May, 1824, to Sir Walter Scott, busy with clerical duties at the Court of Session, Edinburgh. On Wednesday, June 2, Peter Parley again saw Scott, at a dinner given by Mr. and Mrs. James Lockhart at 25 Northumberland Street.³ The conversation naturally turned to James Fenimore Cooper when Lockhart remarked: "I have lately been reading an exceedingly clever American novel, entitled the *Pioneers*."⁴ Scott had not seen the book,

¹ *The Token* published also the work of Longfellow, Holmes, and a host of minor authors.

² New York and Auburn, 1857. Although I have found no reference to Goodrich in any biography of Scott, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this account.

³ *Idem.*, II, 171-177.

⁴ Murray had published *The Pioneers* in the previous year. Lockhart commented as follows on Cooper: "His descriptive power is very great, and I think he has opened a new field of romance, especially in the hunters along the frontiers, who, in their intercourse with savages, have become half savage themselves. That border life is full of incident, adventure, poetry; the character of Leatherstocking is original and striking" (*idem.*, II, 201, 202).

but he had read *The Pilot*,⁵ which novel he praised most generously. "It is very clever," he declared, "and I think it will turn out that his strength lies in depicting sea life and adventure. We really have no good sea-tales, and here is a wide field, open to a man of true genius." From the author of *The Pirate*, nothing could have been more modest or more kindly. On Mrs. Lockhart's conventional protest that the sea is too narrow a field for the novelist, her father continued:

"It is no doubt a task of some difficulty to bring these [sea-tales] home to the hearts of the reading million; nevertheless, to a man of genius for it, the materials are ample and interesting. All our minds are full of associations of danger, of daring, and adventure with the sea and those who have made that element their home. And besides, this book to which I refer—the *Pilot*—connects its story with the land."

A personal note entered the discussion when Scott added this reminiscence:

"It is perhaps more interesting to me, because I perfectly well recollect the time when Paul Jones—whose character is somewhat reflected in the hero of the story—came up the Solway in 1778 in the *Ranger*, though I was then less than ten years old. He kept the whole coast in a state of alarm for some time, and was in fact the great scarecrow of that age and generation."

Scott's final commendation of his American competitor was oblique, remaining unexpressed but clearly implicit in his significant condemnation of Brockden Brown. When the latter was proposed by Lockhart, Boswell-wise, as "the most remarkable writer of fiction that America has produced," Scott pronounced judgment in this terms:

"That may be true, but it [the tale of terror] is neither a wholesome nor a popular species of literature. It is almost wholly ideal; it is not in nature; it is in fact contrary to it. Its scenes, incidents, characters, do not represent life: they are alien to common experience. They do not appeal to a wide circle of sympathy in the hearts of mankind. The chief emotion that it excites is terror or wonder. The suggestive manner of treating every subject, aims at keeping the mind constantly on the rack of uncertainty. This trick of art was long ago exhausted. Brown had wonderful powers, as many of his descriptions show; but I think he was led astray by falling under the influence of bad examples, prevalent

⁵ *The Pilot* was published in London in 1824.

at his time. Had he written his own thoughts, he would have been, perhaps, immortal. In writing those of others, his fame was of course ephemeral."⁶

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ANOTHER ANALOGUE OF *BEOWULF*

Stories like *Samson the Fair* and *Grettir the Strong* make it abundantly evident, as Professor W. W. Lawrence has pointed out in his *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*,¹ that the folk tale which contributed the combat with Grendel's dam to the Old English poem continued to be popular in Norway for centuries after the date of borrowing. He makes clear the significance of the desertion of the Danes during Beowulf's sojourn beneath the waters, by a comparison with the *märchen* in which a hero is abandoned by his companions under like circumstances. It may be interesting to call attention to still another example of this sort of situation, contained in a recently published, hitherto unavailable *lygisaga*, *Flores Saga Konungs ok Sona Hans*, in volume XVII of the *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek*.² The episode concerns a fight with a dragon, who seems, however, to be something of a water-monster as well; and it is remarkable for the descent of the hero to the dragon's cave by means of a rope, his desertion by the traitorous companion who lowered him, and the details of the fight, all of which recall *Beowulf*. Yet the editor, Åke Lagerholm, whose vast learning has unearthed so many parallels to other adventures in the saga, makes no mention either of *Beowulf* or the *Grettissagga* in connection with this event. It seems to me worth quoting entire for the sake of comparison with *Beowulf*.

The combat is contained in the *æfisaga* or autobiographical narrative of a certain Únús, a foundling who has been so well treated

⁶ Goodrich, *op. cit.*, II, 202-204. For comparison, Scott's familiar comment on *The Pilot*, addressed to Maria Edgeworth on February 24, 1824, is appended: "The hero is the celebrated Paul Jones, whom I well remember advancing above the island of Inchkeith with three small vessels . . . the novel is a very clever one, and the sea-scenes and characters in particular are admirably drawn, and I advise you to read it as soon as possible" (Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, Edinburgh, 1882, VII, 242, 243).

¹ Harvard University Press, 1928. ² Halle, a/S., 1927.

by his adoptive parents as to arouse the jealousy of his foster-brother. One day, as he relates, he was out riding with the hostile Prince:

He said he knew of a winged dragon dwelling on some water [i. e., on an island?] in a forest, and under him was so much gold that even the King had no more. I said that he should make the decision. Then we rowed out to the island in a boat. The way was so long that we had little of the daylight left. There were high crags about the island. High up in them was a cave, with a peak of the cliff jutting over it. The dragon lay within this cave, and it was very dangerous to get to it. A narrow path lay behind the crag to the cave; but it was necessary to jump down from the path to the cave, and that was so great a leap that no man might get up again unless he was pulled up by a rope.

They made ready the rope, and I mounted the path. I jumped to the cave; and I had no other weapon with me but my spear. And when I had made myself secure, the Prince drew up the rope. After that they took the boat and rowed away, and there they parted from me. I thought myself in no good position, for it was certain death to cast oneself down into the water, and it was impossible to go up again.

The dragon was asleep when I came down, and it seemed to me there would be no improvement when he awoke; I might kill him, but even then I could not get away. It occurred to me to climb up over the doorway of the cave, as high as I might, and there I was in a very awkward situation. The dragon now awoke, and he was aware that someone had come to his dwelling. So he moved forward to the doorway and spied about; but I lept down between his wings from above. I clasped my hands about his neck, and the dragon thereupon flew out of the cave and up over the water, and then over the wood. I took my spear and thrust it under the left wing of the dragon, so that it was fixed in his heart. But he was so startled that he struck the forest with his wings, so that the oak-trees were laid low. Then I fell down, and the dragon on top of me. His convulsions were terribly great; he struck me so hard with his wings that I lay unconscious. I did not recover before the dragon was dead.

Most of the details of this adventure are commonplaces in the later medieval sagas; but the presence of the rope and the false friend who lowers it brings us back to the *märchen* of the Bear's Son, so exhaustively studied by Panzer in its relation to *Beowulf*. Moreover, the author of the saga seems to have some of the English poet's difficulty in visualizing the stage setting precisely. And the episode as a whole is another evidence of the popularity of such combats even in later Icelandic literature of the period of the *lygisögur*.

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ELENE 439

Holthausen¹ conjectures for *Elene* 439:

[Sȳmon was hāten, swāsum] eaferan —;

Albert S. Cook,² following Holthausen's first edition (1905), gives:

[þe was Sȳmon hāten, swāsum] eaferan.

Metrically Holthausen₃ is superior to Holthausen₁ and Cook, in that it changes an A-type line with double anacrusis to a simple A-type. It is, however, noteworthy that *hātan*, to name or designate, occurs in two other passages of *Elene*:

Sanctus Paulus

be naman hāten; (504-5)

and:

þe man sēraphin

be naman hāteð (755-6)

and *Christ* has:

bi noman gehātne, (1071).

Thus it is seen that when a form of *hātan* is used in the sense of naming, Cynewulf also uses *be naman*. Neither of the conjectures given is, therefore, in accordance with Cynewulf's usage, and both should be rejected—probably for *þām was Sȳmon nama*.

This construction is found in *Elene* in lines 418, 437, 530, 586, and 750. One of these phrases being in line 437, but two lines above 439, does not militate against the validity of my contention, as repetition of words and phrases is a notable characteristic of *Elene*. The fact that the identical phrase occurs in line 530 is further substantiation, as the context is also identical. It is, moreover, easy to understand how a scribe, having copied *þām was Sachinus nama* would omit the closely following *þām was Sȳmon nama*.

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¹ F. Holthausen, *Cynewulf's Elene*, 3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1914.

² Albert S. Cook, *The Old English Elene, Phœmia, and Physiologus*, New Haven, 1919.

SAMUEL DANIEL AND HIS "WORTHY LORD"

Samuel Daniel's various biographers remark upon the fact that, a few years after he left Oxford, he was brought in some way to the attention of the Earl of Pembroke who made him tutor to his eldest son. What brought Daniel to Lord Pembroke's attention the biographers do not seem to know because their attention is fixed upon the poet. If one turns, however, for a moment to the earl a rather striking possibility presents itself.

Of Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, John Aubrey writes in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*:¹ "His Lordship was the patron to the men of armes, and to the antiquaries and heralds; he took a great delight in the study of herauldry, as appears by that curious collection of heraldique manuscripts in the library here." This was a not infrequent elegant taste of the time, a taste which Pembroke shared, for instance, with his brother-in-law, Sir Philip Sidney, but the Earl had not only the taste but the money to gratify it. He "collected," Aubrey tells us in his description of Wilton House, "curious manuscripts of it (heraldrie), that I have seen and perused: e. g. the coates of armes and short histories of the English nobility, and bookes of genealogies; all well painted and writt." What more natural, then, than that the earl should purchase, when it appeared in 1585, "The Worthy tract of Paulus Jovius, contayning a Discourse of rare inventions, both Militarie and Amorous called Impresse. Whereunto is added a Preface contayning the Arte of composing them, with many other notable devises. By Samuel Daniell, late Student in Oxenforde. At London, Printed for Simon Waterson."²

This "worthy tract" was Daniel's first published work. He not only translated it from the Latin in which its Italian author had written it, he added, in the Preface and in a sort of postscript, a good deal of original matter of his own, material which shows both his enthusiastic appreciation of the learning of Paulus Jovius and his own fund of knowledge in such lore. The book makes it quite evident, moreover—not in the least in any ostentatious way, simply

¹ John Aubrey, *Natural History of Wilts*, ed. John Britton, London, 1847.

² Grosart reprints the Preface and other original material but not the translation, in his edition of Daniel, London 1885-96, Vol. V.

quietly and of necessity—that the young author has an easy familiarity with the Latin, French, and Spanish tongues. And, more than this, possesses, both in translation and in original composition, a singularly agreeable English style.

Unfortunately when Aubrey wrote, in 1685, "All these bookes (at Wilton House) are sold and dispersed," and he mentions no specific titles, but it does seem at least highly probable that Lord Pembroke would have purchased a copy of *Impresse*. And then, when seeking a tutor for his son and heir, why should he not be attracted to a young man of evident parts whose tastes ran so closely parallel to his own? We know that Daniel visited Italy probably before 1590 and it is generally accepted that he went there with William Herbert. Grosart sets 1585 as the most probable date for the beginning of his tutorship at Wilton. The correspondence between this and the publication of the *Impresse* seems too close to be ignored.

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MILTON ON MINING

There are two passages in *Paradise Lost* directed against the mining of metals in the earth. It may perhaps prove interesting to note a similar antagonism to mining among the other great Renaissance English poets preceding Milton (or the use of the theme as an attractive literary convention merely) and the clarification of the whole matter in great part by the First Book of Agricola's *De Re Metallica* (1556), translated into English by President Hoover and Mrs. Hoover in 1912.

Among the hundreds of particles of curious and forgotten lore with which Milton adds to the highly decorative element in the First Book of *Paradise Lost* is the following:

Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From Heav'n, by him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransack'd the centre, and with impious hands
Rif'd the bowels of their mother Earth
For treasures better hid (I, 684 ff.).

In Book VI of *Paradise Lost*, as leader of the rebel angels against

the armies of Christ, Satan himself is interpreted as the first to think of disturbing the natural order of things by tearing into the bowels of mother earth and discovering the metals, iron and the like, which are the origin of all destructive wars. Gold in time of peace is the most corrupting of all forces on human institutions and iron and saltpetre will some day wipe mankind off the earth.

First, then, for the prevalence of this theme among the great Renaissance English poets preceding Milton. As Chaucer is Renaissance in so many respects, his attitude in regard to the matter is included:

But cursed was the tyme, I dar wel seye,
That men first dide hir swety bysnesse
To gjobbe up metal, lurking in derknesse,
And in the riveres first gemmes soghte.
Allas! than sprong up al the cursednesse
Of covetyse, that first our sorwe broghte!

(*The Former Age*, 27. ff.)

Shakespeare put it into the mouth of his most celebrated fop who came to interview Hotspur on the field of battle:

And that it was great pity, so it was,
This villanous salt-petre should be digg'd
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroy'd
So cowardly (I *Henry IV*, I, iii, 59 ff.).

Spenser lets the thought come to Sir Guion when he goes too far into his familiarity with Mammon:

Then gan a cursed hand the quiet wombe
Of his great Grandmother with steele to wound,
And the hid treasures in her sacred tombe
With Sacriledge to dig (II, vii, st. xvii).

Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, which is more like Milton's than any of the other treatments of this theme, reads as follows:

O odious poyson (gold) for the which we dive
To Pluto's dark Den: for the which we rive
Our Mother earth; and not contented with
Th' abundant gifts she outward offereth,
With sacrilegious Tools we rudely rend her,
And ransack deeply in her bosom tender (1641 ed. p. 45).

It so happens that when Agricola, one of the great scientists and

humanists of the Renaissance, undertook to write his work on mining, *De Re Metallica*, which stood for almost two centuries as the authoritative work on the subject, he found it advisable to devote almost the entire portion of Book I to removing from men's minds the vulgar errors and superstitions concerning mining, chief among which were those expressed by Milton and the other poets just cited. That he should have found it necessary to devote so much space to the matter is convincing proof of the extent of this attitude antagonistic towards mining which, in the Renaissance poets, seems to us so strange and bizarre. Incidentally Agricola, in so doing, has gathered together a splendid anthology from the classical writers, especially from the poets, on the subject of gold as a corrupter of human beings and institutions and of iron and saltpetre as the cause and origin of war. The sayings of the following are cited: Ovid, Diogenes, Laertius, Naumacius, Euripides, Theognis Aristodemus, Timocles, Menander, Propertius, Diphilus, Plautus, Juvenal. And these are not all. Of especial importance is the following:

First they [the critics] make use of this argument:

'The earth does not conceal and remove from our eyes those things which are useful and necessary to mankind, but on the contrary, like a beneficent and kindly mother, she yields in large abundance from her bounty and brings into the light of day the herbs, vegetables, grains and fruits and trees. The minerals on the other hand she buries far beneath in the depth of the ground; therefore they should not be sought. But they are dug out by wicked men who, as the poets say, are the products of the Iron age.'

Ovid censures their audacity in the following lines:

'And not only was the rich soil, required to furnish corn and due sustenance, but men even descended into the entrails of the earth and they dug up riches, those incentives to vice, which the earth had hidden and removed to the Stygian shades. Then destructive iron came forth, and gold, more destructive than iron: then war came forth.'¹

And next they raise a great outcry against other metals, as iron, than which they say nothing more pernicious could have been brought into the life of man. For it is employed in making swords, javelins, These things so moved the wrath of Pliny that he wrote:

'Iron is used not only in hand to hand fighting, but also forms the winged missiles of war. . . . I look upon it as the most deadly fruit of human ingenuity. . . . So that with more justice could it be said of the

¹Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica*, translated by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover, *The Mining Magazine*, London, 1912, p. 6.

impious men of our age than of Salmoneus of ancient days, that they had snatched lightning from Jupiter, and wrested it from his hands. Nay, rather there has been sent from the infernal regions to the earth this force for the destruction of men, so that death may snatch to himself as many as possible by one stroke'²

And then Agricola, scientist and humanist as he is, concludes with his large, magnanimous tolerance and intellectual deference:

Several good men have been so perturbed by these tragedies that they conceive an intensely bitter hatred toward metals, and they wish absolutely that metals had never been, or being created, that no one had ever dug them out. The more I commend the singular honesty, innocence and goodness of such men, the more anxious shall I be to remove utterly and eradicate all error from their minds and to reveal the sound view, which is that all metals are most useful to mankind.

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR.

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THE STAGE (1713)

In April 1713 there emanated from the chaste press of Edmund Curll in Fleet Street an attractive little mock-heroic poem of some thirty pages with the title *The Stage: A Poem*. Even to-day it is not altogether unknown, and the odds and ends of theatrical information which it supplies have been noted more than once by G. C. D. Odell, Allardyce Nicoll, Edward Robins and the other excavators in our theatrical history of the eighteenth century. But the poem has an additional interest, which it may be worth while to point out, in the light it throws upon the ways that are dark and the tricks that are vain of the publishers of the period.

The authorship of the poem has eluded Curll's biographer, Mr. Ralph Straus, and has so far remained unsolved. The real author was a certain Dr. Francis Reynardson, but on the titlepage (which is "Inscrib'd to *Joseph Addison, Esq.*;") it is attributed to a "Mr. Webster, of *Christ-Church, Oxon.*" An "Advertisement" adds the information that the "Poem was written last Summer, upon the following Occasion; The Spectator's Account of the *Distrest Mother*, had rais'd the Author's Expectation to so high a Pitch,

² *Ibid.* 11.

that he made an Excursion from College, to see that *Tragedy* Acted, and upon his Return, was commanded by the *Dean* to write upon the *Art, Rise and Progress*, of the *English Stage*, which how well he has perform'd, is now submitted to the Judgment of that worthy Gentleman, to whom it is inscrib'd."¹ It is a plausible story and has been accepted hitherto without question. The only difficulty is that there was no Mr. Webster who could possibly have been at Christ Church in 1712. Moreover when Curll reprinted *The Stage* at the end of the memoirs of Mrs. Oldfield which he had compiled in 1731 under the pseudonym "William Egerton,"² it was then attributed to Reynardson. Once bitten, twice shy and I would not be anxious to take Curll's bare word on this occasion either. As it happens, though, the poem had already been attributed to Reynardson in the "Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of Our most Considerable English Poets" (1720) of the eminently trustworthy Giles Jacob,³ and there can be no doubt, I think, that he was its author.

The Stage was published on April 5, 1713, and the price was then sixpence. But as Narcissus Luttrell paid only fivepence on April 28,⁴ it is evident the poem did not sell well. In fact Curll seems to have found it necessary to ply all his arts to get rid of the edition. What he did eventually was to invent a new title. The poem actually reappeared twice in 1714 with two new titlepages. In one case it became part of "A Collection of original Poems, Translations, and Imitations." In the other case it appeared all by itself as "Poems on Several Occasions by Mr. Reynardson, Late of *Baliol College, Oxon.*" Apart from the changed titlepages the editions of 1714 are both absolutely indistinguishable from that of 1713 and are unquestionably the same. Curll's little arts, however, do not seem to have had the success

¹ Addison's connexion with "The Stage" was not limited to the dedication. The poem is almost certainly based upon the very similar mock-heroic which was published in 1706 on a single folio sheet as "A Description of the Play-House In Dorset-Garden" and which is also given in Ayloffe's edition of Sedley's poems (1707) under the heading "The Play-House. By J. Addison, Esq."

² Curll seems to have been assisted in these memoirs by Oldys.

³ In his accounts of contemporaries Jacob generally used information submitted by the poets themselves.

⁴ Inscription in the Britwell copy.

they merited. At any rate he was still advertising "Poems by Mr. Reynardson" in 1719—and, with characteristic impudence, as "Just Publish'd."⁵

By 1719 Reynardson himself had turned his back on the Muses. The son of a prosperous London merchant he was born in or about 1694 and, matriculating at Oxford in 1710, was in residence at Balliol at least until the summer of 1712. In 1714 he obtained an M. D. at Leyden and a medical dissertation of his "*de medicata olei virtute*" was published there in 1718. Except for *The Stage* his only other published work seems to have been an "Ode on Divine Vengeance, by Mr. Webster,"⁶ inscrib'd to Mr. Steele" which Curll published in 1713 in his *Sacred Miscellanies* and which Jacob considered "an excellent Poem." I have not been able to find a copy myself and Mr. Straus has been equally unsuccessful. Reynardson died in 1725.

F. W. BATESON.

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THE TWO ISSUES OF *THE WORLD*

Mr. F. W. Bateson has recently pointed out¹ that some numbers of the *Tatler* were printed on two presses and has raised some questions concerning the methods of printing eighteenth century periodicals. He thinks it probable that the variant issues of *The Tatler* were set up simultaneously by two compositors, working at different speeds, and that the slower worker got the benefit of the line-divisions of the faster as they approached the end of their task, with the result that the last thirty or forty lines were identical, line for line.

Some light may be shed on this bibliographical problem by an account of the two issues of *The World*, edited almost half a century later by Edward Moore. These issues may be distinguished by the ornament placed at the head of each number. In one it

⁵ In the collection of poems on the death of Rowe which Curll published under the title "*Musarum Lachrymae*."

⁶ To whom, it will be remembered, *The Stage* was ascribed on its titlepage.

¹ "The Errata in *The Tatler*," *Rev. of Eng. Stud.*, v, 155-166.

is made up of a row of conventional printers' ornaments; in the other it is a vignette of an author seated at his desk, gazing upon a globe which is mounted upon a tripod nearby. The appropriateness of the vignette would suggest that it was designed for use in this periodical. The issues also vary in the factotums, in which the initial capitals of the numbers are inserted, and in the arrangement of lines in the first paragraph. Otherwise they are identical, line for line and page for page, insofar as I have been able to examine them. Since numbers were handed out to subscribers indiscriminately, and most collections of the original sheets consequently contain some numbers of one issue and some of the other, any complete comparison is impossible unless one should get access to a large number of collections. In those collections which I have seen the "vignette" issues are far more numerous than the others.

After examining three collections of *The World* I feel reasonably sure, however, that the "vignette" issue was the first, or original, and that the second was set up from proof sheets of it, rather than that two compositors worked side by side. Such variations in line arrangement as occur may be explained by the difference in the sizes of the factotums used in the two issues.

Mr. Bateson thinks that the two issues of certain numbers of *The Tatler* were printed simultaneously on different presses because of some delay in receipt of the manuscript and a consequent last-minute rush. That explanation does not, however, account for the two issues of *The World*, for each continued to appear week after week. The average circulation of *The World* was about 2,500 copies per week. Eighteenth century printing, even of the simplest sort (a folio sheet), may have been a slower process than we have supposed. At any rate, it would probably be worth while for a bibliographer who has access to a large number of collections of original sheets to make a study of the whole problem. I have also collated some of the original sheets of *The World* with the corresponding numbers in the first collected edition, and have found that some numbers were revised before they were reprinted.

Since the appearance of my bibliography of Edward Moore² I

² *The Life and Works of Edward Moore*, New Haven, 1927, pp. 168-179.

have found three other items which may be of interest to students of eighteenth century literature.

At the time I made that study I had not been able to discover any dated edition of his serenata, *Solomon*. The first edition, in all probability, was: *Solomon. A Serenata, In Score, Taken from the Canticles. Set to Musick by Mr. William Boyce, Composer to His Majesty. London: Printed and Sold for the Author, by J. Walsh, in Catherine-Street in the Strand. MDCCXLIII*. It is a large folio, contains the names of 270 subscribers, and was printed from engraved copper plates. Walsh printed at least one later edition from the same plates.

It has also been possible to find a copy of *The Original Story; from which the New Comedy of Gil Blas is taken*. This rare pamphlet, listed, but not seen, by Lowe, is a translation of the first six chapters of the fourth book of Le Sage's romance, *Gil Blas*, upon which passage Moore's comedy has long been known to be based.

As I had inferred from the lists in the *Scots Magazine*, June, 1749, p. 304, there was a pirated edition of Moore's *Ode to Garrick* which appeared at approximately the same time as the "genuine edition." The titlepage reads: *An Ode to Mr. G—R—K. London: Printed for J. Bromage. M, DCC, XLIX*. A collation with the edition printed by Cooper, and with the 1756 quarto of Moore's *Poems, Fables, and Plays*, shows a considerable number of variants, some of which are so opposed to the context as to indicate that Bromage printed from a copy which had been handed about the town.

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JOHNSON AND EVAN EVANS

That Johnson's well known antipathy for *Ossian* did not extend to all other manifestations of what we have come, perhaps too loosely, to call the Medieval Revival there is, of course, no need to demonstrate.¹ One of the most interesting documents in the

¹ The proof is conveniently summarized by J. E. Brown, *The Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson* (Princeton, 1926), pp. xlv-xlvi. Cf. also

case, however, seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of students. It is contained in an unpublished letter of Thomas Percy to Evan Evans, written from Easton-Maudit on July 23, 1764, shortly after the appearance of Evans's *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*; I give it here because it exhibits with exceptional clearness the essentially discriminating character of Johnson's attitude toward the new antiquarian tastes. The original is in the British Museum (Addit. MS 32,330, fols. 95-96):

. . . I have for these 3 months past hardly had time to breathe, otherwise I should not have deferred a moment to acknowledge the kind favour of your *Welsh Poetry* and to express the great pleasure I received from the Perusal of it—But I can give you a more valuable testimony of its merit than my own, Mr. Johnson (authr. of the *Rambler*, &c) who has been with me on a visit for this month past, has read it over with attention, and is very much pleased with your performance. He desires you to proceed in your Studies, he thinks them interesting, and that you will deserve greatly of the literary world by pursuing them with that vigour & capacity, which you have already shown. He hopes you will be able to rescue from oblivion, whatever remains of ancient British genius can be recovered, and thinks your labours deserve great encouragement.

The only thing he blames in your book is the credit you have given at the beginning of it to the Pretensions of McPherson and his ersè Poetry: He and every penetrating Person I have ever conversed with look upon it, as almost all an imposition, and that of no very artful kind

R. S. CRANE.

University of Chicago.

OLD FRENCH *enui*¹ APPLIED TO PERSONS

One of the fifteen proofs cited to show that Jean Renart wrote *L'Escoufle*, *Guillaume de Dôle*, and *Le Lai de l'Ombre* is a special use of *enui*, with reference to which Bédier says:²

M. Mussafia³ a remarqué que, dans ces vers de *Guillaume de Dôle*:
L'esoueraïlle menue Et li anus ist dou palais (v 1735), et en deux autres

John J. Parry, "Doctor Johnson's Interest in Welsh," *MLN.*, xxxvi (1921), 374-76.

¹ Variants: *anui*, *anoi*, *enci*, *ennui*, *ennuy*.

² Bédier, *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, p. xi.

³ *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der K. Academie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, cxxxvi, 35.

passages du même roman (v. 1073,⁴ v. 1325)⁵, le mot *anui* est pris en un sens très particulier, et *qu'on ne rencontre guère, si on le rencontre, en d'autres textes* au sens de 'foule importune.' Or, il a la même acception, si je ne me trompe, en ces vers du *Lai de l'Ombre* Or orrés par tens en cest conte Que dirai, s'anuis ne m'encombre, En cest lai que je faz de l'Ombre (v. 50-2). Jean Renart se représente lisant son poème dans un cercle choisi, que les 'fâcheux' ne doivent pas troubler; mais nous ne comprenons ce qu'il veut dire que grâce à *Guillaume de Dôle*.

In the quotations given above, *anui* is used to designate those who cause *anui*. The purpose of this note is to call attention to two examples of a similar usage in Chrétien de Troyes:

Cil de terre cui pas n'agree
Del vaslet que aler an voient,
Tant com il pueent le convoient
De la veue de lor iauz,
Et por ce qu'il les puissent miauz
Et plus longuemant esgarder,
S'an vont tuit ansamble monter
Lez la marine an un haut pui.
D'iluec esgardent lor *enui*;
Tant com il le pueent veoir
Lor *enui* esgardent poi voir;
Que del vaslet mout lor enuie,
Que Damedeus a port conduie
Sanz anconbrier et sanz peril.

(*Cligès*, 256-69)

Chrétien de Troyes does not use *anui* in the sense of *foule importune*, nor are we certain that it has that meaning in the *Lai de l'Ombre*. At least, five of those who copied the manuscripts⁶ did

⁴ El li commence a demander
Qel gent il menra avoec lui:
" Dame," fet il, " gent sanz *anui*
Si sont mout bon en cest voiage.

⁵ Onc puis une lieue de terre
Ne s'esloigna por chevauchier,
Ainz se fu fez illoec saiguer
A poi de gent et sanz *anui*,
Et Jouglès tozjors ovoec lui,
Qui li ramentoit cele joie.

⁶ Bédier, *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, 3-4: B Or o. par t. en cest conte Que j'ai fait de cest lai de l'o. Que dirai s'*aucuns* ne m'encombre, C Or o. par t. en quel conte Que dirai se *nus* ne m'encombre Et je faich chi le lait de l'o.,

not so interpret it. Only two of the seven manuscripts read *anui*. Of the other five, *aucuns* is used in three and *nus* in two. Even if it could be proved that *anui* is the equivalent of *foule importune* in both the *Lai de l'Ombre* and *Guillaume de Dôle*, this fact would have little weight as an argument supporting the statement that these works were written by the same author. Whether *anui* refers to one person or to many, it illustrates a well known usage, namely, the tendency to designate persons by means of abstract qualities. It is interesting to note in this connection that *noia*, the Italian equivalent of French *enui*, *anui*, is also applied to persons. In his *Novo Dizionario Universale della Lingua Italiana*, Petronechi mentions as one of the uses of this word: "Soprannome di pers. noiosa. A chi secca. Che ài da gridare, *Nòia*? Tirati in là, *Nòia*. Tu sèi un gran —." A similar use of the words *nuissance*, *torment*, and *joy* is indicated by the *New English Dictionary*.

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OLIVER M. JOHNSTON.

VOLTAIRE'S ORIGINAL LETTER TO MAYANS ABOUT CORNEILLE'S *HÉRACLIS*

Referring to Calderón's *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mienta*, Voltaire,¹ in a letter of June 15, 1762, to D. Gregorio Mayans, declared that

Le point important est de savoir en quelle année la *Famosa Comedia* fut jouée devant *ambas Magestades*; c'est ce que je vous ai demandé, et je vois qu'il vous est impossible de le savoir.

It was probably Mayans who had sent Voltaire an undated copy, "prodigieusement rare," of Calderón's play, assuring him that it had been performed in 1640 and printed in 1643, but, as Voltaire obstinately remarked: "il faut en croire mon savant sur sa parole."² Voltaire's query has recently been answered,³ for the

D Or o. par t. en cest conte Que dirai se *nus* ne m'encombre En ce dit que j'ai fet de l'o., E Or escoutez en icest conte Que ferai s'*aucuns* ne m'encombre Et dirai ci du lay de l'o., G Or poés par t. en cest conte Que dirai se *aucuns* ne m'encombre Que je faic chi le lai de l'o.

¹ *Oeuvres* (Moland), XLII, 136 (nr. 4931).

² Letter to Duclos, April 23, 1762, *Oeuvres*, XLII, 95 (nr. 4886).

³ Cf. C. Castillo, *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1923), 392.

play was performed on February 23 or 25, 1659, and there can be no question of the originality of Corneille's *Héraclius*, printed in 1647 and performed perhaps in the preceding year. Indeed, we must now accept, at least for one scene, Calderón's direct indebtedness to Corneille.⁴ The letter just quoted was one of thanks. Neither his original letter of inquiry to Mayans, nor his first secret letter to the Abbé Béliard⁵ seem to be known to even the most recent students of the *Héraclius* question.⁶

It may be useful to point out, therefore, that at least the first letter to Mayans was still preserved, in 1899, in the collection of the well-known bibliophile Serrano y Morales, and that it has been reprinted by M. Cervino,⁷ together with a slightly different version of the second letter to Mayans.⁸ As this periodical is not very accessible in the United States,⁹ it may not be amiss to reproduce, even at second hand, the substance of the letter. The original inquiry appears to be holograph, written from Ferney, April 1, 1762, and opens, if the transcript may be trusted, with the startling sentence:¹⁰ *Voltaire hombre libero besa las manos del Señor el quale merece de ser libero assi*. It continues in often questionable Latin:

Contendunt Cornelium nostrum invenisse heraclii fabulam, et Calderonem fuisse ejus imitatore. Opinor Cornelium sumpsisse ex authore hispano id quod tollere posset, ut hujus erat mos.

⁴ Castillo, 393 ff. Confirmed in a perhaps unnecessary reëxamination of the whole problem by E. Schramm, 'Corneille's Heraclius and Calderon's "En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira,"' in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXI (1927), 286, 308.

⁵ Evidently not sent in 1764, as Hartzenbusch *BAE*, XIV, 702, reprinting García de la Huerta, would have it.

⁶ This point is not touched upon in de Salvio's *Voltaire and Spain, Hispania (Cal.)*, VII (1924), 69-110; 157-164.

⁷ *Boletín de la Sociedad española de excursiones*, VII (1899), 173-175.

⁸ Dated June 16 and with only a last (additional) sentence, in Latin, from Voltaire's hand. Neither is the letter in Moland's edition marked as an autograph.

⁹ Professor Keniston's *List of Periodicals in American Libraries for the study of the Hispanic languages and literatures* mentions only three, and the *Union List of Serials* only two, complete sets (omitting Bryn Mawr) in American University Libraries.

¹⁰ Voltaire evidently intended to gain from the two Spanish grammars in his library (see Havens and Torrey, *Voltaire's books: a selected list*, in *MP.*, XXVII, 2) more than a reading-knowledge of the language.

Yet according to Voltaire there are only four lines in the play which are really significant,¹¹ *De quatuor versibus agitur intra duas potentes nationes.* [!] These in Voltaire's opinion Corneille could well have borrowed, for (changing now into French) *Corneille monsieur prit bien quatre vers de Godeau dans les stances de polyeucte. S'il avait volé un évêque, il n'aurait pas fait scrupule de prendre chez un seglar.* And finally, coming to the point and ignoring, it would seem, his correspondent's previous assurance: *Si vous pouviez monsieur pousser la bonté jusqu'à me dire en quell (sic) année la pièce de Calderon fut représentée, vous décideriez le proces et il ny aurait point d'appel.* . . . The letter ends, perhaps to impress its recipient, ex-Royal Librarian, with the somewhat infrequent signature: *Voltaire gentilhomme ord de la chambre du roy.*

JOSEPH E. GILLET.

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A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF *LA BERGÈRE DES ALPES*

Marmontel has generally been considered the originator of the *Contes Moraux* which he began to publish in the *Mercur* in 1755. Among the first stories there appeared a romanesque tale, *La Bergère des Alpes*¹ which resembles in some details of its plot and particularly in its atmosphere, *La Femme Hermite*,² written by the Marquise de Lambert sometime before 1733. This "nouvelle nouvelle," as Madame de Lambert called her story, tells of a woman who lived alone in a hermitage which she found abandoned in a lonely part of the forest. Surprised one day by a group of ladies bold enough to penetrate to her secluded hut and touched by their agreeable curiosity, she told them the story of her life. The opening of Marmontel's story is somewhat similar: while the Marquise de Fonrose and her husband were traveling through the country, they met a shepherdess whose beauty and grace amazed them and they were eager to learn what secret compelled her to live in an atmosphere so unbecoming her nobility.

Both settings, briefly sketched, are expected to give an impres-

¹¹ Probably *Héraclius*, iv, 5, 1384 ff.

¹ Marmontel, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Amable Costes, 1819, Vol. III.

² Lambert, *Oeuvres Morales*, Paris, Gosselin, 1843.

sion of a melancholy nature which constantly reminds those who inhabit it of the source of their own sadness. Curiously enough, Madame de Lambert is the more successful. Writing twenty years before her century had given way to "scènes touchantes" or melted into tears over the "comédies larmoyantes," she appears to have a sensitive feeling for nature in her very short but picturesque description. The hermitage is built upon a high rock on the edge of a dense woods. There is a natural waterfall formed by the brook which rushes down the mountain side and flows in a tempestuous stream past the little cabin whose only approach is a natural bridge made by the curve of the trees.

Il (le ruisseau) offre aux yeux le même agrément que les lieux les plus cultivés par l'art. "C'est ici ma promenade ordinaire, dit Bellamirte: j'aime cette secrète horreur. Ce lieu est propre à nourrir *une douce mélancolie*, et j'y viens souvent seule, et sans autre compagnie que mes réflexions."

Marmontel locates his story quite definitely in the mountains of Savoy in a solitary valley "dont l'aspect inspire aux voyageurs *une douce mélancolie*." Cascades which fall from the surrounding mountains and green fields and trees are the only charms which embellish this rustic spot, where a group of shepherd's cabins are scattered at some distance from one another.

In both stories the beauty of a mysterious and solitary lady arouses the curiosity and the sympathy of those who meet her. Neither the four years which each has spent in retirement from the world nor the privations which she has suffered have been able to dispel her melancholy nor efface her charm. Bellamirte says to the hermit:

Plus je vous examine, et plus mon étonnement augmente. Vous me paraissez peu faite, par votre âge et par votre figure pour habiter une demeure aussi sauvage. Vous êtes propre à être l'ornement des villes.

And the Marquise to the shepherdess:

Vous n'êtes pas faite pour souffrir et la fortune est bien injuste! Est-il possible, aimable personne, que tant de charmes soient ensevelis dans ce désert, sous ces habits: . . . cet air, cette démarche, cette voix, ce langage, tout vous trahit. Deux mots que vous venez de dire annoncent un esprit cultivé, une âme noble.

Madame de Lambert's heroine lets herself be persuaded and pours out her story in a "torrent de larmes." She had been brought up

by a Princess who, having no daughter of her own, had lavished every care upon her. Her playmate was Prince Camille, a few years older than herself. As they grew older the Prince took no interest in the brilliant marriage which had been arranged for him and thought only of his adopted sister whom he loved. They were separated, but neither absence nor the glories of a military career diminished his fondness. Although this great devotion touched the heart of his former companion, she never encouraged him, for she was too conscious of the difference in their rank. At one of the court balls she met the Duke of Praxède, who showed her so much attention that Prince Camille suffered from jealousy and grief. Confused and troubled by this new passion, which seemed to find some response in her own heart, the unhappy lady took refuge in the country:

Je crus que le calme qui était répandu dans ces lieux pourrait passer dans mon âme; mais, hélas! les passions sont amies de la solitude: Je me trouvais dans des dispositions qui m'étaient inconnues, dans un trouble et une agitation qui avait pourtant un charme secret.

The duke sought out her hiding place and followed her to plead for a love which was no longer refused him. In the midst of her happiness she was overwhelmed to learn of the duke's former infidelities and fell fainting into the arms of her ladies. Scarcely had she recovered when Prince Camille was carried into the room, dying from a wound he had received in a duel with his rival. Overcome by grief and remorse, she suddenly realized that in the Prince's death she had lost all that was dear to her. She felt that she never wished to see again the duke whose attentions now seemed capricious and vain, nor the princess who had loved her son so well that she had at last been willing to consent to a marriage which would bring him happiness. It was partly to withdraw herself from those who would look upon her with shame and horror and partly to expiate her own infidelity that she left her home with one of her servants, and took refuge in the empty hermitage which she had discovered:

J'entrai donc et m'écrirai aussitôt: "Voilà une habitation que les destinés m'offrent: et j'y veux passer le reste de mes tristes jours," et jusqu'à ce moment, personne que vous Mesdames, n'avait interrompu ma solitude ni ma douleur.

Marmontel's shepherdess is not so easily persuaded to tell her story. The old peasant and his wife with whom she lives assure the travelers that, although Adelaide has lived with them four years, they know nothing of her past nor have they questioned her. The marquis and his wife return home, where they talk of little but the elusive and beautiful person who sings mournful songs as she watches over her flock. Their son is young and susceptible and his imagination is stirred by a desire to know her. Without a word to his parents, he disappears from his home, disguises himself as a shepherd, and leads his sheep to the part of the country where his parents had met the shepherdess. As soon as he sees her, he falls in love, but, realizing that there is some melancholy secret between them, he first wins her sympathy by his own sadness and promises to reveal the source of all his sorrow if she will tell her story first. When they meet, the sky is covered with clouds: "*et la nature en deuil semblaient présager la tristesse de leur entretien.*"

The shepherdess begins by saying that near the place where they are sitting is the tomb of the most tender and the most virtuous of men, whose death had been caused by her own love and imprudence. Adelaide's family, which was rich and distinguished, disapproved of her love for the young Count Orestan. Her passion led her to a marriage, "*sacré pour les âmes vertueuses mais désavoué par les lois.*" When her lover was summoned to take charge of his regiment, Adelaide begged him to stay two days longer with her. At last he hurried away to find that a battle in which his regiment had covered themselves with glory had taken place and he was forever dishonored. He returned, not to reproach his mistress, but to die in her arms. Like Des Grieux, Adelaide dug the grave for her lover with her own hands and determined never to live far from the scene which recalled all her happiness and her sorrow.

Fonrose, who has long suspected that Adelaide's melancholy was caused by the loss of someone she loved, is in despair. He dares not reveal his own passion and becomes daily more doleful and emaciated. The shepherdess is alarmed and begs him to confide in her. When he admits at last that he is dying for love of her, she decides that she should not be the cause of another tragedy and, although she can offer only friendship in return for his great love, she consents to become his wife.

The moral tone of both stories is strikingly alike: both heroines

have deserted their homes because they consider themselves responsible for the death of the men who loved them and have adopted a simple and solitary life as a kind of penance for their sins. Maumontel has acknowledged no indebtedness to Madame de Lambert, but, since little of his work was highly original, it may be possible that *La Femme Hermite* was a source for the story.

Wells College.

ANNE CUTTING JONES.

THOMSON AND THOMPSON

The effects of a misprint are interestingly illustrated in Dr. Harko G. de Maar's remark (*History of Modern English Romanticism*, Oxford, 1924, I, 216), "The close connection between Romance and Melancholy, which was distinctly felt by the Augustans, is well expressed in a letter of the poet William Thompson, written in 1725." He adds in a footnote that he quotes the letter as Professor R. D. Havens had quoted it in *MLN.*, xxiv (1909), 226. As a matter of fact, the letter was written by James Thomson, and is given entire in all standard collections of his writings. In 1725 William Thompson was only twelve or thirteen years of age. Examination of Professor Haven's published note shows that he undoubtedly used it as Thomson's but that through either an oversight in proofreading or a lapse of the pen, he refers to "Thompson" as the author of the letter. The same mis-spelling of the name occurs in the table of contents of the February, 1909, number.

GEORGE G. WILLIAMS.

The Rice Institute.

A REPLY

The omission of Petowe from my bibliography of versions of pseudo-Musaeus, to which Mr. Shannon called attention in the June *MLN*, was due not to ignorance but to my avowed purpose of listing (except for some modern pieces) only those works that had some relation to the story as told by Musaeus or Marlowe. Petowe's story is quite different.

DOUGLAS BUSH.

University of Minnesota.

REVIEWS

American Criticism. A Study in Literary Theory from Poe to the Present. By NORMAN FOERSTER. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1928. Pp. xiii + 273.

Gleanings in Europe (France). By JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. Edited by ROBERT E. SPILLER. Oxford University Press, New York, 1928. Pp. xxxiv + 395.

Mr. Foerster is the latest critic to add his voice to the swelling chorus of "new humanism" threatening to dominate American literary theory. The formulation of humanistic principles in Mr. Foerster's last chapter, together with his application of them in four preceding sections dealing with Poe, Emerson, Lowell, and Whitman, is intended as a coup de grâce to unconverted. This formulation and application of doctrine serves a better purpose, however, by revealing the two issues upon which humanism must stand or fall: Are the aesthetics of humanism valid? Do they give the means to evaluate fairly all the diversities of literature?

In his arguments upon the first issue Mr. Foerster penetrates aesthetics deeply enough to perceive that it rests upon the bed rock of a philosophy, but unfortunately he does not have enough training to escape the traps that await the unwary. Humanism rests upon a dualism which Mr. Foerster describes as man versus nature but with such uncritical usage that his meanings shift, contradictions arise, and the conclusions become invalid. Nor is his attempt to generalize the history of philosophy through the Greek, Roman, Medieval, and Modern periods more fortunate. It suffers viciously from the disease of over simplification. He criticises modern realism for its monism whereas it is distinctive by its metaphysical pluralism.

Similarly there is much to criticise in Mr. Foerster's aesthetics. The central weakness of humanism (both old and new) is its assumption of "typically human and permanently valid" principles in art. Certainly modern research, both psychological and historical, has proved that a search for such principles is both misleading and futile. Another aesthetic difficulty—the distinction between truth, goodness, and beauty—becomes hopelessly confused when Mr. Foerster admits that the essential reality is ethical, thereby having to make ethical standards the supreme test of art.

The second issue is revealed in Mr. Foerster's objections to the critical systems of Poe and Lowell. Accurate enough except in the matter of emphasis and evaluation, Mr. Foerster's discussion of

those two critics shows the prejudice and narrowness of humanistic standards. He does Poe injustice by slighting the value of his distinctions between the standards of truth, beauty, and ethics, by a dislike for Poe because he did not sufficiently revere the classics, by an over-emphasis of Poe's failure to present the normal and universal, and by an underestimate of Poe's contributions to literary theory.

In the case of Lowell, Mr. Foerster is correspondingly over indulgent. Out of the *mélange* of Lowell's writings he can, it is true, fabricate a system which agrees with humanism; but it is fairly certain that Lowell, a muddled and lazy thinker, never kept consistently to any system. Before Mr. Foerster can expect to establish his case he must meet and answer the detailed and documented analysis of J. J. Reilly's *James Russell Lowell as a Critic* as well as articles by C. Hartley Gratton, George E. De Mille, and John M. Robertson which all controvert his thesis about Lowell. This he has not done. The chapters on Emerson and Whitman, involving no such prejudices are on the whole accurate and impartial.

This reprint of Cooper's first volume of European travels is the beginning of a project to publish the complete series with the general title, *Gleanings in Europe*. They have not been readily accessible nor were they at any time popular since their original publication in 1836-38. As a result the importance of Cooper as an observer and comparer of European and American culture has been obscured by his success as a romancer.

New aspects of the man are already developing through the re-writing of American literary history which is being done at the present time. This reprint makes available material necessary to that task. It shows as no other work does the genesis and development of his ideas about political, social institutions of Europe and the United States. This first volume records his trip to Europe and his observations in France. It is evident that Cooper was soon brought under the spell of French culture particularly in its social aspects. As this influence of French culture increased the vulgarity of his native land loomed larger. Moreover, the tolerance and cosmopolitanism of the French increased his sensitivity to British prejudice and provincialism. Brought face to face with the culture of Europe, yet deeply loyal to democracy, Cooper was increasingly impelled to observe and compare not only institutions but underlying principles.

The result of these sincere and thoughtful comparisons was a criticism of American practice in the light of his European experience. He never lost faith in the ideal of democratic individualism, but he did see how little the United States was living up to the ideal, and what he saw he spoke unsparingly. Immediately a roar of protest arose in his own country.

On the other hand the Europeans, particularly the British, had no better relish for his comments upon their snobbery and caste systems with the attendant train of injustices. Cooper's books of travel, thus belabored on both sides, won little popularity. Sensitive to the injustice of such double damnation, Cooper did not allow the criticisms to pass unchallenged, but lashed out at his opponents. Thus the travel books are a first chapter in the story of Cooper's quarrel with his fellow citizens, a clear light upon his cultural relations with Europe, and an important page in the development of his political and social ideas.

The reprint is excellent in format; the editing by Dr. Spiller, based upon the American edition, makes it possible for readers unfamiliar with Cooper's life to follow the many references to his now forgotten acquaintances. The introduction serves a necessary purpose by its brief explanation of Cooper's political ideals and by its account of the British and American reception of the travels.

E. H. EBY.

University of Washington.

The Reinterpretation of American Literature: Some Contributions toward the Understanding of its Historical Development.

Edited by NORMAN FOERSTER for the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928. Pp. xv + 271.

A Lesser Hartford Wit, Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith, 1771-1798.

By MARCIA EGERTON BAILEY. Orono, Maine: University Press (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 11), 1928. Pp. 150.

Margaret Fuller as a Literary Critic. By HELEN NEILL McMASTER.

The University of Buffalo Studies, vol. VIII, No. 3, December, 1928. Monographs in English No. 1. Pp. 35-100.

Walt Whitman's Workshop: A Collection of Unpublished Manuscripts. Edited by CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS. Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xiv + 265.

Dissatisfaction with conventional interpretations of American literary history has arisen for several reasons: the meaningless classification of phenomena in the histories of literature; insufficient information about the American and European backgrounds on the part of writers; and uncertainty of critical approach by both college

professors and journalistic critics. Nine scholars have now united in *The Reinterpretation of American Literature* to discuss new approaches, joining with them two others, one of whom (Gregory Paine) contributes a useful "select bibliography," and the other (Ernest E. Leisy) brings up to date his "list of dissertations and articles, and of Americana in libraries."

Although the nine authors differ among themselves, the general movement of this important book is to bring American literary history into line with current interpretations of American social development. Thus Professor Hubbell estimates the influence of the frontier upon our letters; Dr. Murdock re-examines Puritanism as a concept; and Professor Parrington brackets realism with the economic development of the seventies. Many fine things are said in these essays, and there are many shrewd guesses at truth. No more provocative volume has appeared in the field. Lest the newer presbyters should be but old priests, writ large, workers in American letters must necessarily guard themselves against a new dogmatism; for example, there is evidence that the concept of the frontier has run away with the facts in one or two recent books. Nevertheless this volume has an importance far beyond its brief compass, and its publication is an event of prime interest.

Emphasis upon the inter-relations of American letters and the deeper forces of American cultural life creates a need for more subsidiary studies of minor authors. Miss Bailey's monograph on Dr. Elihu Smith is a painstaking study of a deservedly forgotten writer, the resurrection of whom can be justified only as the historian's interpretation illumines cultural forces at work to shape him. Technically this study is unexceptionable as a thorough search for fact; but critically, it leaves much to seek, for Miss Bailey does not make clear the significance of what she has put together.

More dubious still is Miss McMaster's study of Margaret Fuller, a master's dissertation which should never have been published. It is an amorphous and ill-digested work, full of hasty judgments and downright errors of fact. The statement that "the Puritan settlers in New England had succeeded in establishing and maintaining for nearly two centuries a culture uncontaminated by the depraving influence of European thought" (p. 35), sheer nonsense in view of what we know of New England libraries, New England communications with Europe, and European interest in America, is typical of the errors in the monograph, the more striking since elsewhere Miss McMaster, uncritically accepting the glamorous theories of Professor Irving Babbitt, attributes a vague general influence to "Rousseauism" in American thought, documentary proof of which is still to seek. Even more irritating is Miss McMaster's habit of making an undated assertion and then (as on p. 73) going on with "two years later." Finally, some of the writing in this study is

painfully bad. Margaret Fuller needs to be estimated, but Miss McMaster has not done the job.

It is a pleasure to turn to the noble monument of scholarship and book-making which Mr. Furness and the Harvard University Press have raised to the memory of Walt Whitman, a volume which, with one major weakness, is unimpeachable in the main both as to method and to fact. That weakness arises from Mr. Furness's having been captivated by Professor Lowes' admirable study, *The Road to Xanadu*, echoes of the phraseology of which reappear in Mr. Furness's introduction. The bow of Ulysses is best left in the hands of Ulysses, and it will be unfortunate if, after suffering from so many weak imitations of German *Quellenstudien*, we shall have a series of replications of the psychological methods of Professor Lowes. This aside, however, the scrupulous editorial work of Mr. Furness, his mastery of the subject, and the intrinsic interest of the materials create a volume concerning which praise is superfluous and criticism redundant. Close examination would possibly reveal a very few minor slips, for which there is here no room. The important fact is that Mr. Furness has put all students of American literature deeply in his debt.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

University of North Carolina.

The Romanesque Lyric: Studies in its Background and Development from Petronius to the Cambridge Songs, 50-1050. By PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN, with renderings into English verse by HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. xviii + 373. \$4.50.

The Romanesque Lyric is a work that demands serious attention, both for what it achieves and for what it bravely attempts. First, it is a notable example of friendly collaboration, in which translator and historian support each other's craft. And, in the second place, Professor Allen's attempt to place a thousand years of lyric in its historical setting (or settings) is so courageous and so enthusiastically carried on that even a reader aware of the impossibility of its success will respond to the challenge of its author's historical imagination and eager scholarship.

'Romanesque' is the term chosen by Professor Allen to name the Latin lyric of a period even longer than that which used to be called the dark ages. To speak more exactly, it names a certain strain that appears even in classical Roman literature—a 'romantic,' or mystical, or 'modern,' or subjective strain—at first subordinate to the true Roman, or 'classical,' strain, but gradually

emerging as an independent, new thing, declaring a character of its own, until in Germanized and Christianized Gaul of the Carolingian period it becomes the first expression of what we mean (whatever we *do* mean) when we speak of romanticism and modernism, of that indefinable 'certain something' (as undergraduates call it) which distinguishes romantic art from classical. Professor Allen struggles hard, we feel—as so many critics have done before him—to define the indefinable; and his effort to account for it historically has led him into remote regions—or, as he *will* call them, terrains—of erudition. For a great deal of his work consists of an exploration of the possible sources of the romanesque, the romantic strain.

It is not to be explained, he thinks, by the contrast, so often glibly invoked, between Pagan and Christian, Roman and Barbarian, though that is part of it. The streams that feed the Romanesque flow from many sources; three of the most important being the Hellenized culture of the near East, Judaea (not its disowned offspring Christianity), and Egypt; and in three long opening chapters, crowded with facts, Professor Allen sketches the civilization of Gaul during six centuries, with the purpose of showing the routes by which these different cultures penetrated to all its parts without touching the Eternal city on their way. These are professedly introductory parts of the history; but the same argument continues throughout the book. Thus, in a lively controversial chapter, the late Roman mime as the pretended sire and begetter of the new medieval literature, is roughly handled; and in others a more important part is assigned to sixth-century Irish learning (ultimately of Greek provenance, we are told), to Arabic poetry, and to Neoplatonism than historians commonly attribute to them.

It is evident that the work ranges widely and ventures boldly. Indeed it must be frankly said that Professor Allen has an undisciplined curiosity, and an undue fondness for knowledge that is difficult, remote, even occult, and that his work at certain places becomes turbulent, even turgid, through the intrusion of ideas that are either vaguely conjectural or else ill-adjusted to his plan. So many speculations tend to obscure the drift of the argument and to leave the reader in an uncertainty concerning the soundness of the main contentions. It is true that Professor Allen almost disarms criticism by his candid and humorous admission of his intellectual quixotism. Yet it remains true that the pattern is often not clearly designed or carefully woven; and though the style is usually animated, there are sentences in certain chapters that leave one grasping helplessly for a clue.

A book, in short, with evident faults and shortcomings. Yet the main contention, once it is disentangled, is extremely interesting and will serve as a wholesome corrective to narrow and merely conventional views that have become prevalent. Professor Allen's

insistence that there is a period of Latin poetry distinct in its character and spirit from that of the classical age, and that this is an important period for the history of modern literature, is an event of considerable importance. Moreover, he is a very lively debater, if not always an orderly one, and some of his chapters may be read with considerable delight by those who can relish a scholar's humor.

The translations are worth much more than the word I can give to them. The choice of English forms to convey the effect of the originals is very tactful and ingenious; and the theory of non-literal rendering, which the translator explains and defends in a preface, needs no other defense than the renderings themselves. They are surprisingly readable, and will often be quoted in days to come by historians-to-be.

MORRIS W. CROLL.

Princeton University.

The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama. By CHARLES READ BASKERVILL. The University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. x + 642. \$5.

In electing some fifteen years ago to break up some virgin soil and to discuss a series of allied subjects ranging over a wide stretch of time, the author of *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy* set himself a labor of Hercules out of which he now emerges with increased reputation. That enhancement, considerable as it is, would doubtless have been greater had his bulky book been in better focus. The misfortune is that, in his anxiety to exhaust all the possibilities, Professor Baskervill has encumbered his work with a mass of irrelevant detail which confuses the issue and prevents the reader from seeing the wood for trees. Excessive space is devoted to the discussion of old broadside ballads whose connexion with the main thesis is not so close as its elaborate treatment implies. But the sun is worshiped notwithstanding its spots, and when all is said that can be said to its detriment, the book will remain one that no student of bygone drama can safely ignore.

Professor Baskervill's main thesis is the origin, development and influence of the Elizabethan farce jig, but, owing to the fact that the word "jig" acquired by slow accretion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a multiplicity of meanings all of which have relationship with his leading subject, he has been compelled to throw out a very wide dragnet. For the cruder stage jig he rightly postulates a folk origin, but in maintaining the persistent influence of folk game and folk song-and-dance on the stage jig and in ignoring the other factors which contributed to its development, he gives a distorted view of the actualities and exceeds the warrant

of his data. This prepossession in favor of continuous folk influence becomes in time a sort of King Charles's head, and leads to a good deal of irrational conjecture.

The stage jig had a folk origin for the very good reason that primordially the word "jig" was applied to a certain kind of rapid, jerky dance, and a rural dance at that. Beyond doubt, the vocable was a doublet of "gig," indicative of a revolving movement, and the old dance that best responds to the clue is the "hot and hasty" Scottish jig, better known now as the Highland Fling. That would probably account for the numerous early references to "Northern Jigs." But, if we take that reading, the question that remains to be determined is how the Scottish national dance came to be incorporated with English folk-game, and how the word "jig" extended its significance, and came to be applied loosely to any kind of lively song-and-dance.

In early theatrical argot, the term jig acquired inflections of meaning differing from its popular significances, and it is painful to find that its tertiary stage meaning has escaped our author, to the raising of a false issue. The sort of jig that Ben Jonson is to be found sneering at from 1610 onwards (and Massinger later) was not the jig afterpiece, as Professor Baskervill supposes (p. 111) but a wholly new departure, otherwise the introducing of elaborate song and dance into tragedy and the higher drama generally. (For fuller details, see the paper on "The Mystery of Macbeth" in my *Shakespeare's Workshop*.) Put on the wrong track by this misinterpretation, Mr. Baskervill maintains that the jig afterpiece fell into contempt in theatrical circles early in the seventeenth century, a conclusion diametrically opposed to the facts. On that score, one important item of evidence has eluded him. Writing in his *Thermae Redivivae: the City of Bath Described* (London, 1673, p. 16) relative to "the appendix," Henry Chapman says, "without which a pamphlet nowadays finds as small acceptance as a comedy did formerly at the Fortune Playhouse without a jig of Andrew Kern's into the bargain." Andrew Cain, the clown (who surely inspired the term "merry andrew") was connected with the Fortune in 1622-1631, and again in 1640-1641. It needs to be pointed out, furthermore, that the Restoration dramatists used the term Jig in the Jonsonian-Massinger sense, a fact that gives the true gloss to Corey's reference in 1672 to "plot of gigg," quoted by Mr. Baskervill on p. 121, note 3, and there given an untenable reading.

Relative to my assertion of irrational conjecture on the subject of folk-game influence, a glaring instance occurs at p. 250, where a harmful interpretation is given of a passage from *The Taming of the Shrew*. How widely this is astray will become apparent to any scholar who refers to the convincing solution given by Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant in *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, pp.

156-59. Again, the Pyrrhic Dance was not a sword dance and had no connexion with the folk. It was a dance of knights in (imitation) armour—as in *Pericles*.

There are divers other points on which I should like to break a lance with Prof. Baskervill, if space permitted, but must needs content myself now with one. He is of the opinion (p. 136), that the maturer farce jig had infiltrations of prose speech, but this I believe to be wrong and based on fallacious evidence. Surely the prime distinction of the jig, as contrasted with plays, was that it had neither prose nor speech, it being written wholly in rhyme and sung to a variety of popular airs. The fact that a fragment of spoken dialogue occurs in a debased jig which has survived only in a Commonwealth text, and that other fragments are to be found in a few of the German singspiele, throws no light on the actual practice before the downfall of the theatres.

But there is an immensity of valuable detail in Prof. Baskervill's book, even after the dross has been discarded, and its last four chapters are of absorbing interest. Nothing could be better than the account given of the rise of the singspiel. And finally, scholarship is under a deep debt of gratitude to Prof. Baskervill for the excellent collection of English and foreign texts to which it is given ready access in the latter part of his book.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

Torquay, England

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, von WILHELM SCHERER—
OSKAR WALZEL. *Mit einer Bibliographie von Josef Körner*.
Vierte Auflage. Berlin, Askanischer Verlag, 1928. xvi,
942 pp.

The appearance of the fourth edition of Wilhelm Scherer's classical *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, supplemented like the third by Oskar F. Walzel's account of German literature since Goethe's death, and provided with Josef Körner's bibliography, which has been brought up to the very year of publication, 1928, is an event which should be welcomed by every student of German literature, be he professional or layman.

This is not the place for another eulogy, however well merited, of Wilhelm Scherer, who achieved so much in the brief span of forty-five years, and whom Friedrich Ramhorst, the promoter of the third edition, fittingly spoke of as "ein genialer Forscher von divinatorischer Begabung und nachschaffender Phantasie, ein Meister der schöngestigen Darstellung, ein begeisterter und begeisternder Lehrer und ein wahrhaft edler Mensch." Nor is it the

place to laud the comparatively brief but masterly excursus of Oskar F. Walzel on the literature since Goethe's death, once issued in book-form as *Deutsche Dichtung seit Goethes Tod*, then appended in a smaller mold to the third edition of Scherer, and now thoroughly revised for the new edition. In this new shape it comprises five clear, crisp chapters, viz. 1) Von der Julirevolution bis 1848, 2) Blütezeit des Realismus, 3) In der Frühzeit des neuen Reichs, 4) Vom Eindruck zum Ausdruck, 5) Nachkriegdichtung.

But the section of the new edition to which the scholar will inevitably turn first is the selective bibliography of Josef Körner of Prague. It is in every respect a remarkable piece of work. Comprising 170 pages of small but easily legible print, it consists of three parts. The first is a general section on bibliographies; histories of literature ranging from those of the broadest scope to the more specialized types; journals; collections like Kürschner, the *Neudrucke* and the *Literaturdenkmale*; folk-lore; and the science of literature. The other two sections, *Besonderer Teil* and *Anhang*, are concurrent with the text.

The selection of titles for a bibliography to cover the whole range of German literature, even if it runs to 170 pages (I judge that there are 10,000 titles), is a racking task, but Körner has exercised the nicest discrimination throughout. In this age of overproduction I should be at a loss to name a better bibliography of this kind to which to send a young student of German literature.

And so far as American scholars are concerned, it will be a source of gratification for them to find that the fruits of their scholarship are given full and due recognition. I find scarcely a page, especially in the portion dealing with more recent literature, which does not contain at least one American name.

There are two indices, one for the Scherer section, the other for Walzel's contribution. This I think is unfortunate, for it detracts from their usefulness. Why could they not be telescoped, since the work is now a unit?

The paper, press-work and general make-up of the volume are beyond reproach.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

University of Cincinnati.

Le Rêve hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens. Par FERNAND DESONAY. Paris, Champion, 1928. Pp. xxxii + 429.

That the Parnassians are rapidly coming into their own as subjects for scholarly investigation is evident from a perusal of M. Desonay's bulky tome, which, however, might more properly have been named: *le Rêve hellénique chez quelques poètes parnassiens*, since a little less than half of its 420 pages are devoted to Leconte

de Lisle, Banville is disposed of in a few paragraphs, and a number of lesser Parnassians—Dierx, Glatigny, Silvestre, Lafenestre, Mendès, Soulayr, Valade and Méral—are sketchily treated in less than three pages. The author declares, in an Avant-Propos, that the object of his researches was to study only one phase of Parnassian poetry, its Hellenic aspect, and he at once sets down his conclusions: first, that the Hellenism of Leconte de Lisle and Heredia is "superficielle en vérité, sous ses apparences érudites,"¹ that "l'hellénisme, le néo-hellénisme dans la littérature parnassienne est faux;"² and, second, that the Hellenism of Louis Ménard and Anatole France is far more genuine than that of the authors of *les Poèmes barbares* and *les Trophées*. The study consists of four chapters devoted to the four men just mentioned, one to a bird's-eye view of the history of Hellenism in France, one to "le Parnasse," and a brief concluding chapter. An excellent twenty-page bibliography and an index are also provided.

In the first chapter of what the author refers to as "cette modeste étude,"³ D. makes some strictures as to the supposed perfection of André Chénier's poetic form and its influence on Leconte de Lisle. He is not at all in sympathy with M. Kramer's attempt to find the source for virtually all of Leconte de Lisle's inspiration in the poetry of Chénier, a point with which the present reviewer is heartily in accord.⁴ D's chapter on Louis Ménard is a fine tribute to the intelligence, the erudition, and the poetic gifts of the man who had succeeded in penetrating the spirit of the Greeks so well that his comrades affectionately called him "Menardos." D. establishes to the point of virtual certainty the thoroughness of Ménard's understanding of Greek life and culture and the preponderant rôle he played in inclining Leconte de Lisle towards Hellenic antiquity.

With respect to the master of the Parnassians, D's object is to prove "que toutes ces évocations grecques procèdent avant tout, sinon uniquement, d'un besoin poétique d'exprimer en de beaux vers des spectacles de beauté."⁵ Filled with an "enthousiasme sacré pour la beauté,"⁶ Leconte de Lisle, from preference, chose Greek subjects as molds for his perfectly-formed poems; contrary to the general conception, he had very little genuine erudition, his backgrounds, his costumes, his descriptive details show only a scanty first-hand acquaintance with the civilization of Hellas; and his heaping-up of Greek names as well as his bizarre insistence on

¹ *Le Rêve hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens*, p. xxv.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁴ Vide Cornelis Kramer: *André Chénier et les Parnassiens: Leconte de Lisle* (Paris, Champion, 1925).

⁵ *Le Rêve hellénique*, p. 205.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

attempting to make their orthography conform as closely as possible to their originals are, for D., only a smoke-screen to blind the reader to the true paucity of the poet's learning. "Je ne puis m'empêcher de constater qu'il s'agit tout au plus d'une brillante façade destinée à masquer la pauvreté de l'édifice: la science n'est, pour Leconte de Lisle, que le moyen dont le but est l'art."⁷ In thus reducing all of Leconte de Lisle's art-striving to the aesthetic point of view,⁸ in limiting this point of view to "la contemplation intérieure de l'idéal grec qu'il portait en lui,"⁹ and in predicting that further study would prove that Leconte de Lisle not only was not a Greek, "il n'est pas davantage Hindou, ni Egyptien, ni Scandinave, ni Parisien non plus, mais rien qu'un créole, faiseur de beaux vers brûlés de soleil,"¹⁰ D. seems somewhat carried away by his eagerness to reduce a complex subject to a simple thesis; and the present reviewer inclines to the view that it is unfair to call Leconte de Lisle "rien qu'un créole."

Turning to Anatole France, "de nos poètes hellénisants, des Parnassiens le plus helléniste," D. demonstrates without much difficulty that the latter is animated by a far more genuinely "intelligent" Hellenism. Thus he finds especially in the quality of his inspiration, which, as manifested particularly in *les Noces corinthiennes*, distinguishes itself by "le sentiment religieux, la préoccupation du divin,"¹¹ despite the fact that France's philosophy of life is a "scepticisme volontiers négateur."¹² Along with Louis-Xavier de Ricard, D. cannot understand those who pass lightly over France's two volumes of verse as being unworthy of consideration, and expresses profound regret that he saw fit to abandon poetry as an art-medium. As for Heredia, whom D. considers only second to Leconte de Lisle as "le plus grand ouvrier qui soit du plus beau vers français, l'alexandrin classique,"¹³ he, too, like the creole of the île Bourbon, despite a lavish display of Greek nomenclature and mythology, has no real erudition, has nothing but "un vernis de science."¹⁴ Whatever credit he may deserve as master-sonneteer, as "peintre, roi des visuels,"¹⁵ as "imagier-enlumineur,"¹⁶ Heredia, "le représentant le plus complet de la génération parnassienne ainsi caractérisée, n'a eu garde d'abonder dans le sens de la véritable érudition,"¹⁷ a statement which D. establishes by almost the same arguments which he had used to demolish Leconte de Lisle's claims to profound learning.

The sum total of D.'s investigations is contained in one brief sentence: "Nous n'avons pas découvert le néo-hellénisme parnassien," for "le rêve hellénique chez les Parnassiens n'est qu'un bril-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Avant-Propos*, p. xxvi.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

lant météore."¹⁶ The entire study is based on the most solid documentation and careful examination of the texts of the poets discussed, yet it is written in an animated style, pleasing to read, and with a sound logical skill, which, despite an occasional show of pugnacity and an apparent fondness for paradoxes, almost always leaves the reader convinced. By his thorough knowledge of the poetry of the period from 1850 to 1880 as well as by his fund of information on the history, philosophy, and economics of the era, effectively set off by a thought-provoking style, D. has achieved an incisive criticism of the Hellenic phase of Parnassian poetry.

AARON SCHAFFER.

The University of Texas.

The Oxford Book of Regency Verse, 1798-1837. Chosen by H. S. MILFORD. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 888. \$3.75.

It was not an easy matter to select the material for this anthology and, while improvements could unquestionably be made, it is doubtful if within the limits set any one else could have made a better choice. The difficulty is illustrated in the title, which Mr. Milford himself finds "unsatisfactory." Would not the usual term "Romantic" with all its limitations have been better, inasmuch as the explanatory dates "1798-1837" follow? Several more extensive selections from the same field have been issued for the use of American college classes but, although students will generally prefer them, they are much bulkier and less attractive and none covers the minor figures so well as this Oxford Book. Eighty-five poets are represented and two-fifths of the space is given to seventy-four less-known writers, some of them quite forgotten. Particular attention is called to Hood and Darley as "names which have hardly yet received their proper honour."

The plan of the series to give only pieces written between certain years has the obvious disadvantage of excluding the early and late work of Wordsworth and Landor and of including only the first productions of Tennyson and Browning. Furthermore, the reader is likely to forget that there is a good deal of Blake, some Crabbe, Rogers, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey in the earlier volume and that Hunt's "Jenny Kissed Me" was published in 1838. Yet the plan has the real merit of helping to break down the barriers which have made the ever-changing stream of literature appear to be a series of lakes connected by a creek. One may, for

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

example, learn something from the present volume about the transition, so strangely ignored, from "Regency" to Victorian poetry.

Wordsworth has the most space (103 pages), then Byron (80 pages), Shelley (72 pages), and Keats (62 pages). Byron's "Ave Maria" from *Don Juan* is omitted as is his "On this Day I complete" but 12 pages are given over to "At the Gate of Heaven" (which proves to be *The Vision of Judgment*) and Southey has 22 pages! Shelley's "To the Nile" is included but not "Ozymandias," or "Madonna, wherefore hast thou sent," or "Far, Far, away," or "Euganean Hills," or "The Sensitive Plant" or *Alastor*. Yet the volume has the great merit of being really fresh and unhackneyed and of paying due heed to longer poems, even *The Excursion*, *The Recluse*, and *The Fall of Hyperion*. Unfortunately there is no index of titles or of the selections from each writer.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS.

Mittelalter und Antike bei Wilham Morris. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Mediaevalismus in England, von ELISABET C. KUSTER. Berlin und Leipzig, 1928. Pp. iv + 239.

The subtle and delicate problem which this book sets for itself is the analysis of Morris's medievalism and its effect upon his mind and upon his classical materials in the three earliest volumes of his poetry. Since Morris's medievalism is probably his most salient characteristic as a poet, this book is of first importance to the student of Morris and of medievalism in the nineteenth century. In the large clarity of its plan, and in its ability to fit small, well-chosen details into the larger development of the theme, the book is admirable.

Fraulein Küster treads the familiar ground of Morris's youth—his reading of Chaucer, Malory, Froissart, Scott, Keats, Ruskin, his preoccupation with Gothic architecture, his discipleship under Rossetti in the arts of painting and poetry—to show that, as he himself said, he was "simply steeped in medievalism." He thought in terms of medieval tapestries; "thought is a color, anguish a painted problem." Only in religion and psychology was he not medieval. He was pagan and modern. The coming of Christianity to England does not compensate for "the loss of the stories I might have had of how the folk of Middlesex ate and drank and loved and quarrelled and met their death in the tenth century." Practically, as Fraulein Küster is careful to show, Morris believed that we should study the middle ages, but not in order to revive or imitate them. The methods of the medieval masters must be adapted to uses of the modern world. Nevertheless, his studies left Morris's mind full of medieval images.

Morris had a simple and characteristic *recipe*, for writing poetry: "Read it through and then shut the book and write it out again as a new story for yourself." In the *Defence of Guenevere* this method of writing produces no problem, for the prevailing medievalism of Morris's mind is at ease in a medieval subject, and we get Froissart and Malory animated by the method and psychology of Rossetti and Browning. But in the *Scenes from the Fall of Troy* Morris encounters a classical subject. Yet the Greek element is hardly observable, for Morris found what he sought in Lydgate's *Troy-Book*, Caxton's *Recuyell of Histories of Troy* ("a piece of undiluted medievalism"), the legends of Benoît de Sainte-More and Guido delle Colonne, and above all in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. He retold the tales in the dramatic and emotional manner of his own times.

The *Life and Death of Jason* Fraulein Kuster finds to be the least medieval of Morris's poems. Probably Lydgate's account led him to deal with the story, and indeed the foreground is full of medieval properties. Colchis, like Troy, is a medieval city with great swinging bells, spires and weather-vanes; it is a medieval fortress, garrisoned by medieval knights in armor, with medieval ladies watching from the walls. But the background, the landscape, the gods are all Greek; and one encounters everywhere such classical epithets upon the sea as "the bitter trackless sea," and "the restless plain, Unharvested of any." The intense emotional quality of the earlier poems is gone. One wishes that the study could have included the *Earthly Paradise*, where the medieval and classical are placed in juxtaposition, in order that we might know whether it is the Greek subject alone which robs Morris of his emotional intensity.

Fraulein Kuster goes much more deeply than other critics have done into the history, analysis, and aesthetic estimate of the influence of the middle ages. The English or American reader will find her chapter upon the history of medievalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the least valuable, and will mark many typographical errors; but these are easily pardoned in the light of her original and valuable conclusions.

WILLIAM CLYDE DEVANE.

Yale University.

Johnsonian Gleanings, Part V, The Doctor's Life, 1728-1735. By ALEYN LYELL READE. Privately printed for the Author, London, 1928.

This is the fifth instalment of Mr. Reade's commentary on the early life of Samuel Johnson. As the publication of his studies

proceeds, the ambitious nature of the author's undertaking becomes apparent. It is nothing less than a rewriting of the biography of Johnson, based on examination of all the documents that survive. The laborious and meticulous care with which this work is done fully justifies Mr. Reade's ambition. Only a careful student of the volumes can realize how much new information—information of no mean importance—they contain.

The first four chapters deal with Johnson's residence at Oxford, as a student in Pembroke College. It is now proved, beyond all doubt, that his residence there terminated about the middle of December, 1729, and that he never returned as a student. His entire sojourn had lasted a little over thirteen months. This Croker opined many decades ago; but, Boswell's firm belief that Johnson's residence ended only in October, 1731, has made later critics very chary of accepting it whole-heartedly. Now the early departure is definitely proved from the 'buttery books' of Pembroke College. These are records of charges made against the students for board and incidental expenses, as well as fines for non-residence and the like. Mr. Reade is able to show that the later charges against Johnson are for non-attendance and not for commons and incidental expenses. The latter end on December 12th, 1729. The matter is now settled once for all.

The significance of Johnson's brief career at Oxford, the light that it throws on the way in which his learning must have been acquired, and the essential irregularity of his studies, will not be missed. Moreover, it is now definitely established that the cause of his departure was melancholia, not poverty. Poor he undoubtedly was, but not so impecunious as to be obliged to leave. This explanation was, it appears, carefully kept from Boswell. Its nature, which Johnson once revealed to Dr. Swinfen, is not, properly enough, investigated by Mr. Reade.

C. B. TINKER.

Yale University.

The Complete Works of John Webster. Edited by F. L. LUCAS. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928. 4 vols., pp. xvii + 288, vi + 372, vi + 339, vii + 274. \$25.

"Webster's plays stand in urgent need of re-editing." Thus Dr. Greg in the *Modern Language Quarterly* for December, 1900. In presenting us with the first "complete" edition in seventy years Mr. Lucas meets one of the long-standing needs of seventeenth-century scholarship. On the whole, this is a satisfying edition. Special students will wish that in certain details more consideration had been shown for their convenience, but most of them will

cheerfully acquiesce in a handling of these plays designed to "get them enjoyed" by the general lover of first-rate drama. It is a tribute to the editor's sincerity and skill that as one closes his book one's dominant conviction is of Webster's greatness.

That this rests almost wholly on two plays is doubtless regrettable: had we been master of all the revels we would have ordered the Elizabethan drama differently, abbreviating Fletcher's copious production by pouring some of his fertility (though not of his facility) into Webster's mould. But the great thing is that *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* do support their author's right to stand nearest Shakespeare among those Elizabethans who specialized in the drama of passion. A Tussaud laureate? If Webster is that, so is Shakespeare. It is a fatuous taste that professes to relish the peculiarly Elizabethan in the man from Stratford, and to abhor it in the other men. Webster has suffered from this sort of criticism, as well as from the opposite kind. In none of his chambers of horrors, however macabre and indeed Websterian, would the pulses of Titus or Cornwall or even Hamlet have failed temperately to keep time. Nor, on the other hand, did Webster cunningly incorporate overtures to a squeamish posterity by walking more sedately than his colleagues amongst manifold temptations to play naughty tricks of word-jugglery. In his twilight it is often hard to follow the airy tossing of double, triple, and even quadruple entendres, but Mr. Lucas explains enough of them to dispose permanently of the notion that Webster is unusually (and unaccountably) pure. Nahum Tate did not think so, as is attested by the number of bawdy lines he leaves out of *Injured Love*, his adaptation of *The White Devil*.

In his critical remarks, Mr. Lucas takes uncompromisingly the only sound position for Webster, the historical one. His General Introduction is a capital refutation of Archer's attack, and one of the best short expositions of the Elizabethan methods and the attitude the modern student must adopt. Besides his critical soundness and his frankness in annotation, the editor's scrupulous acknowledgments to his predecessors and his general vivacity call for special commendation. Even his commentary is full of amusing reading.

In trying to satisfy the general reader without neglecting the scholar, Mr. Lucas occasionally falls between stools. His page does not succeed in giving an unblurred picture of the old text, nor is it so free from difficulties, especially of punctuation, that the layman will always find the going smooth. In general, the treatment of the text is properly conservative. In refreshing contrast to the methods of several recent editors of Elizabethan plays, fanciful descriptions of scenes (so often unlocalized by the dramatist) are excluded and even derided, Mr. Lucas contenting himself with concise directions warranted by the text itself, and with notes sug-

gesting where on the original stage the action probably took place. "Complete Works" is somewhat misleading, since several plays are not reprinted which Webster had at least a finger in. Mr. Lucas proposes that a play by several collaborators should appear only in editions of the chief contributor, a principle open for obvious reasons to serious question. *Anything for a Quiet Life* and *The Fair Maid of the Inn* are nevertheless included as well as Webster's three "own" plays, the non-dramatic works, and *Appius and Virginia* and *A Cure for a Cuckold*.

These works appear to be printed with a very high degree of accuracy, though it is a pity that Mr. Lucas did not think it worth while to collate more editions, independently of Professor Sampson. Anyone who takes the trouble to produce a full-length edition of a major Elizabethan dramatist ought to take the slight additional trouble of making it a variorum. A hasty collation of Mr. Lucas's text of *The White Devil* with the Harvard copy of Q 1612 (which at all points where the editor cites variations agrees with the Garrick and not the Dyce copy) revealed only the following discrepancies, some of which may of course be due to individual variants. I, ii, 271, Q misprints: "fte[qu]ently"; III, I, s. D. after l. 66, Q: "French Embassadours"; III, ii, 1, Q: "assing'd", III, ii, 143, Q: "at"; IV, i, 135, Q: "shallow"; IV, i, 143, Q: "Superos"; V, i, 161, Q: "sattin," not "fattin"; V, iii, 241, Q: "to it" for "to t"; V, vi, 32, Q: "thee"; V, vi, 301, Q: "what."

I append some casual notes, chiefly exegetical, on the same play. I, ii, 54: Since the editor chastely but flatly annotates improper passages, the pun here may be noticed. See the emphasis capital and compare a well-known anecdote of John Downes's. I, ii, 178: "say you shall be sure of me." There can be little doubt that Webster intended so. The correction is made in Tate's *Injured Love*.

II, I, 90-98: The sense seems to be that Brachiano's irregularities, to which are now due his absences from home, will eventually induce venereal disease, which will lay him up at home. "A meere tale of a tub" doubtless refers to the "powdering tub of infamy," and the application of his figurative language is given by Francisco in l. 98: "When Stagges grow melancholike you'll finde the season." "Season" seems to glance at the tub, as well as to mean "the proper season [to understand what I have just said]." A later allusion (II, i, 321-324) to the weeping stag also furnishes a clue to Fra.'s meaning here. Camillo is describing the "Embleme":

Here is a Stag my Lord hath shed his hornes,
And for the losse of them the poore beast weepes—
The word, *Inopem me copia fecit*.

Monticelsso glosses: "That is. / Plenty of hornes hath made him poore of hornes," which to Mr. Lucas "remains obscure." But the

horns in both passages seem only in part allusive to cuckoldry—we are dealing here, if I read aright, with *triple* entendres. (Cf. Farmer and Henley, *Slang and its Analogues*, III, 351.) Certainly Mr. Lucas is right in rejecting Professor Sampson's citation of *As You Like It*, II, I, 33-43, but I think he is wrong in concluding that the tag from Ovid "is not conspicuously apposite." If "horns" carries this third meaning, nothing could be more so, and both passages become perfectly clear. In I. 98 Fra. is warning his brother-in-law against the consequences of his practices, and Mont.'s point in I. 324 seems to be, not cuckoldry, but impotence. Though his next speech (II. 325-326) is on cuckoldry, that state has in Camillo's case come about through the other, as Fra.'s next speech hints. Cam. is unmistakably first presented (by Flamineo, I, II, 26-32) as impotent on account of previous excesses. Perhaps Cam.'s remark (I, II, 88) suggests that impotence is his plight, rather than the cuckoldry of Fla.'s jokes. If so, the line is dramatically ironical, since Fla. has already shown us that he knows the truth. If my interpretation is the right one, "these [horns]" in II, I, 359, also carries a triple meaning.

II, I, 122: A better proof that "danske" = "Danish," not "of Dantzic," than Denmark's being "a great place for drums," is Polonius's "Inquire me first what Danskers are in Paris," where the whole point of this assay of bias depends on Reynaldo's gossiping with Laertes's compatriots. II, I, 164: Despite the "Italian Plague" of *A Cure*, V, I, 259, it hardly seems necessary to suppose "Italian" a case of personification. Probably merely the language is meant: "Jealousy! I have yet to learn the meaning of that word in our language!" This is a touch of local color, and if personified would be incongruous in the mouth of an Italian speaker. II, I, 183-184: *Undoubtedly* the corpulence of the historical Bracciano is transferred to Fra. One would like to know whether Webster chose to ignore history and make his lover more attractive, or was thinking of the figure of one of the Queen's Men, or made the change simply for the sake of Brachiano's sneer. But while Webster's motive is uncertain, we can be sure that in making this change he forgot Fra.'s appearance in Act V, where no reference is made to the Moor's corpulence; this certainly renders his disguise less plausible. III, I, 23: "catch conyes" is explained as "cheat," and reference is made to the alleged simplicity of the cony. This is a good example of Webster's talent for word-play: it is actually a *quadruple* entendre! The literal meaning carries on the Lawyer's assertion that the Cardinal "will ferit them," and the cited meaning is also glanced at. In addition "conyes" here carries its frequent meaning of "sweethearts," and probably an indecent derivation from this third meaning is also intended. See *N.E.D.* III, II, 285: Mr. Lucas rejects the parallel with Tourneur and proposes another, with Chapman, as an aid in dating the play. But he ignores Professor Stoll's retraction and Professor Kitt-

redge's opinion that Vittoria's cry (cf. "A rescue!") is taken from life. (Stoll, *Webster*, "Errata and Addenda," p. 215.)

v, i, 180-181: I am sceptical of indecorum here. Mr. Lucas follows *N.E.D.* in defining "bedstaffe" as one of the staves laid across the bedstocks to support the bedding (in which case it would be inconvenient to come at for a weapon) and also as a staff used in making the bed, especially when the latter stood in a recess. Dr. Johnson defines it as "a wooden pin stuck anciently on the sides of the bedstead, to hold the clothes from slipping on either side." "For this," says *N. E. D.*, "no authority is given, and no corroborative evidence has been found." The passage before us appears to corroborate it. The maids dare not use the pin to keep the bedclothes on, lest their mistress snatch it up and beat them with it. So, according to Zanche, the clothes slide off, and the girls catch cold. v, iii, 239: Though I can cite no parallel, I suspect a double meaning in "Irish mantle" here and in ll. 244-247. Cf. the jocose compounds with "Scotch" so numerous in the vulgar tongue today, and a long list with "Irish" in Farmer and Henley. v, iii, 246: This speech belongs of course to "[Fra.]," not to "Fla.," who has left the stage at l. 215. Q 1612 reads "Fla.," an easy mistake, since some of Fra.'s speeches are tagged "Flo.," i. e., Florence.

An odd slip in the preface locates the Leland Stanforn in "Columbia, U. S. A."

HAZELTON SPENCER.

Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie A, No. ix), by MAGNUS OLSEN. Pp. xvi + 349. Oslo, 1928.

This volume is a translation (done by Th. Gleditsch) of Professor Olsen's "*Ættegård og helligdom*," printed as No. ixa of the same series. It bears the subtitle, "The place-names of a country discussed in their bearings on social and religious history." The preface of the work is, in effect, a plea for the prosecution of place-name studies. The author says, very justly, that "comparative place-name studies are in reality comparative research into the civilizations of the world. It is therefore of the greatest importance that place-name studies should be organized internationally." The work itself is a valuable contribution to the history and the pre-history of Norway, and, as such, it sheds light on Germanic civilization generally. In his first chapter Mr. Olsen clears the ground, distinguishing between place-names that are historically significant and those that are not; moreover, he makes an important distinction between names bestowed by travelers and names bestowed locally. In the chapters that follow, Mr. Olsen takes up various types of names and determines their age and their

social rank. In so doing he gives us, in effect, a history of the prehistoric and early historic settlement and growth of Norway. Of particular interest to Anglists and Germanists generally are his conclusions about certain heathen cults. Thus, he shows that *horg* was associated primarily (if not exclusively) with the worship of Freyr (= OE. Ing). In this connection I may point out that the Danes in *Beowulf* are called Ing-wine and their place of worship is referred to as a "hærg-træf" (v. 175). Again, Mr. Olsen makes it clear that the god Váli has a peculiarly old and intimate relation to Óðinn, and from this we may conclude with confidence that he belongs among the Æsir, like his father, and is out of place among the Vanir. From this fact it follows that his name cannot be derived from an earlier "Vanila or the like, as Sievers derives it (PBB. XVIII, 583). My own etymology of Váli (printed in *Hamlet* I, 169 f.), which connects the name with the verb *vála* 'wail,' seems to be the only reasonable explanation of the name. Baldr's bewailer, or mourner, must in the nature of the case be his avenger too, and vengeance, as Mr. Olsen points out, is Váli's sole function. The translation is accurate but at times heavy and unidiomatic.

KEMP MALONE.

André Marvell, poète, puritain, patriote, 1621-1678. By PIERRE LEGOUIS. Paris and New York, Henri Didier and Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1928. Pp. xii + 514. \$6.00.

Donne the Craftsman. An essay upon the structure of the Songs and Sonets. By PIERRE LEGOUIS. The same. Pp. 102. \$1.25.

Recent articles by M. Pierre Legouis, as well as the expression of indebtedness to him by Professor Margoliouth in his recent editions of Marvell's *Poems* and *Letters* (1927), have heralded this elaborate biographical and critical study of Marvell. M. Legouis has in turn profited from the work of Mr. Margoliouth; and the result of this splendid coöperation has been to add greatly to the value and authority of the work of each. The student of the seventeenth century will find in their three volumes a complete guide to the scholarship, old and new, on Marvell.

The study by Legouis is of the type established by French tradition, a comprehensive treatment, the mature product of many years of reading and research, aiming at exhaustiveness and balance. It is impossible in a review to indicate the wealth of material in such a work. Every aspect of Marvell's life and

writing is discussed, from the location of his London lodgings to the peculiarities of his vocabulary, in the study of which M. Legouis finds some interesting short-comings of the *N.E.D.* In spite of these vast collections of material, however, the figure of Marvell is not modified greatly from that of more recent tradition, as M. Legouis himself points out (p. 444). And Mary Marvell, the mysterious widow, remains as mysterious as ever. As for problems of the higher order, such as the personality, the literary character, and the religious nature of Marvell, M. Legouis repeatedly insists on the complex and even contradictory elements that make up the whole man. In his painstaking examination of them he has shown a commendable reluctance to force facts to a conclusion, even though his presentation has thereby lost somewhat in vividness. But if any future critic succeeds by divination in presenting a complete and coherent explanation of Marvell, it will be to a great extent due to M. Legouis' book.

In his secondary thesis M. Legouis protests against the appreciation of Donne which "makes him a sort of romantic genius, uncouth and unkempt, who cared nothing for the form of poetry so long as he could unlock his heart with the key, not of the regular sonnet, but of the irregular lyric" (p. 11). No doubt he is in the main correct, and the emphasis he places on Donne as a craftsman in verse is valuable. Particularly interesting is his study of Donne's use of stanzaic form. He is on more debatable ground when he tries to find in Donne's lyrics an anticipation of the dramatic monologue. He thus interprets *The Extasie* as the poet speaking to a real woman instead of to the reader; for instance, he thinks that at line 34 Donne "knows the woman has been out of her intellectual depth for some time," and at the end of the poem he asks, "Is the woman so dazed that she should fail to suspect triumphant cynicism in that conclusion?" (See pp. 66 and 68). By this kind of psychologizing M. Legouis reduces the poem to an exercise in seduction by the process of talking about things the woman does not understand! It is perhaps because he presses too far the dramatic nature of Donne's lyrics, that M. Legouis dismisses too curtly the philosophical element in them, both libertine and idealistic.

Regrettably, this brochure on Donne is disfigured by an excessive number of mis-prints.

LOUIS I. BREEDVOLD.

University of Michigan.

Charles de Coster. By JOSEPH HANSE. Palais des Académies. Bruxelles. 1928. Frs. 30.

The grand master of contemporary Belgian literature is here presented in a monograph which promises to be definitive. Submitted

as a doctoral dissertation to the University of Louvain in 1925, crowned by the Royal Belgian Academy in 1927 and published late in 1928, it contains the fruit of six years' research. The centennial celebration of 1927 put at the author's disposal new material which he has carefully sifted, and little of significance is left for future gleaners. The work is executed in the best traditions of French scholarship, combining thoroughness with consideration for the reader's convenience. It may serve as an introduction to the little-explored domain of modern Belgian letters. The opening chapter treats of the personality and environment of De Coster; the second passes in review his fugitive works—manuscript or published in forgotten journals—and then examines in some detail the secondary volumes. The remaining two-thirds of the book offer a masterly study of the *Légende d'Ulenspiegel* in all its aspects. M. Hanse's main effort is to demonstrate the essential unity of the legend, often attacked by earlier critics. He reveals the skill of his author in welding together the multifarious sources—rather legendary and historical than purely literary—into a psychologically and artistically harmonious whole. He has justified his conclusion: "Si le récit semble s'éparpiller en mille épisodes, ceux-ci se rattachent clairement à une seule action." M. H. too has cunningly wrought his book. Thus a technical discussion of De Coster's language leads to the influence upon him of painters—a trait which he shared with subsequent Belgian writers. My own study of Belgian fiction led me to the belief that a knowledge of it is essential to a thorough understanding of Verhaeren. M. H. confirms my theory by his concluding paragraph:

Par son œuvre où s'exprime *Toute la Flandre*, surtout la Flandre sensuelle, vorace, révoltée, De Coster a révélé au monde, en les accroissant, les richesses de l'âme flamande; il a préparé les voies où un Verhaeren et tant d'autres devaient marcher à pas sonores.¹

BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE.

Reed College.

La Légende de la Sacristine. Par ROBERT GUIETTE. Paris: Champion, 1927. 554 pages. Bibl. de la *RLC*.

Travail énorme, surtout d'érudition, d'un auteur belge, élève de M. Bayot, érudit belge aussi. S'inspire de la méthode si intelligente de Bédier (*Fabliaux*); mais manque du génie littéraire de ce maître.

La légende de la sacristine n'est pas une des plus anciennes, puisque les premières versions (latines, françaises ou néerlandaises)

¹ For this volume, address the author at 12 Place de L'Esplanade, Alost, Belgique. MM. Hanse and Koninckx will publish shortly, in a limited edition, a bibliography of Charles De Coster. For it address La Renaissance d'Occident, 32 Avenue des Ombrages, Bruxelles. Frs. 40.

ne remontent pas au-delà du premier quart ou milieu du XIII^e siècle; mais c'est une des plus répandues. M. Guette donne d'amples détails bibliographiques pour environ 200 textes en toutes les langues d'Europe à peu près, et même en langues orientales; et il descend jusqu'au *Miracle*, la pièce à grand spectacle montée par Max Reinhardt au Century Theater de New-York en 1924 (à laquelle il attribue une importance peut-être exagérée). Il y a aussi une section spéciale où sont examinés des "thèmes secondaires," et une autre pour des "Versions composites." Rarement l'auteur se trouve dans la nécessité de parler sans avoir étudié les textes mêmes: il semble familier avec bien des langues. En somme, de cette abondance du moyen-âge à nos jours, il convient de retenir seulement un nombre assez restreint de traitements: celui du *Dialogus Miraculorum*, de Césaire d'Heisterbach (la plus ancienne version latine, vers 1225); Gautier de Coincy; Mielot (15^e siècle); la *Beatrijs* (anonyme néerlandaise, 14^e siècle); Lope de Vega (1610); Nodier (1837); Gottfried Keller (1872); Villiers de l'Isle Adam (1888); Davidson (1904?); Maeterlinck (1901); et, nous assure-t-on, Teirlinck (1923).

Les variations sont naturellement innombrables—et le plus souvent sans importance du reste; et l'histoire est présentée tantôt comme *exemplum* ou en simple résumé, tantôt comme miracle, tantôt comme récit en prose ou en vers . . . même comme pantomime, ou en film; parfois le lieu est anonyme, parfois indiqué (à Vienne, à Cologne, Fontevrault, etc.); souvent il s'agit simplement d'une nonne, parfois il y des noms (Beatrice, Marguerite, Claire, Natalie, Claudie . . .); elle est sacristine, ou portière, ou cellérier, ou trésorière, ou grande dame; elle est absente du couvent, un an, sept ans, quinze ans; elle a même des enfants; le miracle est attribué une fois à Sainte Catherine; etc. etc. Les interprétations aussi sont variées; il en est de purement catholiques, d'ironiques, d'esthétiques; Gottfried Keller s'en sert pour glorifier la maternité, et Davidson pour attaquer la virginité.

La première partie est principalement objective; l'auteur ajoute rarement des commentaires. La Seconde partie au contraire apporte un long commentaire personnel; c'est la plus faible, ne révélant aucune originalité, et prolixe et pleine de redites. Tant de choses paraissent inutiles à dire; on comprend sans aide la valeur morale de la légende pour beaucoup d'esprits du moyen âge, et aussi pour qui cherche malice, qu'il est facile de se servir de cette histoire pour ridiculiser l'adoration de la Vierge. Quant aux légendes apparentées, comme celle du Sacristain et de la femme du chevalier, il suffisait de l'indiquer. Bref si le travail d'érudition de cette légende peut être considéré comme accompli, pour longtemps en tous cas, le travail littéraire proprement dit, ou si l'on veut le travail d'interprétation souffrirait un nouveau traitement.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

University of Pennsylvania.

Samuel Butler, Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose. Edited by RENÉ LAMAR. Cambridge University Press, 1928. Pp. xxi + 504.

Mr. Lamar's collection of Butler's satires and miscellaneous poetry and prose completes the three volume edition of the text of Butler in the Cambridge English Classics. The first volume (1905) supplies us with A. R. Waller's edition of *Hudibras*; the second (1908), also edited by Waller, supplies the "Characters" and passages from Butler's note-books; the third contains, we are told, all Butler's writings not included in the late A. R. Waller's earlier volumes.

To estimate the value of Mr. Lamar's collection we must consider two questions: (1) of what significance is the hitherto unpublished material here presented us from the Butler MSS. in the British Museum?; and (2), does the editing render the volume serviceable to modern criticism?

One's answer to the first question must be based largely upon an examination of the material included under the heading "Poetical Thesaurus" (pp. 153-294) and in the Appendix (pp. 399-465). This is so because the rest of the volume, save for two minor pieces, is a reprinting or re-editing of pieces already published. The "Poetical Thesaurus" is highly interesting. Most of it is fresh from the Butler MSS., and, consisting as it does of snatches of verses upon all manner of topics, it gives us a more extensive view of Butler's intellectual preoccupations, of his magnificently firm judgments, of his intense antipathies. The material contained in the Appendix is no less interesting. Here one finds over fifty pages of fragmentary verses for which the editor could find no convenient place in the "Poetical Thesaurus," over ten pages of various readings of, and additions to *Hudibras*, and a letter of Butler's to his sister on the education of her son. But though this entire body of fresh material is interesting by reason of the more extended view of Butler which it gives, there is disappointingly little here to afford a deeper insight into the satirist.

Does the editing of this third volume render it serviceable to modern criticism? Mr. W. W. Greg, in a letter printed August 23, 1928, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, called attention to several deficiencies in the editing. The order of the fragmentary verses as printed in the volume departs from the order in the MS.; since references to the folios are not supplied by the editor, it is difficult to check the printed version with the original. Mr. Greg, for one, has failed to find in the volume several passages contained in the MS. Furthermore, it seems that the printed text is some times incorrect in its readings.

RICARDO QUINTANA.

University of Wisconsin.

BRIEF MENTION

The Versification of Robert Browning. By HARLAN HENTHORNE HATCHER. Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1928. 195 pp. This is a plain and competent account of Browning's prosody, not overmuch burdened with theory and not too much given to mere statistics. "The principles of [Browning's] versification can best be stated," says Dr. Hatcher, "in terms of the syllabic structure of the measures"; or in other words by noting the typical variations of the metrical pattern and their frequency. Of course Browning was often as wilful in his use of meter as in his use of language; the two go together; and nothing startling transpires from a close examination of the metrical details. (Browning's frequently violent ways have, however, so affected Dr. Hatcher that he can say, p. 58, that "there is nothing very exciting about Milton's prosody.") Most valuable are the first three or four chapters on blank verse; most disappointing is that on "Browning's Ear and Sense of Pattern," which ought to have been a well-rounded summary of the whole subject.

P. F. BAUM.

English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey: Being Examples of Conventional Secular Poetry, Exclusive of Romance, Ballad, Epic, and Drama, in the Period from Henry the Fourth to Henry the Eighth. By ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND. Durham, North Carolina; Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. xii + 591. Scholars and advanced students will be grateful for Miss Hammond's valuable introductions to the various selections with their analysis of manuscript and textual relations, their condensed presentation of historical and literary backgrounds, and their admirable critical bibliographies. These introductions are supplemented by 148 pages of notes well selected, packed with information, and thus, indispensable to the student. The studies of Hoccleve, of Lydgate, including the *Dance Macabre*, of religious parody, of Charles d'Orléans, of Barclay, and of Skelton are notable contributions to scholarship. The reader will make a mistake if he supposes that these introductions may be studied separately. Through them all runs incisive comment on verse and its form and on literary relations which not only adds material to the other studies of the book but gives wisdom to the student of Chaucer, or Shakespeare, or Swift, or the moderns.

In the General Introduction, Miss Hammond, accepting the challenge of her voluminous materials, has sought to evaluate and explain English Literature in the fifteenth century. She considers

this century not as an outgrowth of the fourteenth nor as a period of developing maturities in preparation for the Elizabethan Age, but as a peculiar literature produced by peculiar social and economic conditions. Her study is especially valuable for its analysis of verse forms, of educational opportunities, and of the balance between individual assertion and conservative acceptance needed to produce great literature.

D. D. GRIFFITH.

Dryden und die römische Kirche. By B. JOSEF WILD. Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1928. Pp. ix + 90. Freiburg dissertation. One result of the curious neglect of Dryden by modern scholarship is that we still await a really searching psychological and historical study of his religious opinions and their expression in his poetry. Such a study, if it were competently done, would disentangle the complex forces, intellectual as well as political, that were working in Dryden's mind after 1680 to the ultimate advantage of Rome and trace each of them to its sources in the poet's environment, and with a similar combination of precision and breadth of view it would examine the various manifestations of his religious feeling after his conversion and seek to relate them to the currents of English Catholic thought and politics during the reigns of James and William.¹ It would be, in short, though on a smaller scale, a study similar in spirit and method to the brilliant *Religion de J.-J. Rousseau* of the late Pierre Maurice Masson.

Dr. Wild, it need hardly be said, has not attempted anything so elaborate as this. What he gives us in the three chapters of his dissertation is for the most part merely a painstaking and orderly résumé of those things that any intelligent student could learn about Dryden's religious history by reading his works and the writings of his biographers and critics. Of independent research into the origins of the ideas expressed in the *Religio Laici* and *The Hind and the Panther* he has done very little; his remarks on Dryden's "skepticism," for example, merely echo the somewhat confused interpretations of Malone and Scott (see pp. 14-15, 53-59). On the whole he is at his best in dealing with the period after the conversion, but even here the reader will find comparatively little that was not already familiar to him in the standard works on the subject.

R. S. CRANE.

¹ For the beginnings of what promises to be a very important investigation of Dryden's religious poems see Louis I. Bredvold's "Dryden, Hobbes, and the Royal Society," *Modern Philology*, xxv (1928), 417-38.

Nature and the Country in English Poetry of the first Half of the Eighteenth Century. By C. E. DE HAAS. Amsterdam, 1928. Pp. 301. The title of this book immediately raises a question. What more is to be said on a subject so frequently treated already—in the general histories, in the various works on romanticism, in Myra Reynolds's *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*? Undoubtedly there is much additional material to be had, not a little of it to be found in articles scattered here and there, which might very profitably be brought together and combined with the well-known facts into a useful synthesis. The author of such a work would take into account also the results of special studies demonstrating that the poet's treatment of nature during this period profited by borrowings from various branches of learning and art in addition to belletristic literature. Obviously Dr. de Haas was contented with a less ambitious design. In the light of his own Bibliography, it is somewhat surprising to find him open his first chapter by challenging the statement made by Sir Edmund Gosse in 1889, that Thomson was the first poet of his century to show signs of a return to nature. Argument is no longer needed to expose the unsoundness of a view which has long since been discredited. Evidence to the contrary has been presented by various scholars and it is more abundant than we should suppose from this new study by Dr. de Haas. To cite only one instance, there is Professor Havens's article, "Romantic Aspects of the Age of Pope" (*PMLA.*, xx, 1912). Numerous cases of the kind might be noted to show that the author omitted (probably from choice) detailed information the use of which would have greatly enhanced the value of his work. He has chosen for discussion twenty-one poets in the period between 1700 and 1751. He has gone through their poems conscientiously, line by line, noting manifestations of an interest in nature and quoting with great discrimination. The contribution he makes to our previous knowledge of the subject consists largely in some additional information supplied in connection with the writers to whom he has, more or less arbitrarily, confined this examination.

C. A. MOORE.

Selections from Alexander Pope, by GEORGE SHERBURN (New York, Thomas Nelson, 1929. Pp. xli + 467), offers for a modest price the greater part of Pope's original poetry carefully edited by one of the chief authorities on the subject. Professor Sherburn writes unpretentiously and interestingly without any parade of learning,—his annotated bibliography, for example, is meant for use, not show. The notes on particular passages are few but the discussions of the several poems are full and discriminating and

contain authoritative accounts of matters often complicated and obscure. A fresh, illuminating, if somewhat too favorable discussion of Pope's life and character and of the various phases of his art is given in the meaty Introduction.

R. D. H.

The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset. By JOHN ARCHER GEE. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1928. Pp. 357. Thomas Lupset was a disciple of Colet, corresponded with Erasmus, and helped Linacre introduce ancient medical science to England. For these reasons his career is of interest to students of English humanism, and Mr. Gee supplies us with an account of the man and his relations to his contemporaries. Besides the biography the book contains critical texts of Lupset's rather slender writings—his tracts and letters. These works are of no great importance; they are mainly medieval in point of view, and one looks in vain for evidence of the new intellectual curiosity that marked the greater men of the time. Lupset shows an interest in the classical philosophers, and there is a quite evident Stoic element in his thought. But Mr. Gee appears to exaggerate what he calls the advance toward humanism manifested by Lupset as contrasted with Colet's achievement. He was an industrious and promising man, whose early death doubtless explains his slender achievement.

E. G.

The Pastime of Pleasure by Stephen Hawes. Edited by WILLIAM E. MEAD. London, E. E. T. S., 1928. Pp. 259. The need for a new edition of this early Tudor poem is evidenced by the fact that the only earlier reprints are both scarce and inaccurate. Southey, in 1831, reprinted the text of 1554, without commentary, and the Percy Society reprint of 1845, based on the very faulty text of 1555, was even less satisfactory. Professor Mead supplies an accurate reprint of the best text, that of 1517, with variants of 1509, 1554, and 1555, and with an excellent introduction, commentary, and glossary. He has also reproduced the interesting woodcuts found in the early editions.

The work of Hawes was regarded in his time as a sort of outline of knowledge, reviewing "the seven liberall sciences, and the whole course of man's lyfe." There is nothing original or revolutionary in it; rather a deference to authority and to the conventional ideas of education, wholly lacking in suggestion of the new intellectual currents that even at that time were being felt in England. Professor Mead appears to overstress the theory that the poem is an allegorization of the romances of chivalry; the knight's chivalric

adventures occupy only a small portion of the long poem, and they are not truly romantic. But he is entirely right in correcting the mistaken impression of the influence of the poem on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The parallels industriously collected by various students are mere conventions. Spenser doubtless knew the poem, and there are a few resemblances in technique between it and the *Faerie Queene*, but there is no evidence of specific debt in details.

E. G.

Elizabethan Verse and Prose. Selected and edited by GEORGE REUBEN POTTER. New York, Holt, 1928. Pp. 615. *Poetry of the English Renaissance.* Selected and edited by J. WILLIAM HEBEL and HOYT H. HUDSON. New York, Crofts, 1929. Pp. 1068. These books are greatly superior to other Elizabethan collections in the amount of material they supply and in their editing. Mr. Potter covers the period from Wyatt to about 1610, giving brief selections from Spenser and Shakespeare with fairly good representation of other poets of the period. The great advantage of his book is that about half the volume is devoted to prose. Messrs. Hebel and Hudson confine their attention to poetry, cover a much longer period, omit entirely Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton, and thus achieve a much fuller representation of the poetry of the time. The notes and editorial apparatus in this book, as well as its format, are deserving of special commendation.

E. G.

Nicholas Breton's Melancolike Humors. Edited by G. B. HARRISON. London. The Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. 89. Mr. Harrison reprints this rare collection of Elizabethan poems from the editions of 1600, of which only four copies are known. Since the earlier reprints, by Brydges in 1818 and Grosart in 1879, are almost unobtainable, the new edition, which is beautifully printed, is important to all students of Elizabethan poetry. Its value is notably increased by Mr. Harrison's essay on Elizabethan melancholy, which outlines the widespread mental depression which marked the period from 1590 to the publication of Burton's *Anatomy* in 1621. The essay is incomplete, and is only slightly related to the history of the time, but it is highly suggestive, and should be read by all who are interested in the intellectual history of the early seventeenth century.

E. G.

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OLIVER GOLDSMITH AND "THE GENTLEMAN WHO SIGNS D"

In the first month of Goldsmith's engagement with Griffiths and the *Monthly Review*, April, 1757, he contributed to the department of Foreign Books a review of Mallet's French version of the Edda with the translated title: *Remains of the Mythology and Poetry of the Celtes, Particularly of Scandinavia designed as a Supplement and Proof of the Introduction to the History of Denmark*.¹

As a rule, Goldsmith's early reviews have been underrated because of the tradition of his servitude under Griffiths who tampered with his articles; but this review of Mallet, although little more than a summary, has been considered important by his biographers, Prior and Forster, not only because of its priority but also because of its subject "in which Goldsmith took considerable interest."² Forster comments on the significance of Mallet's work and says, ". . . Goldsmith's first effort in the *Monthly Review* was to describe the fruits of these researches, to point out resemblances to the inspiration of the East, and to note the picturesqueness and sublimity of the fierce old Norse imagination."³

Undoubtedly this review is interesting and perhaps not unimportant in the extension of Mallet's fame, but it affords little evidence of Goldsmith's taste or learning since he originated hardly a phrase of it. I find that the entire article is an abridged translation of a

¹ *M. R.*, xvi, 377. Cf. Percy's Preface to his translation of Mallet (*North-ern Antiquities*, 1770) on the prevalent mistake "of supposing the ancient Gauls and Germans, the Britons and Saxons, to have been all originally one and the same people—[Celts]; thus confounding the antiquities of the Gothic and Celtic nations." (I, ii, ff.)

² *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, by James Prior (London, 1837), I, 228.

³ *The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith*, 2 ed. (London, 1854), I, 106.

review in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts*, October-December, 1756. (vi, 285-303). Goldsmith follows his original closely, and a comparison of both versions with Mallet's work gives no evidence that he had consulted the book itself.⁴

Typical passages from the *Monthly Review* and the *Bibliothèque* will illustrate the new reviewer's fidelity to the French summary and also the grace of his translation, for even at this period he avoided the dullness of the "clipping compilers," whom he later so vigorously attacked.

Bibliothèque des Sciences, vi, 289-290, paragraph 7

Les ravages du tems, il est vrai, & le faux zèle n'ont guères épargné ces Poesies sacrées en Espagne, en France, en Allemagne & en Angleterre; mais les pays du Nord convertis plus tard à la foi conservent encore de ces précieux monumens; & c'est-là précisément qu'il faut les chercher C'est-là que se trouve l'*Edda* "écrite en Islande, pour la première fois, peu de tems après que la Religion Celtique venoit d'y être abolie," & destinée à l'usage des jeunes Islandois qui avoient dessein d'exercer la profession de *Scaldes* ou Poètes. Les peuples du Nord accoutumés à voir *Odin* & *Frigga*, les Génies & les Fées figurer dans la Poésie, vouloient, comme nos Poètes modernes qui combinent quelquefois ensemble l'Evangile & la Mythologie, retrouver dans leur Poésie les noms de ces Divinités fabuleuses. La connoissance de la Mythologie Celtique étant devenue ainsi nécessaire, l'Auteur de l'*Edda* écrivit pour en faciliter l'intelligencè, en donnant à ses compatriotes un cours abrégé de cette Mythologie, avec un Dictionnaire poétique, pour en expliquer

Monthly Review, xvi, 378.

In France, Spain, and England, the ravages of time, or of more destructive zeal, have left few remains of this sacred poesy. The countries of the North, who were more slowly converted from superstition, still preserve those valuable monuments. Here is to be found the *Edda*, first wrote in Iceland after the abolition of the Celtic religion there. This was a work designed for the use of those young Icelanders who intended to become *Scaldes* or Poets. Odin, and Friga, Genii, and Fairies, served as machinery to Northern Poetry then, as Grecian Mythology does to ours now; and tho' they had abandoned the religion, yet the Poets found it necessary to retain the knowledge of these fabulous divinities. The Author of the *Edda* therefore, has given his countrymen an abridgment of this mythology, with a poetical Dictionary, to explain words or metaphors that may be too sublime. A translation of this work Mr. Mallet now lays before the Public.

⁴ Where the French summary mentions "La XI Fable" Goldsmith has "the ninth Fable," but I find that the former is correct.

les termes sublimes & figurés. Cette remarque servira de clé pour bien entrer dans l'esprit de l'ouvrage dont Mr. Mallet nous donne ici la traduction.

[End of paragraph 7. Paragraph 8 (chiefly quotations from Mallet) omitted in M. R.]

P. 291, paragraph 9.

Après ces réflexions Mr. Mallet nous donne en peu de mots l'Histoire de l'*Edda*. Deux ouvrages portoient ce titre. Le premier, composé par *Sæmund Sigfusson* né en Islande environ l'an 1057, étant trop volumineux, obscur à bien des égards, & d'un usage peu commode, *Snorro Sturleson*, autre savant Islandois, environ 120 ans après, tira des matériaux qui y étoient rassemblés, un cours de Mythologie poétique facile & intelligible.

[End of paragraph 9]

Pages 292-3, paragraph 13.

La Religion des Celtes, comme notre Auteur l'a montré dans son ouvrage précédent,^{*} étoit très simple dans les premiers tems. Cette simplicité se soutint parmi eux pendant qu'elle se perdit dans les pays méridionaux, qui l'altérèrent les premiers & la défigurèrent le plus dans la suite. Il n'y a rien dans toute l'Antiquité de plus formel sur l'empire suprême d'un Dieu, que plusieurs passages qui se trouvent dans l'*Edda*; mais on y voit aussi que la Religion Celtique ne conserva pas toujours sa première simplicité. Les Intelligences qui étoient supposées d'agir sous les ordres du souverain Etre, devinrent bientôt

There were two books of this name; the first was composed by *Sæmund Sigfusson*, born in Iceland, about the year 1057; but being too voluminous, and obscure, in many respects, *Snorro Sturleson*, about an hundred and twenty years after, abstracted from the collection of *Sæmund*, a system of poetical Mythology, both easy and intelligible.

The Celtic religion, as our Author clearly evinces in the work preceding this, was, at first, extremely simple; yet even this did not long hold its simplicity. Tho' nothing can be more express than some passages in the *Edda*, concerning the supreme government of ONE God, yet those Intelligences who are supposed to act by his commands, receive in it too much veneration; their assistance seems nearer than that of a Deity, whose very name calls to our imagination the immense distance between him and his creatures: yet must we still remember (says Mr. Mallet) that the *Edda* is but a poetical Mythology, in which the

^{*} Voyez l'*Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemare*, p. 49, & les suiv. Voyez aussi le Tome III de cette Bibliothèque, p. 413.

le principal objet de la vénération des peuples, parceque les secours qu'elles offroient paroissoient plus prompts et plus faciles que ceux qu'on eut pû attendre d'un Dieu suprême, dont le seul nom rappelloit la distance immense où les hommes sont de lui. Dailleurs il ne faut pas oublier, dit Monsieur MALLET, que l'*Edda* est une Mythologie poétique, dans laquelle le fond des opinions reçues est brodé de tout ce que l'imagination des *Scaldes* a pû leur fournir.

real opinions of those times are set off with all the luxuriance of an heated imagination.

The French passage on Celtic theology is condensed mainly from pages 52-53 of Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc* (Copenhagme, 1755). Goldsmith's omission of the footnote leaves the identity of "the work preceding this" to be inferred by his readers from the title of the book.

Two-thirds of Goldsmith's review consists of "fables" from the *Edda* in which he skilfully combines the summaries and comments of the French reviewer. The following is typical in its compression:

Bibliothèque, 296-7.

Rien de plus risible que la Physique qui règne partout dans l'*Edda* & surtout dans la VI Fable. C'est un cheval qui de sa crinière brillante éclaire la terre & l'air. Ce sont deux petits enfans qui portant une cruche suspendue à un bâton, accompagnent la Lune & occasionnent les éclipses. Le Soleil court extrêmement vite, "parcequ'il y a près de lui deux loups prêts à le dévorer." Heureux les hommes depuis que l'étude de la nature a banni ces craintes chimériques! Les sciences, en éclairant l'esprit, portent la tranquillité dans l'ame. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas!* On trouve du reste, dans

Monthly Review, 379-380.

Nothing, however, can be more ridiculous than the system of Physics that runs thro' the whole *Edda*, particularly the sixth fable. An horse with his shining mane scatters light, and illuminates the earth and air. Two little children, with a pitcher suspended at the end of a stick, accompany the moon, and occasion its eclipses. The sun runs very swiftly; for two wolves ready to devour him, continually follow. In this fable we have the origin of a custom received among us, the source of which seems to have been forgotten. The *Edda* gives the Night pre-eminence over the Day; it precedes, and out of it the Day is

cette Fable la source d'une coutume assez généralement reçue. *L'Edda* donne à la nuit la prééminence sur le jour: elle va la première & le jour en est produit. La manière de compter les tems paroît avoir été réglée sur cette doctrine, selon l'observation de notre savant Professeur. De-là, pour ne pas parler des tems reculés, les sentences rendues en France dans les Tribunaux, il n'y a pas fort longtems, ordonnoient souvent *de comparoir dedans 14 nuits*, & les Anglois disent aujourd'hui *Senight* pour *seven night* (7 nuits) c'est-à-dire, une semaine, & *fortnight* pour 14 jours. "Voilà à quoi tiennent souvent des usages fondés sur des opinions oubliées. On les prend ensuite mal à propos pour des effets du caprice ou du hazard."

produced Hence we say, *this day se'nnight*, for seventh night; *fortnight*, for fourteenth night. Thus Customs taken from forgotten opinions, are often erroneously attributed to the effects of Chance or Caprice.

In only his first brief paragraph do we have a glimpse of Goldsmith's point of view :

If all the brilliancy of sentiment which so dry a subject may require to its support, and all the laborious assiduity which may be necessary in the solution of its intricacies, demand applause, Professor Mallet must deserve it, who has so happily united both. The learned on this side the Alps have long labored at the Antiquities of Greece and Rome, but almost totally neglected their own; like Conquerors who, while they have made inroads into the territories of their neighbours, have left their own natural dominions to desolation.

The last sentence which embodies an important argument of Mallet's preface is a figurative rendering of the summary in the *Bibliothèque*.⁶ The praise of Mallet also echoes the French reviewer :

. . . nous finissons notre extrait par une seule réflexion . . . C'est que les lumières peu communes qu'a montrées notre estimable Auteur dans ces deux ouvrages, la sage critique qui a accompagné ses découvertes, l'industrie qui a animé ses recherches, et la modeste retenue qui l'a suivi dans

⁶ See Mallet, pp. 5 ff. and the *Bibliothèque*, p. 287.

ses conjectures, annoncent en lui tous les talens nécessaires à un bon Historien . . . (pp. 302-303).

It thus appears that only one opinion in the article may be safely attributed to Goldsmith: it was his independent comment that the subject was "dry."

The clue to the authorship of the review appeared in this editorial note:

The following Paper was sent us by the gentleman who signs, D and who, we hope, will excuse our striking out a few paragraphs. for the sake of brevity.

This note may to us seem important only because it invites conjecture as to Goldsmith's part in the omitted passages; but to the contemporary readers of the Review it was the acknowledgment of a translation from a foreign journal, the significant allusion being to "gentleman who signs, D." This gentleman had inaugurated the Foreign Books section of the *Review* in February of that year by a letter in which he offered the new department the continual service of his foreign journals and specifically several extracts from "late numbers of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences, et de [sic] Beaux Arts*." The letter signed *D* is followed by four reviews which are all condensed from summaries in the French journal between April, 1755 and September, 1756. The actual translator as revealed to us by Griffiths' mark in his personal copy now in the Bodleian Library, was Dr. James Grainger, a regular contributor to the *Monthly Review*, and here designated by the Editor as G—r. The Advertisement introducing the "ingenious Correspondent" and the letter from *D* were composed by the elaborate Griffiths himself and are signed in ink G—. In the *Advertisement* the Editor promises that though they "set out with a nose-gay, culled from the garden of a Brother Journalist," they would

⁷ Prior, the first of Goldsmith's editors to examine this marked copy, notes that *D*'s earliest articles are written by Grainger and accounts for the letter *D* as a printer's error (*Life* I, 228). Gibbs, puzzled by the conflicting initials *D* and *G*, is inclined to accept Prior's explanation (*Works*, IV, 233 n. and 408-409 n). No commentator has remarked the significance of *D*'s letter written by the editor, or recognized in the Foreign Articles acknowledged translations, made by any convenient member of the editorial staff, and given a certain coherence through the fiction of a "Correspondent", for whom any signature would have served.

in the next issue give their readers "a view of some curious and interesting performances, taken from the books themselves." But the March department of Foreign Books opens with a letter from *D* offering "another draught from the same fountain." This is a review of *The poetical and other Works of Peter Latichius Secundus*. It is a translation of Article 4 in the *Bibliothèque* for July-September, 1755 (iv, 59-81).

The final contribution of the obliging *D* is the review of Mallet's book in the April issue. Here the translator's style bears a distinction new to the magazine as well as to the "ingenious correspondent," but, in the Editor's copy, clearly explained at the end by the mark, *Goldth.*⁷ Thus having served to introduce Goldsmith to the readers of the *Monthly Review*, the "Gentleman who signs, D" retires from its pages.

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MORE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SONNETS

In 1798 the Bristol firm of Biggs and Cottle brought out, along with other works, the *Lyrical Ballads* of Wordsworth and Coleridge and two volumes of *Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse* of Edward Gardner.¹ "Poor Edward Gardner," as his friends thought of him,² preserves a dim half-existence not as a personality but as a reference, for he knew Chatterton, some of whose

⁷ Prior says that the review "is plainly designated by the word Golds—h" (*Life*, I, 228). My notes on the Bodleian copy do not include this particular mark for any of Goldsmith's articles.

¹ Probably it is a mere coincidence that both works contain poems on Tintern Abbey, although Gardner, who lived in Bristol, may well have met Coleridge and even Wordsworth through the Cottles. The authors of the "Monody to Chatterton" and "Resolution and Independence" would have enjoyed talking with one who knew "the marvellous boy."

² See John Baron's *Life of Edward Jenner* (London, 1838), I, 16; II, 202 n. Baron's work and the *Miscellanies* themselves are the sources of all the information that I have been able to obtain concerning Gardner. Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* mentions an Edward Gardner, M. D., who wrote *Reflections upon the Evil Effects of an Increasing Population*, London, 1800, and *Observations on the Utility of Inoculating for . . . Cow-pox*, London, 1801.

poems he published, and he was an intimate friend of Edward Jenner, whose priority in the discovery of inoculation for small-pox was established in part through his testimony. Neither his verse nor his prose is without merit and the poorest of it is interesting because of the admiration it reveals for the poetry of Gray, Collins, Thomas Warton, and Bowles and because of its other manifestations of romantic tastes struggling through hackneyed imagery and language. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of the thirty-seven poems are sonnets, which have not been mentioned by students of the *genre*.

They are 23 in number, 18 of which have the Shakespearean rime scheme and 4 more are Shakespearean in the number of the rimes but Petrarchan in their arrangement within the quatrains. One consists of 12 lines irregularly rimed. But in the matter of form, the distinctive feature is the use of an alexandrine in the last line of over half (12) of the quatorzains, which thus have something of the effect of Spenserian stanzas. Nine of the 23 are addressed to abstractions—Poetry, Silence, Memory, Horror, and the like—one, "To a Stormy Night" and one, "To a Lofty but Barren Precipice." Nearly all deal more or less with nature and often with the wild, bleak aspects of nature which earlier poets had shunned. But although the descriptions reveal an exceptional familiarity with the out-of-doors, they are generally used to point a moral or to express Gardner's omnipresent melancholy. The union of pensiveness or gloom with the love of nature suggests the influence of Bowles, particularly when it is observed that Bowles's favorite rime-scheme is the only one, save the Shakespearean, used in the *Miscellanies*.⁸ Furthermore, like Coleridge's sonnet to the River Otter, Gardner's "On Revisiting the Banks of the Avon near Bristol Hotwells" seems to have been inspired by Bowles's to the River Itchin, which in turn was probably suggested by Warton's to the River Lodon. It is of Bowles and to a less extent of Hayley, Charlotte Smith, and their compeers but never of Shakespeare or Milton that one is reminded by Gardner's work.

The influence of Bowles combined with that of Collins and Gray is evident in an irregular "Sonnet to Evening" by R. Carlile which appeared the same year as Gardner's *Miscellanies*, 1798. It reveals unusual sensitiveness to the evanescent beauties of nature

⁸ The last "sonnet," which has only twelve lines, is an exception.

combined with a power, none too common at the time, of describing them in verse:

From the distant hills the vapours blue,
In wreathes fantastic, beauteously ascend . . .
Still lingers many a streak of crimson glow,
And tints the azure face of spreading lake,
There blending softly into shadows grey,
Thro' the o'ergrown and solitary brake,
In pensive mood, I often love to stray.⁴

A sonnet, "Written under Cheddar Cliffs . . . in April, 1786," by the Welsh bard and stonemason, Edward Williams, prefigures, in its title and in its union of melancholy with the love of nature, the work of Bowles which appeared three years later. It thus furnishes additional evidence that the poems which inspired Coleridge were less novel than has sometimes been thought.⁵ Eight other quatorzians, none of which have any literary value, are included in Williams' *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral* (2 vols., 1794). One uses the Shakespearean and one the Petrarchan arrangement of rimes, while the remaining seven, though irregular, tend towards the Petrarchan. Anapestic tetrameter is employed in two and one ends in an alexandrine. Like many other eighteenth-century sonneteers, Williams was a liberal and wrote verse mainly of the Gray-Collins-Warton-Mason variety, abounding in octosyllabics and in nature descriptions.

The same characterization will apply to the *Elegiac Sonnets and Other Poems* which William Ashburnham, Junior, published in London in 1795. These pieces, as their title would suggest, show the influence of the popular *Elegiac Sonnets* (1784) of Charlotte Smith. Like Mrs. Smith, Ashburnham prefers the Shakespearean rime-scheme, to which he adheres strictly in all but seven of his

⁴ *Flowers of Poesy, consisting of Elegies, Songs, Sonnets, etc.*, Carlisle, 1798, pp. 57-8. I have been unable to learn anything about Carlile or about this volume which is an interesting anthology of contemporary poetry containing sonnets by Gray, Charlotte Smith, Helen M. Williams, Coleridge, Charles Lloyd, and R. Anderson, and other kinds of verse by Burns, Rogers, and Peter Pindar.

⁵ Three parodies by Bowles's quatorzians which appear in *A Sequel to the "Rejected Addresses," by Another Author* (1813, pp. 80-82) have some interest especially as eighteenth-century sonneteers were rarely burlesqued.

forty-three sonnets.⁶ Yet he is more religious than she, fonder of nature and of abstractions, and even more free from any hint of the divine fire. In his notes he points out borrowings from Gray (4), Milton (4), Pope (3), Shakespeare (3), Thomson (2), Horace (2), Cowper (1), Goldsmith (1), Mason (1), Smart (1), Congreve (1), and Home's *Douglas*—a list illuminating not alone for this volume but for the period.

Some of Ashburnham's verses illustrate a point that is more obvious in the ten Petrarchan sonnets included in John Bidlake's *Poems* (1794),—that not all quatorzains dealing with nature are derived from Bowles. Cowper is more likely to have been Bidlake's model, for to him nature suggested moral lessons not pensive memories and he described, not places but objects—a bird, the moon, the sea, winter. Unfortunately, the close observation which mitigates the turgid conventionality of his blank-verse is lacking in his sonnets. They are accordingly much like and scarcely any better than the two drawn from *The Rural Lyre* in 1796 by Ann Yearsley, the Bristol milk woman whom Hannah More "discovered,"⁷ or the one which the invalid, Maria Logan, published a few years earlier.⁸ It is some relief to turn from such pieces to one that does not pretend to inspiration, to the sole venture into this field of Christopher Anstey of *New-Bath-Guide* fame,—“A Sonnet, Written in the Year 1795, Occasioned by the Late Scarcity of Grain, and Inscribed to the Author's Three Periwigs.”⁹

Such facetiousness is rare, for eighteenth-century sonneteers followed Milton not in his humorous “Petrarchian stanzas” but in those he wrote on some occasion or addressed to a friend. One of the few unrecorded occasional pieces that I have found, other than

⁶ In three of the seven (xii, xxx, xxxviii), a rime used earlier in the sonnet is repeated, apparently through carelessness or inadvertence; four (xv, xxxiv, xl, xli) combine the Petrarchan with the Shakespearean arrangement of rimes (abba cdde effe gg). Number iii is octosyllabic.

⁷ Pp. 92-3. “Lactilla,” as Mrs. Yearsley was dubbed, published two sonnets (“On the snowdrop,” “For June 26, 1794”) in the *European Magazine*, xxvi (1794), 63, and two (“Anarchy,” “Peace”) in the *Universal Magazine*, xcvi (1796), 360. All six are Shakespearean save that in two the second quatrain is codd.

⁸ *Poems on Several Occasions*, 2 ed., York, 1793, p. 16. The rime-scheme is Shakespearean. Miss Logan, after seven years of uninterrupted sickness, wonders why she cannot die.

⁹ *Poetical Works*, 1808, p. 362. The rimes are abba cdde effe gg.

those written to persons, is "The Dying Sinner" by the wealthy brewer and prolific translator, Edward Burnaby Greene.¹⁰ This was suggested by its author's fable, "The Youth and the Philosopher." Greene's two other sonnets are addressed to men. One is appended, after an advertisement of a few of his works, to his *Strictures Upon a Pamphlet intitled, Cursory Observations on the Poems Attributed to Rowley* (1782). It has the heading "To the lernede DEANE PERCY" and begins,

Percy, of Poetes olde, wythe balade clere.

The last line, an alexandrine, is followed by the author's full name and "Kensington, March 12, 1782." Through the kindness of Messrs. Pickering and Chatto, I learn that a pencilled note in their copy (catalog 255, item 2377) of the "Sonnet, addressed to . . . the Earl of Carlisle, on his *Four Poems*, 1773" (Strawberry Hill Press), interprets the initials "E. B. G." printed at the foot of the piece as Edward Burnaby Greene. Although, like the lines to Percy, it employs the Shakespearean rime scheme and preserves the turn, it is otherwise of the eighteenth-century Miltonic variety. This will be clear from the first line,

Howard! tho oft in Pleasure's myrtle bow'rs.

Sonorous Miltonic lines beginning with vocatives also mark the Petrarchan sonnet signed "B. B." which F. N. C. Mundy included in his volume, *Needwood Forest* (Lichfield, 1776), the two irregular quatorzains with couplet endings which "G. L. W." prefixed to his *Fabliaux or Tales, Abridged from French Manuscripts of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries by M. Le Grand, Selected and Translated into English Verse* (1796), and the truly "Petrarchian stanza" placed at the beginning of *Runic Odes Imitated from the Norse Tongue in the Manner of Mr. Gray* (1781). This last is the only quatorzain written in English by Thomas James Mathias, author of *The Pursuits of Literature*. It is addressed to Gray; yet the order of the rimes, the preservation of the pauses and turn, and the absence of run-over lines, point not to the sonnet to Richard West but to the Italian poetry which Mathias greatly admired. Such is obviously the case with the four sonnets Mathias wrote in

¹⁰ *Poetical Essays*, 1771 (not 1772 as the *DNB.* says). The rimes are abba aabb cd cd cd.

Italian, although one of them is a translation of Gray's poem to West.¹¹

Another of these Miltonic sonnets with initial vocatives has recently been printed in *The Unpublished and Uncollected Letters of William Cowper* (1925). Addressed to Richard Phillips, who was imprisoned for selling Paine's *Rights of Man*, and sent to Samuel Rose, June 18, 1793, it came at the close of the year and a half in which Cowper composed nearly all his sonnets.¹² It employs the Petrarchan octave with a final couplet, Cowper's favorite arrangement of rimes, which his translation of Milton's Italian sonnets seems to have suggested to him. Its Miltonic quality is seen in the first two lines:

Phillips—the Sufferer less by Law than Pow'r,
Though prison'd in an adamantine hold.

Doubtless many other sonnets of friendly address remained in manuscript. One of these, irregular in its rime-scheme, was written to Hester Mulso, who later became Mrs. Chapone, by Thomas Edwards, the father of the eighteenth-century sonnet. Richardson, to whom Edwards sent his effusion on February 28, 1752, probably found its first line,

Smit with the blaze of Virtue's lovely form

more alluring than we do.¹³

Edwards's distinction of being the first of the revivors of the sonnet to print his verses in book form would be taken from him if David Mallet had, as has often been asserted, prefixed the seven pairs of heroic couplets on his wife to the first edition of his *Amyntor and Theodora* (1747). But as neither the first nor second issues of the work contain the lines, they are interesting chiefly as illustrating, both in form and in style, the transition from the sev-

¹¹ *Canzoni e Prose Toscane di T. J. Mathias*, Londra, 1808, pp. 33-6. All four are addressed to persons.

¹² His last, the second to Hayley, was enclosed in a letter written only two days later, June 20.

¹³ I am indebted to Professor Alan D. McKillop of The Rice Institute, Texas, for my knowledge of this sonnet, which he found among the Richardson papers, and for calling my attention to the sequence by Charles Emily which is discussed below. Mr. McKillop's article, "Some Details of the Sonnet Revival" (*MLN.*, xxxix, 1924, 438-40) should be consulted.

teenth to the eighteenth-century quatorzain.¹⁴ An earlier transitional piece, a bit of pious moralizing entitled "Death" which was included in the anonymous *Christian Poet* (1735), has little in common with the quatorzains written a few years later.¹⁵

Death is, however, the subject of a series of eighteen unusual sonnets written about 1760 but not published until 1781.¹⁶ They were the work of Charles Emily, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and were probably influenced by the vogue of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1742-5), Blair's *Grave* (1743), Hervey's *Meditations among the Tombs* (1746), Warton's *Pleasures of Melancholy* (1747), and Gray's *Elegy* (1751). In spite of conventionality, inflated diction, and rhetorical style, they sweep along with a sonorous dignity that places them among the more impressive products of the Grave-yard School. Prosodically they are especially interesting. For one thing, they represent, so far as we know, the only sonnet sequence except "Perdita" Robinson's *Sappho and Phaon* which was produced in the eighteenth century. Then, too, the final line of each is an alexandrine. Again, although the rimes are regular (arranged in the Shakespearean order), the extensive use of inverted word order, run-over lines, internal pauses, and other features of Miltonic blank verse together with the complete disregard of the traditional stops after the fourth and eighth lines tend to obscure the rime and, as the successive sonnets are often closely connected, to produce the effect of a single poem in stanzas of blank verse.

¹⁴ Another poem of seven couplets, not called a sonnet but entitled "On an Unsociable Family", occurs on page 113 of Elizabeth Hand's *Death of Ammon* (Coventry, 1789). Couplet sonnets are not rare in the eighteenth century; Cowper wrote one and so did Burns.

¹⁵ The earliest example of the new type of which we know is the anonymous "Sonnet, in Imitation of Milton's Sonnets" that appeared in the *London Magazine* for July, 1738. Mr. G. F. Evans, who first called attention to the sonnet in *The Christian Poet* (*MLN.*, xxxix, 1924, 184-5), pointed out that it has the same subject and the same unusual sestet as Walsh's quatorzain (1708). Possibly the Italian sonnet "Londra" (*Rime*, 1717) of Paolo Rolli, who published an Italian translation of *Paradise Lost* in 1735 while he was tutor in Italian to the English royal family, had some influence.

¹⁶ They must have been written between 1758, when Sir John Armitage (to whose death the tenth sonnet refers) was killed, and 1762 when Emily himself died. They were printed in a semi-annual miscellany, *The Lady's Postical Magazine, or Beauties of British Poetry*, I (1781), 342-50.

Of the sonnets we have been examining, a few are mildly pleasing to-day; the rest probably never gave much pleasure to any one but their authors. Yet, taken together, they may help us to realize how general even among the humbler versifiers the writing of sonnets was and how many of those written were descriptions of nature or addresses to friends. There is much moralizing, much pensiveness, some melancholy, and a little of the graveyard. Since most of the pieces I have found were written after 1790, it is not surprising that the influence of Milton and the preference for the Petrarchan rime-scheme are less strong than they were at the beginning of the sonnet revival. The so-called "Shakespearean" arrangement of rimes was often used but there is no evidence of borrowing from any Elizabethan quatorzain. The most original feature of the poems is the final alexandrine, which is fairly common.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

A MANUSCRIPT VERSION OF *SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER*

In the Larpent Collection belonging to the Huntington Library is the licenser's MS. copy of *She Stoops to Conquer*, entitled, *The Novel or Mistakes of a Night*. The text is substantially that of the printed text, but there are a few variations of interest. First, it confirms Horace Walpole's story of the offence taken by Mrs. Rachel Lloyd at a supposed allusion to herself, for in place of the name "Miss Biddy Buckskin" is found "Miss Rachel Buckskin." Second, there is evidence that Goldsmith did amend his text in accordance with the suggestion of the anonymous critic of the first night's performance,¹ for Tony Lumpkin's protestation in Act IV, "I'd sooner leave my horse in a pound," etc. appears in the expanded form, "I'd sooner leave a hare in her form, the dogs in full cry, or my horse in a pound." Finally Kate's soliloquy in Act IV, "I'll still preserve the character in which I stooped to conquer," appears as "I'll still preserve the character in which I conquer'd," which simply indicates that the phrase was altered to suit the new title, and did not, therefore, suggest the title to Goldsmith.

¹ See the present writer's *Collected letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, Cambridge University Press, 1928, p. xl.

The main title, "The Novel," offers a problem, since it seems to be entirely inapplicable to the play as we know it. Either it was given to the play in an earlier form to which it was appropriate, or the word "novel" is used in a sense unfamiliar to the modern reader. The first suggestion seems improbable, since it would mean that the main plot had undergone a complete revision, while all other evidence goes to show that only the Tony Lumpkin end of the plot was revised. Besides, we have Dr. Johnson's word for it that as late as February 24 "No name is yet given it." The second suggestion seems likewise beset with difficulties, since the only obsolete sense of "novel" which could apply is the meaning "novelty," which, according to the New English Dictionary, was not used after 1712. And in either case, it is impossible to show that Goldsmith was himself responsible for the suggestion. The title appears only on the cover page of the MS. in a hand which is neither Goldsmith's nor that of the copyist of the text, which suggests that it may have been added by a third person to satisfy the request of the licenser. Whether or not the sub-title, "The Mistakes of a Night," which was of course retained, was here first suggested also remains open to question.

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SHERIDAN'S SHARE IN *THE STRANGER*

The Stranger as published is ascribed to Benjamin Thompson. Preceding the play is an "Advertisement," signed B. T., wherein the translator acknowledges his "grateful obligations" to "Mr. Sheridan, who was so kind as to improve its effect by several alterations and additions." A comparison of *The Stranger* with Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue* shows three points of difference: (1) the names of some of the characters are changed, not merely translated; (2) two vaudeville scenes have been added in the English version; (3) the English play is considerably shorter than the original. Sheridan's contribution, obviously, is to be found among these changes.¹

¹ Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes in his *The Plays and Poems of Richard Brins-*

The vaudeville element in the English play consists of a dance at the conclusion of Act II and a short scene at the beginning of Act IV where the two songs occur.² The characters who appear in these scenes are not in Kotzebue's play. They are a group of dancers and two singers, Annette and a Savoyard. Bearing no relation to the play and contributing nothing to the characterization or action, the scenes are nothing more than musical interludes. The shortening of *The Stranger* was brought about by liberal cutting, frequently to the extent of sacrificing whole scenes. The action was thus hastened and the elimination of large quantities of irrelevant philosophizing and sentimentalizing, found in Kotzebue, made the piece more compact and better suited than it would otherwise have been to the tastes of Sheridan's audiences. In other respects *The Stranger* follows Kotzebue very closely; and most of the speeches, though not always literal translations, render the spirit and sense of the German original.

If the addition of some songs and dances and the cutting of the dialogue constitute Sheridan's small share in *The Stranger*,—and it can hardly be more,—Sheridan has merely done what any producer is likely to do to any play that comes under his direction.

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POPE AND BEN JONSON

In his will, Pope bequeathed his eleven-volume edition of Erasmus to Lord Bolingbroke, his large paper edition of Thuanus to Lord Marchmont. Martha Blount was then to choose threescore that she fancied; the remainder of the library was to be divided between Ralph Allen and Bishop Warburton.¹ No complete list

ley *Sheridan* (3 vols, Oxford, 1928) says merely that, except for the song "I have a silent sorrow," "Sheridan's share in *The Stranger* was . . . small." (III, 255, cf. 330.)

¹One, beginning "To welcome mirth and harmless glee," is by John Grubb; the other is Sheridan's "I have a silent sorrow here."

²Ruffhead, *Life of Alexander Pope* (London, 1769), 545-6.

of Pope's books is known to exist, and we are acquainted with the whereabouts of but few of them.²

The Kern sale in January, 1929, brought to light one interesting item from Pope's library, the 1692 folio of Ben Jonson's works with the poet's autograph upon the title-page. Through the courtesy of Mr. Richard Gimbel of Philadelphia, the present owner of the book, I was allowed to examine it and copy the annotations.

In my *Pope as Critic* (Princeton, 1929), 237-8, I summarize the knowledge of Jonson which Pope reveals in his pronouncements and allusions—a rather considerable knowledge, and express my surprise that Jonson did not mean yet more to him. The annotated folio bears testimony that Jonson did. It would appear likely that Pope at one time intended to bring out an edition of Jonson in fashion similar to that of his Shakespeare. Upon the front fly-leaf of the volume, under the heading *Table to the First Part of Ben Jonson*, Pope has begun a neat index of admired passages from the plays, listed according to topic—such an index as those so liberally appended to his Shakespeare.³ This index was apparently but begun, though it contains twenty-three entries. Upon the back fly-leaf, a similar table of passages from Part Two of the folio has been commenced. In his edition of Shakespeare, Pope distinguished by commas in the margin "some of the most shining passages" and prefixed a star to some scenes admired in their totality.⁴ The same practice was adopted in the Jonson, though never carried out with the same fullness. Pope approvingly marks three passages in *Every Man in his Humour*, seven in *Every Man out of his Humour*, one in *The Poetaster*, three in *Catiline*, one in *Bartholomew Fair*, and seven in *The Sad Shepherd*.⁵ He has approvingly starred Epigrams XLII and LXV ("On Giles and Joan" and "To my Muse"), the Song "That Women are but Men's Shadows" from *The Forest*. In *Underwoods*, he has starred "An Epistle to Sir Edward Sackville" (in heroic couplets), A Song, ("Come, let us here enjoy the shade"),

² The *Centenary Catalogue*, Twickenham, 1888, and the catalogue of the Dyce Collection in the South Kensington Museum list a small number of Pope's books.

³ The translation of Homer has similar indices (*Pope as Critic*, 134 and 81-2).

⁴ E-C, x, 548, and *Pope as Critic*, 149-59.

⁵ On Pope's taste for pastoralism, cf. *ibid.*, 73-5, and especially 155-6.

"To . . . Lord Weston, An Ode Congratulatory," and Parts III and IV of "Eupheme", and he has esteemed passages in "The Musical Strife," and "To the Immortal Memory of . . . Lucius Cary."

In *The Poetaster*, Act I, Sc. I, Tucca describes Homer as having "scarce ever made a good meal in his sleep." Pope has greatly helped out the sense by inserting a *but* before *in*.

Pope's Shakespeare makes a beginning at source attribution.⁶ A number of the annotations in the Jonson point out presumed indebtednesses to the classics, positing in the margin the verse or verses, in Latin, which Jonson appears to have had in mind. These annotations thrice quote Juvenal, twice Horace, twice Catullus, twice Martial, Plautus, Virgil, and Quintilian⁷ are each one cited; and beside "The Hour Glass," Pope has written, "Translated from an Italian poet, Hier. Amaltheo."⁸

We may accept as Pope's general estimate of Jonson, it would appear, the following lines from Francis Beaumont's commendatory poem prefaced to the folio, which Pope has approvingly marked:

And art three Ages, yet, from understood:
And (I dare say) in it [Jonson's work] there lies much Wit
Lost, till the Readers can grow up to it,
Which they can ne'er out-grow, to find it ill,
But must fall back again, or like it still.

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⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁷ Opposite Jonson's entry in *Discoveries*, "*Custom* is the most certain Mistris of Language," etc., Pope has written, "Translated from Quintilian." This is the only annotation in the *Discoveries*, but Pope's pen has dropped a few blots of brown ink on the page where Jonson characterizes Shakespeare; and, in the preface to his edition of the plays, Pope expressly mentions this celebrated passage in the *Discoveries*.

⁸ Pope had a fondness for the Italian poets of the Renaissance who wrote in Latin, and he included eclogues, odes, and "*sylvae*" by Amaltheo in his *Selecta Poemata Italorum Qui Latine Scripserunt*. . . . (London, 1740). Cf. *Pope as Critic*, 206-7.

THE CALL OF ARISTIPPUS

In his edition of *The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M. D.* (1926), Professor E. S. Noyes states that the poem, *The Call of Aristippus*, was written by Mark Akenside, in reply to John Gilbert Cooper's *Epistles to the Great, from Aristippus in Retirement*.¹ He says also that Smollett praised the poem in the *Critical Review* for March, 1758, and made amends for having caricatured Akenside (because of his "excessive love for the ways of the ancients") in *Peregrine Pickle*, he suggests that he might have been actuated, too, by a desire "to contradict an unfavorable notice in the rival *Monthly Review*."² However, Professor Noyes is, at least in part, mistaken in his facts.

The Call of Aristippus (issued January 24, 1758³) was the last of four epistles published by Dodsley, and was written, not by Akenside, but by Cooper. Although the *D.N.B.* gives Akenside as the author under *Akenside*, it also gives Cooper under *Cooper*. Chalmers and Anderson both credit the poem to Cooper, as does Alexander Dyce in his *Memoir of Akenside*. Moreover, the editor of the *Critical Review* knew that Cooper was the author, since in March, 1758, he comments as follows:

The author of this short, but agreeable performance, need not perhaps have informed us in his title page, that it was written by the same hand, to which we are indebted for the three former epistles of Aristippus.

In his review of the first three Epistles (December, 1757), Smollett had written:

Tho' there is a mask thrown over the face of the poem, in the shape of an advertisement from the editor, in order to conceal the author, it drops off in the progress of the piece. This gentleman having fortunately, or unfortunately (which ever he pleases to term it) something so remarkable in his air and manner, as will always easily discover him; we may venture to pronounce, that like Terence's beauty, *ubi ubi est diu celari non potest*; and that he must be no great connoisseur in stiles, who does not in the epistle to Aristippus find out John Gilbert Cooper, Esq; the author of the life of Socrates, and the ode on the tomb of Shakespeare.

Both the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review* had previously praised Cooper's work. In December, 1756, Smollett criticized

¹ Page 185.

² Page 184.

³ Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley* (1910), page 364.

more or less favorably *The Genius of Britain*; in May, 1757, he defended Cooper very vigorously from an attack by the author of *An Essay on the Necessity and Form of a Royal Academy, for Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*, upon Cooper's *Letters concerning Taste*, in which, to quote his own words, it "is treated with a contempt which it does by no means deserve"; in December, 1757, he praised the *Epistles*. The *Monthly Review* also had commented more or less favorably upon the *Life of Socrates* in November, 1749, and in January, 1758, both praised and condemned the three *Epistles*. However, about that time, Cooper was the object of some far more drastic criticism.

In the *London Chronicle* for December 31-January 1, 1758, one "W. W." (was it William Warburton, and a revival of the old literary quarrel of 1751 between Warburton and Cooper?⁴) made a scurrilous attack upon Cooper's *Epistles to the Great*. Whether Smollett rose to Cooper's defence because of a real admiration for his work (as the fact that he defended him against two assailants might indicate), whether the article in the *London Chronicle* and the hostility of the *Monthly Review* were factors, these are questions for debate.

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COLERIDGE AND MRS. MARY ROBINSON

Though Mrs. Robinson—called "Perdita" because of her part in the *Winter's Tale*¹—has been almost forgotten,² in her own day she was very famous. Her beauty and charm during her youth won her not only the admiration of Garrick and Sheridan, but the love

⁴ See *Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., with Notes by William Warburton*, 1751 (Fac-simile), I, 151, and the reply to this, *Cursory Remarks on Mr. Warburton's new Edition of Mr. Pope's Works*, by John Gilbert Cooper, 1751.

² Following her performance in the *Winter's Tale* the Prince Regent wrote her a series of letters addressing her as Perdita and signing himself Florizel.

³ She is, however, the subject of two modern works of fiction: *Perdita, a Romance in Biography* (S. V. McKower), 1908 and *The Enquisite Perdita* (E. Barrington), 1926.

of the Prince Regent, (later George the Fourth) whose mistress she became. In her maturer years, after she had been rather ruthlessly cast off by the Prince Regent, she followed an early predilection for authorship and became sufficiently celebrated to attract the favorable attention of men like Coleridge.³

It is impossible to say exactly when Coleridge met Mrs. Robinson; but in the interlude in London (when he was writing for the *Morning Post*) between his departure from Nether Stowey and his arrival at Grasmere,⁴ he mentions her at least twice in his correspondence. The two following quotations, taken from letters to Southey, show that Coleridge, as was his wont in judging women writers, uncritically but chivalrously overestimated "Perdita's" work.

I have inclosed a poem which Mrs. Robinson gave me for your "Anthology." She is a woman of undoubted genius. There was a poem of hers in this morning's paper which both in metre and matter pleased me much. She overloads everything; but I never knew a human being with so *full* a mind—bad, good, and indifferent, I grant you, but full and overflowing. This poem I *asked* for you, because I thought the metre stimulating and some of the stanzas really *good*. The first line of the twelfth would of itself redeem a worse poem. I think you will agree with me, but should you not, yet still put it *in*, my dear fellow! for my sake, and out of respect to a woman-poet's feelings.⁵

In the "Morning Post" was a poem of fascinating metre by Mary Robinson; 'twas on Wednesday, Feb. 26, and entitled the "Haunted Beach." I was so struck with it that I sent to her to desire that [it] might be pre-

³ Mrs. Mary Robinson, born in 1758, became the Mistress of the Prince Regent in 1780. Deserted by him and in obloquy she retired from active life. She died in 1800, but not before she had re-attained some of her old celebrity through literature. Her *Memoirs* and *Works* were published by her daughter in 1801; the latter were republished in 1806, and the former in 1895. She was the subject of numerous anonymous attacks, among others the most obscene *Memoirs* of 1784. The account of her in the *DNB* seems rather unfair.

⁴ Circ. November 17, 1799 to April 21, 1800.

⁵ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* [Ed. by E. H. Coleridge], London, 1895, I, 322. I add E. H. Coleridge's footnote, by way of explanation: "Mrs. Robinson ('Perdita') contributed two poems to the *Annual Anthology* of 1800, 'Jasper' and 'The Haunted Beach.' The line which caught Coleridge's fancy, the first of the twelfth stanza, runs thus:—

'Pale Moon! thou Spectre of the Sky.' *Annual Anthology*, 1800, p. 168."

served in the "Anthology" She was extremely flattered by the idea of its being there, as she idolizes you and your doings. So, if it be not too late, I pray you let it be in. If you should not have received that day's paper, write immediately that I may transcribe it. It falls off sadly to the last, wants tale and interest; but the images are new and very distinct—that "silvery carpet" is so *just* that it is unfortunate it should *seem* so bad, for it is *really* good; but the metre, ay! that woman has an ear⁶

Soon after his arrival at Keswick, Coleridge composed his *A Stranger Minstrel*,⁷ "an exceedingly silly copy of verses," which were apparently sent to Mrs. Robinson in a private letter.⁸ The last few lines of the poem will serve to confirm his own judgment:

Thus spoke the mighty mount! and I
Made answer, with a deep drawn sigh,
Thou ancient *SKIDDAW*! by this tear,
I would, I would, that she were here⁹

Later Coleridge composed three other poems to "Perdita," "Alcaeus to Sappho," "The Snow-Drop," and a four-line fragment "O'er her piled grave the gale of Evening sighs." Mrs. Robinson, for her part, composed two poems for Coleridge, "Ode Inscribed to the Infant Son of S. T. Coleridge, Esq.," and "To the Poet Coleridge," and just before she died she wrote the following passage, which Coleridge quotes in an unpublished letter to Poole:

My little Cottage is retired and comfortable. There I mean to remain (if indeed I live so long) till Christmas. But it is not surrounded with the romantic Scenery of your chosen retreat: it is not, my dear Sir! the nursery of sublime thoughts—the abode of Peace—the solitude of Nature's Wonders. O! Skiddaw! I think if I could but once more contemplate thy Summit, I should never quit the prospect till my eyes were closed for ever.¹⁰

⁶ *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 331-2. Again I add E. H. Coleridge's explanatory footnote:

"The *winter* moon upon the sand
A silvery carpet made,
And mark'd the sailor reach the land
And mark'd *his Murderer* wash his hand
Where the green billows played!"

"*Annual Anthology*, 1800: 'The Haunted Beach,' sixth stanza, p. 256."

⁷ *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* [Ed. by E. H. Coleridge] Oxford, 1912, Vol. I, p. 350.

⁸ See the letter to Miss Mary Robinson, quoted later in this article.

⁹ *Poetical Works*, Vol. I, p. 350.

¹⁰ Ms. letter to Poole, in the British Museum, February 1, 1801; a small

Shortly after Mrs. Robinson's death on December 26, 1800, and the publication of her *Memoirs* by her daughter in 1801, this daughter sought to immortalize her mother's memory by the publication of a volume containing elegies by her famous literary admirers, and apparently wrote to Coleridge asking his advice. The following unpublished letter¹¹ shows not only his exceeding tact and frankness, but some of his literary opinions as well.

Greta Hall, Keswick—Dec. 27, 1802

My dear Miss Robinson, I was in Wales when your letter arrived; and am even now returning to my home—The cause of the Delay in answering your Letter will be my Apology—If I were writing to a mere stranger, or to one with whose name I had connected nothing serious or interesting, it would be sufficient for me to say (& I could say it with strict Truth) that I have almost wholly weaned myself from the habit of making Verses, and for the last three years uninterruptedly devoted myself to studies only not *quite* incompatible with poetic composition—Poetic composition has become laborious and painful to me—The Gentlemen, with whose names you would wish to associate mine, are of such widely diffused literary celebrity, that no one will accuse me of a mock humility, or an affectation of modesty, when I say (confining my meaning exclusively to *literary* celebrity) that my name would place theirs in company below their rank—But I, you know, am not a man of the World; and there are other qualities that I value infinitely higher than Talents, or the fame arising from them—among other things the use to which those Talents have been applied—Much solitude, and absence from cities and from the manners of cities, naturally make a man somewhat serious—and in this mood I cannot help writing to you—Your dear Mother is more present to my eyes than the paper on which I am writing—which indeed swims before my sight—for I cannot think of your Mother without Tears—Let not what I say offend you—I conjure you, in the name of your dear Mother! let it not do so—others flattered her, I admired her indeed, as deeply as others—but I likewise esteemed her *much*, and yearned from my inmost soul to esteem her *altogether*—Flowers, they say, smell sweetest at Eve; it was my Hope, my heartfelt wish, my Prayer, my Faith, that the latter age of your Mother would be illustrious and redemptory—that to the Genius and generous Virtues of her youth she would add Judgment and Thought—whatever was correct and

portion is given in *The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, London, 1893, p. 625.

¹¹ Taken from a transcript made by E. H. Coleridge of an unpublished letter from Coleridge to Miss Robinson. I wish here to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge, not only for permission to use this letter but for permission to prepare an edition of Coleridge's unpublished correspondence.

dignified as a Poetess, and all that was matronly as Woman.—Such, you best know, were her own aspirations—One of her poems written in sickness breathes them so well and so affectingly, that I never read it without a strange mixture of anguish and consolation—In this Feeling I cultivated your Mother's acquaintance, thrice happy if I could have soothed her sorrows, or if the feeble Lamp of my friendship could have yielded her one ray of Hope or Guidance—Your Mother had indeed a good, a very good, heart—and in *my* eyes, and in *my* belief, was in her latter life—a blameless Woman—Her memoirs I have not seen—I understood that an exceedingly silly copy of *Veises*, which I had absolutely forgotten the very writing of, disgraced one of the volumes—This publication of a private letter (an act so wholly unjustifiable, and in its nature subversive of all Social Confidence) I attributed altogether to the man, at whose shop the volumes were published—I was sorry, no doubt, that so very silly a Poem had been published—for your Mother's sake still more than for my own—yet I was not displeased to see my name joined to your Mother's. I have said everywhere and aloud that I thought highly both of her Talents and of her Heart, and that I *hoped* still more highly of both—I was not grieved at an occasion, which compelled me often to stand forth, as her Defender, Apologist, and Encomiast—But, my dear Miss Robinson! (I pray you, do not be wounded—rather consider what I am about to say as a pledge of my Esteem, and confidence in your honour and prudence, a confidence beyond the dictates of worldly caution)—but I have a wife, I have sons, I have an infant Daughter—what excuse could I offer to my conscience if by suffering my own name to be connected with those of Mr. Lewis, or Mr. Moore, I was the *occasion* of their reading the Monk, or the wanton poems of Thomas Little Esqre?¹² Should I not be an infamous Pander to the Devil in the Seduction of my own offspring? My head turns giddy, my heart sickens, at the very thought of seeing such books in the hands of a child of mine—I neither have or profess an excess of religious Faith or Feeling—I write altogether from the common feelings of common Honesty—The mischief of these misery-making writings *laughs* at all calculations—On my own account therefore I must in the most emphatic manner decline all such connection—But I cannot stop here—! Indeed, indeed, I write with Tears on my cheek—What, dear Miss Robinson, ought *you* to feel for yourself, and for the memory of a *Mother*—of all names the most awful, the most venerable, next to that of God! On *your* conduct, on *your* prudence, much of her reputation, much of her justification will ultimately depend—Often and proudly have I spoken of you, as being in your manners, feelings, and conduct a proof of the inherent purity of your Mother's mind—Such, I am sure, you will always remain—But is it not an *oversight* & a *precipitancy*—is it not to revive all which Calumny & the low Pride of women (who have no other chastity than that of their mere

¹² A pseudonym adopted by Thomas Moore. Thomas Little's *Poetical Works* were published in London, 1801 seq.

animal frames) love to babble of your dear Mother, when you connect her posthumous writings with the poems of men whose names are highly offensive to all good men and women for the licentious exercise of their Talents? It is usual in certain countries to plant the Night Violet on Graves, because it sends forth its odours most powerfully during the Darkness, and absence of the sun—O dear Miss Robinson! Exert your own Talents—do you plant the night violets of your own Genus and Goodness on the Grave of your dear Parent—not Hensbane, not Hemlock! Do not mistake me! I do not suspect, that the Poems, you mean to publish have themselves aught in the least degree morally objectionable; but the *names* are those of men, who have sold provocatives to vulgar Debauchees, & vicious schoolboys—in no other Light can many of their writings be regarded by a Husband and a Father—As to Peter Pindar! By all the Love and Honour I bear to your dear Parent's memory, by the anguish and the indignation at my inmost heart, I swear to you that my flesh creeps at his name! You have forgotten, dear Miss Robinson! Yes, you had altogether forgotten that in a published Poem he called an infamous & mercenary strumpet "*The Mrs. Robinson of Greece*" Will you permit the world to say—her own Daughter does not resent it—her own Daughter connects the fame of her Mother with that of the man who thus assassinated her reputation! No! No! I am sure you had forgotten it—I feel that I should insult you if I supposed the possibility of this Letter's being read by any but yourself—it has long been my intention to write a poem of some length expressly in honour of your Mother, which I meant to have addressed to you, having previously requested your permission—I mention this, merely to prove to you, how much I am interested in, how gladly I should assent to any plan, that I could think truly honorable to your Mother or yourself—

I remain most sincerely your friend & Wellwisher,
S. T. Coleridge—

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MRS. MANLEY'S TEXTS OF THREE OF LADY WINCHILSEA'S POEMS

Professor Myra Reynolds in the introduction to her edition of the poems of Lady Winchilsea postulates a process of oral transmission which is supposed to have carried along during the eighteenth century at least one of Lady Winchilsea's poems. She cites a letter in which Anna Seward, in 1763, quotes a "little orphan ode," for which, she says, she has searched the poets in vain. Her

mother, whom she had often heard repeat it, could give no better account of its origin than that she had heard it from a girl who was the friend of her youth. The poem turns out to be Lady Winchilsea's "Progress of Life," with certain textual variations from the accepted version.

After the publication of this letter in Walter Scott's edition of Anna Seward's poetical works (1810), as Miss Reynolds' notes, a correspondent ("J. H. R.") in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1812) reports his discovery of the orphan ode in an old volume of poetry, and of the author as "Anne, Countess of Winchilsea, who lived in the reign of Queen Anne." The second stanza, he observes, is printed thus in Miss Seward's works:

How pleasing the World's prospect lies;
How tempting to look through!
Parnassus to the Poet's eyes,
Nor beauty, with her sweet surprise,
Can more inviting shew.

But the second stanza as he found it in turning over a book of old poems appears in this way (corresponding to that stanza as printed by Miss Reynolds from the 1713 volume of Lady Winchilsea's poems and the carefully prepared folio manuscript):

How pleasing the world's prospect lies;
How tempting to look through!
Not Canaan to the Prophet's eyes,
Nor Pisgah, with her sweet surprise
Can more inviting shew.

Miss Reynolds suggests that somewhere in the course of oral transmission a bit of poetical paganism was substituted for Ardelia's honest Hebraisms. She mentions another manuscript copy of the poem found in a volume owned by Mr. George Finch-Hatton. The verbal inaccuracies of this version imply, too, she thinks, that the poem has been orally transmitted to the writer. Miss Reynolds is inclined to find in these facts an indication of an undercurrent of popularity for Lady Winchilsea.

In reading Mrs. Manley's works I chanced upon evidence that leads me to believe that it was Ardelia herself, who (in a fashion the reverse of that suggested by Miss Reynolds) substituted the "honest Hebraisms" for her own earlier "poetical paganism." Mrs. Manley gives three of Lady Winchilsea's poems in what are

probably earlier versions than the texts in the 1713 edition and the folio manuscript.

Mrs. Manley quotes the "Progress of Life" in volume one (published May, 1709) of the *New Atalantis*¹ with this introduction (My Lady Intelligence is speaking to Astræa):

. . . There seems nothing in her so commendable, as her Value for the fourth Person who was with them in the Coach. The Lady once belonged to the Court, but marrying into the Country, she made it her business to devote herself to the Muses, and has writ a great many pretty Things: These Verses of the *Progress of Life*, have met with abundance of applause, and therefore I recommend them to your Excellency's Perusal.²

In the second volume (published October, 1709) Mrs. Manley gives "The Hymn," which she introduces in a somewhat melodramatic fashion. Vertue is speaking:

The Morning Lark calls loudly for the Sun; and see the radiant God appears, as if, in answer—Ha! there lies a Paper upon the Ground, what is it? 'Tis imperfect, it seems the Conclusion of a foregoing Poem, inscrib'd, *A Hymn* to Jupiter. Pray read it, and let it be to the Father of Gods and Men, as our Morning Orizons and Adorations.

Intelligence answers:

Oh, I know it! I assure your excellencies 'tis an admired Piece, and wrote by the same Lady, whose Genius had Yesterday the Honour to be approv'd by Astræa in those Verses I shewed her, call'd *The Progress of Life*. These were occasioned by a terrible Hurricane, that not long since distress'd not only *Atalantis*, but all the other Islands of the *Mediterranean*. It seems to be heedlessly dropt from the Poem, which is of a much greater Length. But to oblige my Lady Vertue in her Devotions, I will not now endeavor to search my Memory for them, but instantly entertain your Divinities with what we have before us.³

Mrs. Manley shows her knowledge of Lady Winchilsea's poetry by indicating that she is aware that "The Hymn" is but a part of a

¹ For convenience I quote in all cases from the collected (seventh) edition (4 vols., 1736). The second edition of volume one, published Oct., 1709, and available in the Harvard College library, gives substantially the same text in the passages with which we are concerned, except for some minor differences in orthography and punctuation.

² *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality of Both Sexes. From the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediterranean*. London, 1736, I, 149.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 164.

much longer poem ("A PINDARIC POEM Upon the Hurricane in November, 1703, referring to this Text in Psalm 148, ver. 8. Winds and Storms fulfilling his Word. With a Hymn compos'd of the 148th Psalm Paraphras'd"). "The Hymn" follows Intelligence's speech in a text presenting interesting differences from Miss Reynolds' text, for which her authority is the edition of 1713.

These are two cases of Mrs. Manley's furnishing a printed text for a poem of Lady Winchelsea's as early as 1709. In 1711 she supplies one for a third poem, "The Sigh," in Letter XI of her *Court Intrigues, in a Collection of Original Letters, from the Island of the New Atalantis &c.* (London, 1711.)

My Endeavour has been at length successful, I have found the Lady's Riddle, which I need not tell you is interpreted a *Sigh*. A famous Poet has inverted the Subject in a manner not civil enough for your conversation; however, if it be Wit, you'll grant 'tis the worst sort, and that nothing is more easie than burlesquing the best things, tho none has succeeded in the way, nor ever will, I believe, like *Hudibras*.

Then follows "A Riddle by the Author of the Verses upon the Spleen"—a complete text of "A Sigh" presenting differences from the later, standard version parallel to the differences from the later texts in the poems printed by Mrs. Manley in 1709.

The differences between the earlier texts (Mrs. Manley's) and the later (Miss Reynolds's) indicate that the same principles of alteration were followed for each of the three poems. The changes reveal a capacity in Lady Winchelsea for self-criticism, and if not a remarkably improved poetic insight, at least a respect for grammar, and a sense of uneasiness with regard to conventional, neo-classic diction. She considers the fitness of her allusions to the general subject and character of her poem: in the revision, she drops Fortune and Parnassus from a poem of Christian meditation, and no longer permits Jove to receive the tribute of a hymn, written in emulation and paraphrase of the Psalms, in praise of the Christian creator. Changes of this character may denote a deepening religious mood, but they need no religious motive in addition to the artistic one for their explanation.

There can be little doubt that the *New Atalantis* was the not very remote source of the "oral tradition" which has been credited with carrying on "The Progress of Life" from the earliest years of the century. The poetical paganism is in its place, just as in

the stanza coming by "oral tradition" to Miss Seward, in the version printed by Mrs. Manley:

How smiling the World's Prospect lies?
 How tempting to look thro'?
 Parnassus to the Poets Eyes,
 Nor Beauty with a sweet Surprize,
 Does more inviting shew.

The evidence derived from George Finch-Hatton and Anna Seward by Miss Reynolds in support of her belief in an undercurrent of popularity for Lady Winchilsea seems quite as important to me as an indication of the continuing popularity of the *New Atalantis*. We must remember that Pope, in using its phenomenal vogue to point a trifling and contemptuous comparison, conceded it an indefinite tenure of public favor:

As long as Atalantis shall be read,
 Or the small pillow grace a lady's bed.

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THE TEXT OF BURNS'S *PASSION'S CRY*

The text of the poem usually entitled *Passion's Cry* is in a most unsatisfactory state in all editions of Burns. The poet revised it several times, but never published it. Six MS. versions have been recorded,¹ in addition to an eight-line fragment sent to Clarinda in June, 1794.² In their note to the poem Henley and Henderson made a number of inaccurate statements which were taken up and corrected by Wallace in an appendix to his edition of the Burns-Dunlop correspondence,³ but though Wallace's note satisfactorily

¹ Henley and Henderson: *The Centenary Burns*, Edinburgh, 1896, II, 428.

² See the Chambers-Wallace *Life and Works*, Edinburgh, 1896, IV, 128. The letter is not dated in the MS., but the date 25 June has been conjecturally supplied by editors because the letter repeats certain phrases used in another letter, to Mrs. Dunlop, written from Castle Douglas on that date.

³ *Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop*, London, 1898, pp. 425 ff.

outlines the chief stages in the composition of the poem it does nothing towards fixing a standard text. To this latter desideratum the present paper seeks to contribute.

The history of the poem is briefly as follows.⁴ A portion, beginning with the quoted couplet "I burn," etc., from Pope's *Sappho to Phaon*, was written early in 1788 at the height of Burns's infatuation for Clarinda. Between March and June the poet sent a copy of this version to Mrs. Dunlop. In January, 1789, Burns, then estranged from Clarinda as the result of her wrath over his marriage to Jean Armour, took up the poem again, expanding and altering it to fit the tragic amour of Mrs. Maxwell Campbell and Captain James Montgomerie, in which his sympathies had been strongly engaged on the lady's behalf and against her almost incredibly caddish husband.⁵ This version of the poem Burns sent to Alexander Cunningham, 23 January, 1789⁶; on 5 February he sent part of it also to Mrs. Dunlop, explaining that he had altered the lines from their previous form "with a view to interweave them in an epistle from an unfortunate lady whom you knew."⁷ Thereafter the textual history is obscure. Scott Douglas incorporated in his text of the poem the eight lines beginning "In vain would Prudence" which were sent to Clarinda in 1794; Henley and Henderson, however, rejected Douglas and published these lines as a separate fragment.⁸ That Douglas was right and the Centenary editors wrong is shown by an apparently unrecorded MS. in the collection of Mr. Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago.

This MS. is the first page of a letter—an ordinary quarto sheet of post—without date or address. It had best be quoted in full:

I have at last, my Fair Friend, determined to write you out these lines which you were pleased to commend so much.— To tell you the truth, I would long ago have written them, but for a certain expence of recollection which bankrupts my peace—

⁴ This paragraph is mainly an abridgement of Wallace.

⁵ Cf. his letter to Gavin Hamilton, 8 March, 1787; Chambers-Wallace, II, 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 87. The complete MS. of this version is now in the Birthplace Museum, Alloway.

⁷ *R. B. and Mrs. D.*, 144.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, 239.

"I cannot but remember such things were,
 "And were most dear to me" . .⁹

In vain would Prudence, with decorous sneer,
 Point out a cens'ring world, & bid me fear:
 Above that world on wings of love I rise:
 I know its worst & can that worst depise.—
 'Wronged, injured, shunned, unpitied, unredrest;
 'The mocked quotation of the scorner's jest'—
 Let Prudence' direst bodements on me fall,
 Clarinda, rich reward! o'er pays them all.—
 As low-borne mists before the sun remove,
 So shines, so reigns unrivalled mighty *LOVE*—
 In vain the laws their feeble force oppose;
 Chained at his feet, they groan Love's vanquished foes;
 In vain Religion meets my shrinking eye;
 I dare not combat, but I turn & fly.
 Conscience in vain upbraids th'unhallowed fire;
 Love grasps his scorpions, stifled they expire.
 Reason drops headlong from his sacred throne,
 Thy dear idea reigns, & reigns alone;
 Each thought intoxicated homage yields,
 And riots wanton in forbidden fields.—
 By all on High, adoring mortals know!
 By all the conscious villain fears below!
 By, what. Alas! much more my soul alarms,
 My doubtful hopes once more to fill thy arms!
 E'en shouldst thou, false, forswear each guilty tie,
 Thine, & thine only, I must live & die!!!

Now for another piece of Poetry of mine, that is also from the heart.—

That the MS. passed through Dr. Currie's hands is indicated by three variant readings written in a different hand above the originals. These are "her decent" for "decorous" in line 1; "slandered" for "injured" in line 5, and "uncheck'd" for "wanton" in line 20. A footnote to the first of these adds, "Her decent is found in a sketch of these lines among his papers & is better than decorous wh. is not rythm." A clue to its date and the addressee is furnished by another fragment—like the Barrett MS. a single quarto page—in the collection of Mr. John S. Gribbel of Philadelphia. In this fragment, a copy of the second version of *Bannockburn* is followed by this scrap of prose:

⁹ *Macbeth*, iv, ii, misquoted.

So much for my two favorite topics, Love & Liberty.—

A. Dieu je vous commende!

RB

Though it would require the juxtaposition of the two fragments to make the proof conclusive, there is no reason to doubt that the Gribbel and Barrett MSS. are the two halves of a single letter, which the presence of the revised *Bannockburn* proves to have been written in the autumn of 1793.¹⁰ The nature and tone of the prose portions are exactly similar to numerous other letters which Burns wrote to Maria Riddell at this period, and indicate her as the most probable addressee.¹¹

Thus the Barrett MS., if we accept the conjecture that it and the Gribbel fragment belong together, gives us a rescension of the poem nearly four years later than any of the other dated MSS, and proves conclusively that, after his tentative alteration of the lines to apply to Mrs. Campbell, Burns reverted to his original intention of addressing them to Clarinda. Regardless of its date, the MS.—consisting, as it does, of the last sixteen lines of the Campbell-Montgomerie version suffixed by a hitherto unrecorded couplet to “In vain would Prudence”—demonstrates that Douglas was right in assuming that the fragment sent to Clarinda in 1794 was part of *Passion's Cry*. If Burns's poems are ever re-edited, both these versions should be printed in full. The one applied to Mrs. Campbell should be based either on the Cunningham copy or—if it can be located—on the MS. listed in E. C. Bigmore's reprint of the catalog of the great Burns sale of 1861¹²; for the Clarinda version the Barrett MS. should be accepted as the primary text.

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¹⁰ The revised version was sent to George Thomson on a date which Wallace's reading of the postmark on the cover of the letter gives as 8 Sept., 1793, and my reading as 3 Sept.

¹¹ After an absence of several months in England, Maria Riddell returned to Woodley Park in the autumn—apparently October—of 1793. Burns wrote her an unusual number of notes and letters during the last three months of the year, because her husband was absent on a voyage to the West Indies and in his absence she was too discreet to invite Burns to her home.

¹² Mentioned by Henley and Henderson, II, 428, but not seen by them.

THE PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF JUAN RUIZ

As no contemporary paintings, statues, or descriptions exist of the greatest bard of mediaeval Spain, one will never be able to prove just what this intriguing character looked like. In his famous *Libro de buen amor*, Juan Ruiz, speaking of himself as the Archpriest, draws what critics usually regard as an authentic personal portrait.¹ Wishing to seduce Lady Garoça, he sends to her his wheedling old bawd who, having roused the lady's interest, proceeds to describe the Archpriest as follows:

- 1845 Señora,—dis la vieja,—yol veo amenudo:
el cuerpo ha bien largo, miembros grandes e trefudo;
la cabeça non chica, velloso, pelcoçudo,
el cuello non muy luengo, cabos prieto, orejudo.
- 1486 Las cejas apartadas, prietas como cabron,
el su andar enfiesto bien como de pauto,
su paso sofegado e de buena Raçon,
la su nariz es luenga, esto le desconpon.
- 1487 las ençruas bermejas E la fabla tumbal,
la boca non pequena, labios a comunal,
mas gordos que delgado, bermejós como coral,
las espaldas byen grandes, las muñecas atal.
- 1488 los ojos ha pequeños, esvn poquillo bago,
los pechos delanteros, bien trifudo el braco,
bien conplidas las piernas, del pie chico pedaço;
Señora, del non vy mas, por su amor vos abraço.
- 1489 Es ligero, valiente, byen mançebo de dias,
sabe los Instrumentos e todas juglerias,
doñador alegre para las çapatas mias,
tal ome como este non es en todas erias.²

Since scholarship is constantly destroying the romantic, picturesque and interesting beliefs which time has handed down, perhaps I may be pardoned for raising certain doubts as to why the above lines should not be regarded as authentic self-portraiture. To

¹ Cf. Puyol, *El Arcipreste de Hita*; E. Mérimée, *Précis d'hist. de la litt. esp.* (10th ed.); G. T. Northup, *Intro. to Sp. Lit.*, 1925; Romera-Navarro, *Historia de la Lit. esp.*, 1928.

² Jean Ducamin, *Juan Ruiz/arcipreste de Hita/Libro de buen amor/texte du XIVe siècle*. . . Toulouse, 1901. I give only the Salamanca text.

begin with, one should recall that Ruiz is here painting in his usual dramatic fashion what he also did in the Melon-Endrina episode, that is the enkindling of love in the heart of a virtuous woman by the blandishments of a tricky bawd. Naturally, therefore, when the lady asks for a description of the Archpriest, the crone feels, in the interests of success, compelled to represent the young cleric in the most attractive colours. Accordingly he is portrayed as talented, gallant, discreet and endowed with a splendid physique. It is, of course, by no means impossible that the Archpriest may have corresponded to this ideal, but broad shoulders, out-swelling chest, huge arms and thighs occur over and over again in mediaeval descriptions of doughty wights. Their very triteness robs the picture of individuality. What lover in that boisterous head-thwacking age could afford not to be so endowed. Trotaconventos says, for example, that he is very tall, but in what country is a tall man not desired by women. *L'altezza e mezza bellezza*; the old bawd is merely outliving, after the conventional pattern, a physically perfect lover.

Yet apart from this stale recital of excellencies there is mention of further details much more significant because of their ugliness: hairiness, long ears, great nose, and big mouth, traits which are particularly interesting as they seem to bespeak individuality. One's first impression is that here surely is realism. Like the mole on Helen's thigh, its very mention carries conviction of truth. Why, indeed, one asks, in a catalogue of handsome and manly traits, should ugly ones intrude if they had no actual existence? Nevertheless, unconventional as some of these details may seem, they are really the most universal of all conventionalities—universal that is to a certain ubiquitous class known only too well to the pious Archpriest. Besides broad shoulders, deep chest and large thighs there are other physical peculiarities widely recognized as possessing an esoteric, erotic significance.

The first of these is hairiness. One of the commonest of all folk superstitions is that which conceives physical power to be bound up with the hair.³ Among those gods, demi-gods, and sprites where sexual potency is a salient characteristic one finds hair in

³ James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1 vol. abridged ed.), New York, 1923. Page 680 ff. Also by the same author, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (1 vol. abridged ed.), New York, 1923. page 269 ff.

abundance. Priapus wears a great tuft of hair and a long beard, and the goatish satyrs are covered with hair even on their human parts. That this idea of hairiness as an indication of erotic puissance did not die out but rather spread over all Europe is indicated by a mass of epigrams upon the subject most of which are too foul to quote.⁴ Regnier has softened the French observation in the following lines:

Le poil est un signe de force,
Et ce signe a beaucoup d'amorce
Parmi les femmes du mestier.⁵

Trotaconventos comments upon the darkness of his hair, another significant detail, for apart from a quasi-scientific connection between pigmentation and glandular activity, there is a wide-spread folk belief that white hair and burnt out sexual vigor go hand in hand. Rabelais makes frère Jean exclaim with some feeling:

Par ma soif, mon amy, quand les neiges sont és montaignes, je diz la teste et le menton, il n'y a pas grand chaleur par les valées de la braguette.— Tes males mules, respondit Panurge. Tu n'entends pas les *Topiques*. Quand la neige est sus les montaignes, la foudre, l'esclair, les lanciez, le mau lubec, le rouge grenat, le tonnoire, la tempeste, tous les diables sont par les vallées . . . Tu me reproches mon poil grisonnant, et ne consydere point comment il est de la nature des pourreaux, és quelz nous voyons la teste blanche, et la queue verde, droit et vigoureuse.⁶

The reverse of the medal is that dark hair betokens potency.⁷ Trotaconventos may wish by this color to depict not only a young man but a sexually virile one.

Stanza 1486 mentions eyebrows; their coal-black hue, like that

⁴ Except perhaps in some diluted and rather equivocal saws. "El hombre vellosio es hombre poderoso" and "Hombre peludo haz' mucho desnudo." These, and others are evidently inspired by the Latin, "Vir pilosus, aut fortis aut luxuriosus," which in turn has filled the romance tongues with such proverbs as, for example, the Italian: "Ome peloso, o forte o lusurioso" and "Un gal senza cresta l'è un capon, e un omo senza mostaci l'è un mincion." In English we have similarly delicate observations.

⁵ Mathurin Regnier, *Discours d'une maquerelle*, in *Oeuvres Complètes*, edited by E. Courbet, Paris, 1875. page 197.

⁶ Book III, chapter xxviii.

⁷ A number of Italian epigrams connect dark hair with passion in women, as: "La mora la vol, la bionda la pol," and "Tol la mora per morosa, e la bionda per to sposa."

of the hair, again denoting sexual puissance. But the poet further observes that the Archpriest's brows do not meet. Now the eyebrows, too, are recognized as barometers of erotic vigor. Our modern languages furnish innumerable epigrams on this topic likewise too filthy to quote. Sir Richard Burton expresses the general idea of the eyebrow-index when he says:

The eyebrows disclose
How the lower wig grows⁸

But that is insufficient; there are many other esoteric meanings. In Sicily and in Andalusia joined brows are popularly supposed to be the badge of the pederast. Since Spain, where the Arabs introduced many forms of this "higher Malthusianism", lies within the "sotadic zone" it might have been quite pertinent for the old bawd to clear the Archpriest of the slightest suspicion of this filthy vice, a vice, by the way, unfortunately often imputed to members of the priesthood.⁹ Apart from this lewd superstition, connected eyebrows are widely regarded—and this in spite of the ancient Greek ideal of "married brows"—as a mark of the witch or vampire.¹⁰ In that case, Trotaconventos would again be justified in observing that the Archpriest had no connections with demonology.

Most interesting of all erotic folk beliefs is that which associates length of nose with the proportions of the male generative member.¹¹ Trotaconventos affirms that the lover's nose is so long as

⁸ Alf Laylah wa Layla, a Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. . . (privately published by the Burton Club sans date and place) Vol. I, page 350, note 1.

⁹ Of the numerous unjust epigrams on this phase of the subject, the only one with sufficient wit to tempt quotation is the famous, "Ci-gît un Jesuite, en passant serre les fesses et passe vite."

¹⁰ J. W. Wickwar, *Witchcraft and the Black Art*, New York, 1926, page 41. Also Burton, *op cit*, Vol. I, page 266, note 2, speaks of such eyebrows as follows, "A great beauty in Arabia and the reverse in Denmark, Germany and Slav-land where it is a sign of being a were-wolf or a vampire." In Greece also it denotes a "Bruckolak" or vampire.

¹¹ Most of the apothegms on this subject are too vile to be quoted. May it suffice to observe that it is the widest spread of any popular erotic belief. Possibly one or two epigrams may be pardoned on account of their antiquity when clothed in venerable Latin. From the Salernitan school comes the following: "Si vis cognoscere fuscum, aspice nasum," and "Noscitur a

to *descompon* the harmony of his features. Certainly, if there were any truth in this belief, one familiar with the *Libro de buen amor* could scarcely help but imagine the Archpriest as endowed with a tremendous probiscus. Doubtless in that symbol-loving, dark age the same pride was attached to the possession of a nasal member of heroic size as was felt in the ownership of a richly bedizened *braguette*. Trotaconventos, therefore, is boasting of the sexual potency of the lover rather than realistically attempting to describe the actual Archpriest.

Less obscene though almost as widely circulated is the belief which gauges virility by depth of voice. Easy it is to understand how such a superstition could come about inasmuch as a deepening of the voice at puberty actually heralds the approach of sexual vigor¹² while a senile squeak proclaims its disappearance. Furthermore the idea that a bass voice indicates "proficiency at love" is not without a shade of scientific basis.¹³ As to the extent of

labiis quantum sit virginis antrum; noscitur a naso quanta sit hasta viro " Rabelais, it may be remembered (Bk. I, ch xl), after discoursing upon long and short noses, ends his edifying chapter with the famous adage, "Ad formam nasi cognoscitur ad te levavi." Perhaps, too, one may cite a curious Calabrian saying "Tu chi tieni ssu biellu nasu, ma lu mis è cehiù curiusu; quandu senti l'adduru d'u casu, si fa tisu como nu fusu" Also one of the least offensive Spanish dicta on the subject may be excused; "Gra' naso con gran boca, gran pija con gran coño toca"

In a very interesting study, *Le visage de François Rabelais*, in *RSS*, XIII, 112-129, Abel Lefranc attempts to show that under the anagram Alcofribas Nasier, Rabelais was called "nosey" for the same reason which we have noted for Trotaconventos' so describing Ruiz. M. Lefranc cites a number of aphorisms on the subject and notes also a very curious medical work by a XVI century doctor which attempts to confute this famous "nose fallacy."

¹² Thus another old bawd, Celestina, a direct descendant of Trotaconventos, exclaims pointedly to Parmeno, "Que la voz tienes ronca, las baruas te apuntan. Mal sosegadilla deues tener la punta de la barriga" Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina* (*Clas. cast.*, ed. Oejador), Madrid, 1917. Vol. I, page 95.

¹³ Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, New York, 1914, p. 322, has a very curious note on the relation between voice and sex activity. "Delauny remarks that while a bass need not fear any kind of sexual or other excesses so far as his voice is concerned, a tenor must be extremely careful and temperate. Among prostitutes, it may be added, the evolution of the voice and of the larnyx tends to take a masculine direction. This fact, which is

this belief, the countless vulgar jokes on the subject furnish ample proof. May we not believe then that Trotaconventos' mention of the *fabla tunbal* is intended to indicate that Archpriest's masculinity?

Somewhat allied to the voice and virility belief is one connecting potency with the size of the neck.¹⁴ The bull and the boar, both remarkably endowed with tremendous necks, have from very early times been regarded as symbols of erotic vigor. That the bull-necked, *pescoçudo* Archpriest with his *cuello non muy luengo* was likewise favored is therefore a possible interpretation. The large mouth however, with its lips *mas gordos que delgados*, has long been known among phrenologists, character analysts, and their learned ilk as indicating a gross, sensual nature.¹⁵ It is not at all improbable that a carnal interpretation is there also intended.

As to the ears, there, too, unless one would explain the use of the word *orejudo* as due to the exigencies of rhyme, one may discern a hidden allusion. Does not the current Spanish expression *orejas de sátiro* carry with it not only a reference to their goat-like shape but also to the goatish sexual propensities of the individual in question? ¹⁶

fairly obvious, has been accurately investigated at Genoa by Professor Masini, who finds that among 50 prostitutes, 29 showed in a high degree the deep masculine voice, while the larynx was large and the vocal chords resembled those of man; only 6 out of the 50 showed a normal larynx; while of 20 presumably [*sic!*] honest women only 2 showed the ample masculine larynx. (*Archivo di Psichiatria*, XIV, 145)."

¹⁴ Again may I invoke, not without a feeling of scholarly trepidation, the "sexpert" Havelock Ellis for another odd note, *op. cit.*, p. 319. "Catullus refers to the influence of the first sexual intercourse in causing a swelling of the neck, and it is a very ancient custom to measure the necks of newly-married women in order to ascertain their virginity. This custom has not yet quite died out in the south of France. Heidenreich found that a similar swelling occurs in men at the commencement of sexual relations."

¹⁵ Many sayings connect sensuality with the mouth and lips: "Lavro sutilo, omo bilioso, lavro grosso, omo lussurioso"; "Da la boca se conosce la parona de casa," and "Facci di chiattija e culu di maijia."

¹⁶ Large ears seem to suggest large testicles. On this, G. H. Luquet in an article, *Sur un cas d'homonymie graphique: sex et visage humain*, writes, "... L'oreille, où elle est placée peut évoquer l'idée d'un testicule vu par transparence, représentation fréquente dans les graffiti." Page 203 of vol. VII of the *Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für Folkloreistische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral*, ed. by F. S. Kraus, Leipzig, 1910.

Of course, in the search for esoteric meanings one should never blind one's mind to the fact that Trota's picture of the bard may have been real, and that the numerous details of the conventional gallant's physique may actually have happened to apply to Ruiz. Still, as the erotic implications are so numerous and so pointed, one may be justified in suspecting that the sly poet no more figured in his self portrait than he did in the Melon-Endrina episode when he lapsed into the first person. The realism of both may have been the Aristotelian "higher reality" of all great fiction—something, that is, which plausibly could be true but actually never was. The graphic picture of the Archpriest, therefore, is very real just because it easily could but perhaps never did resemble the actual Juan Ruiz.

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THE SOURCE OF ZOLA'S MEDICAL REFERENCES IN *LA DÉBÂCLE*

In the researches to which Émile Zola devoted himself for nearly a year, between 1868 and 1869, to prepare himself to write the *Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire*, books of a scientific nature especially aroused his interest. In his study, *Comment Émile Zola composait ses romans*, M. Henri Massis mentions some of the treatises from which Zola drew his biological and physiological theories and beliefs upon which he conceived and erected the framework of his novels. He lists the *Traité de l'Hérédité naturelle* of Dr. Prosper Lucas, 1850; the *Structure et Physiologie animales* of Ach. Comte, 1852; Claude Bernard's *Leçons de physiologie expérimentale appliquée à la médecine*, and some others. Such works served to give Zola his general scientific background and outlook. When a specific problem confronted him, however, he had recourse to a specific treatise on the subject. Thus M. Massis shows that in preparing *l'Assommoir*, he read carefully, and borrowed copiously, from a work entitled: *Question sociale: Le Sublime ou le Travailleur, comme il est en 1870 et ce qu'il peut être*, by D. P.¹

¹ A. Lacroix-Verboeckhoven et Cie, éditeurs, 1870.

In writing certain passages in *La Débâcle*, Zola had recourse to a clinical work, then recently published, which M. Massis fails to mention. "C'est surtout des médecins et des savants que j'ai abusé," wrote Zola: "je n'ai jamais traité une question de science ou abordé une maladie, sans mettre toute la Faculté en branle."² He was true to this precept in this particular instance. It will be remembered that during the battle at Sedan, Bouroche is shown feverishly and skillfully making numerous amputations of arms and legs. On two occasions the operations are described rather minutely. Both the surgical terms involved and the methods of amputation described are derived from a work on surgery that appeared in 1885, that is seven years before *La Débâcle*, the *Précis de Manuel Opératoire* by L. H. Farabeuf. Zola confines himself to summaries of the many pages which Farabeuf devotes to his subject. A few brief parallel passages will illustrate the extent of Zola's borrowings. Farabeuf speaks of "*la désarticulation de l'épaule par le procédé de Lisfranc . . . difficile, mais très rapide*,"³ and Zola, describing an operation on one of the wounded, also speaks of "*la désarticulation d'une épaule, d'après la méthode de Lisfranc, . . . quelque chose de . . . prompt*."⁴ Farabeuf further qualifies it as an "*opération qui devient ainsi d'une sécurité absolue et d'une grande élégance*,"⁵ and Zola repeats: "*une jolie opération, quelque chose d'élégant*."⁶ Farabeuf then directs the "aide" to place "*les doigts dans l'aisselle*," and Zola also makes the "aide" place "*les quatre doigts sous l'aisselle*." And when Farabeuf directs him "*de plonger le pouce de sa main antérieure dans la plaie*,"⁷ Zola has "*L'aide avait fait glisser ses pouces, pour boucher l'artère humérale*."⁸

The next major operation described in detail is that performed on Captain Beaudoin. Farabeuf, describing the amputation of the leg by the "*méthode circulaire*," says: "*Pour couper la peau en bon lieu, marquez d'abord, à cinq doigts environ au-dessous de l'interligne féméro-tibial sensible de chaque côté du tendon sensi-*

² Quoted by Henri Massis, *op. cit.*, p. 167, note 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

⁴ *La Débâcle*, Charpentier ed., 1921, II, 13.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 364.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

ble, le point où vous sciérez les os."⁹ Zola makes Bourroche carry this out: "*d'une rapide incision circulaire, le major coupa la peau, au-dessous du genou, cinq centimètres plus bas que l'endroit où il comptait scier les os.*"¹⁰ Then Farabeuf writes: "*Pincez maintenant la partie antérieure de la peau, détachez-la du tibia . . . et faites-en un retroussis . . .*" which Zola renders: "*il détacha la peau, la releva tout autour, . . .*" Farabeuf proceeds to the sawing of the bone. "*La compresse à trois chefs est placée, . . . la scie . . . prend de nouveau sur le tibia, puis sur le péroné, et, . . . divise les deux os en travers . . .*"¹¹ And Zola notes: "*Il dénuda le tibia et le péroné, introduisit entre eux la compresse à trois chefs. . . . Puis, d'un trait de scie unique, il les abattit.*"¹² Zola never copied slavishly. He borrowed his information wherever he found it, often indiscriminately. In describing the surgical operations as he found them in Farabeuf, he does not follow the methods which the latter suggested as the best. But that was immaterial to Zola. He was not a surgeon. He borrowed what he could best assimilate, and what he could best render through the magnifying glass of his wonderful imagination.

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORIFLAMME¹ AND THE NAIN² TOWARDS ROMANTICISM

The statement is frequently made that in the battle between classicism and romanticism the newspapers which were liberal in politics were reactionary in literature, while the royalist papers supported the new productions and theories of the romantics. This point of view is true in general, but should not be taken too

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 565.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 566-567.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹ *L'Oriflamme, journal de littérature, des sciences et arts, d'histoire, et de doctrines religieuses et monarchiques.* J. G. Dentu, Paris, 17 juillet 1824-16 juillet 1825, 52 nos. 4 vol. 80.

² *Le Nain, journal des théâtres, de la littérature, des mœurs, des arts et des modes.* Paris, 25 janvier-25 août (1825), 42 nos. 2 vol.

literally. Various royalist papers contain violent attacks on romanticism. Among those who are inclined to accept too implicitly the above-mentioned statement is Paul Albert in his study of French literature of the nineteenth century.³ He not only states it categorically but is also led into error by it in his classification of certain royalist periodicals. He makes the following statement:

Les classiques reprochent aux romantiques de former une coterie, de s'encenser les uns les autres Il y eut en effet vers 1823 un groupe de jeunes poètes, très royalistes, très catholiques, qui formaient ce qu'on appela depuis le *Premier Océanole*. Ils avaient leurs journaux, la *Muse française*, l'*Ori flamme*, le *Nain*.⁴

The first of these three royalist papers, the *Muse française*, is unquestionably representative of the romantic group. The *Ori flamme*, however, while a staunch defender of the monarchy and religion, takes a definite stand, in its prospectus, against romanticism: "Nous ferons une guerre vive et raisonnée à ce mauvais goût que de jeunes barbares s'efforcent d'introduire parmi nous, sous le nom de romantique. . . ." ⁵ M. Dentu, the publisher, continues in the same tone in the first number of the paper, referring to the romanticists as "jeunes Vandales, enthousiastes aveugles d'une liberté chimérique. . . . Ils se vantent d'avoir inventé un genre nouveau, le mélancolique et le vaporeux, et se croient sublimes parce qu'ils sont hypocondres." ⁶

All the articles in the paper are consistent in their attacks on romanticism. The writers invoke the authority of Voltaire against the new school and even model their language on his. England, with Byron, Scott and Young is blamed for this literary upheaval; "C'est de cette île fameuse que nous vient le vent romantique qui souffle sur notre littérature." ⁷ Byron is the target for many attacks. M. Estève in his *Byron et le romantisme français* ⁸ has quoted a few lines from the *Ori flamme* in which the influence of this "fou brillant" is decried, "ce jeune Anglais qui foule à ses pieds les chefs d'œuvre dramatiques de la France." Numerous

³ *La littérature française au dix-neuvième siècle*, Paris, 1895, II, 86.

⁴ *Idem*, I, 40.

⁵ I (1825), 2.

⁶ I, 6.

⁷ I, 193.

⁸ Paris, 1907, p. 121.

other caustic references to the English poet occur in the paper. The following is a fair sample:

Ce lord Byron qui, pour avoir fait quelques pièces de poésie où tous les principes du goût et de la vertu sont outragés à chaque page, où les folies de l'imagination sont en guerre perpétuelle avec le bon sens, est devenu en France et en Angleterre l'objet d'un enthousiasme et d'une sorte d'adoration auxquels nos neveux auront de la peine à ajouter foi.⁹

The point of view of the *Oriflamme* is well set forth in an article entitled *Littérature du romantisme*, some sixteen pages in length, signed "J."¹⁰ The usual arguments against romanticism are presented with Voltarian cleverness and vehemence. Nowhere in the fifty-two numbers of the newspaper is any tolerance shown for romantic theories.

The *Nain* likewise cannot be considered as representing the ideas of the group mentioned by M. Albert. Such a classification is hardly suitable for a paper which calls itself the "Nain de la milice philosophique"¹¹ and which expresses itself as "se targuant de l'autorité de Voltaire."¹² It is true, nevertheless, that this publication is far less inimical to romanticism than the *Oriflamme*. It does not proclaim a definite policy, and has writers in both camps. Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Victor Hugo receive nothing but praise in its columns. One capable writer who signs himself "ZZ" defends steadily "cette révolution dans l'art dramatique que tout annonce et prépare chez nous," and refers to the "tendance générale de toute littérature vraie, c'est-à-dire romantique."¹³ This same writer, however, has little sympathy for Byron, and in an article written in a satirical vein states that the answer to the Byronic enigma is "une jambe plus courte que l'autre, et cette jambe se terminait par un pied bot."¹⁴ The classicists who write for the paper glorify Voltaire and attack romanticism in terms such as the following:

Comme Enée distingue à travers un nuage les dieux qui sapent les murs de Troie, ainsi les yeux clairvoyans aperçoivent, à travers une vapeur romantique, une tourbe d'écrivains travaillant à détruire les monumens poétiques du siècle de Louis XIV. . . Si Voltaire a respecté scrupuleuse-

⁹ I, 474.

¹⁰ III, 353-362, and 400-407.

¹¹ II, 274.

¹² II, 231.

¹³ II, 23.

¹⁴ II, 102.

ment le code d'Aristote et de Boileau. . . que penser de ceux qui veulent aujourd'hui fouler aux pieds les lois de ces grands maîtres!!! On peut les comparer à des eunuques qui médisent de la virilité. . . cette foule de compositions absurdes, avorton d'oiguel et d'ignoiance. . .¹⁵

The passage in the *Nain* which perhaps best illustrates the independent spirit of the publication is that written by the Editor in the Introduction to the first number:

M le comte Gaspard de Pons, M. Guiraud, M. Alfred de Vigny, nous ne sommes pas classiques; nous nous moquons de la grammaire et du bon sens, de Racine et de Voltaire, venez à nous! M. Auger, M. Mély-Jeannin, M. Droz, nous ne sommes point romantiques, nous nous passons d'imagination et de pensées; nous nous moquons de Byron et Shakespeare; venez à nous.¹⁶

It is evident even from the few selections quoted that neither of the two royalists papers, the *Oriflamme* and the *Nain*, was under the control of the young poets of the *Premier Cénacle*.

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LE VISAGE HUMAIN DANS LA TRAGÉDIE DE LA CALPRENÈDE

Le livre de M. G. Le Bidois, *De l'Action dans la Tragédie de Racine*,¹ et l'article que M. R. Doumic y consacra² ont montré quelle importance le visage humain acquit dans la tragédie sous Racine. Il faut convenir que si Shakspeare et Corneille ont parfois constaté une expression de physionomie à quelque moment d'une pièce, ils n'ont guère exploité leurs observations. Parmi les grands auteurs du théâtre, car ce sont les seuls que considère M. Le Bidois, Racine le premier déploie le "spectacle d'âme" qui accompagne,

¹⁵ I, 102-103.

¹⁶ Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

¹ Paris, 1900. Cf. Chap. IV. L'ouvrage fut publié une seconde fois, à peu près tel quel en ce qui nous occupe, sous le titre: *Du Décor dans la Tragédie de Racine*, Paris, 1900.

² *Le Décor de la Tragédie de Racine*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 septembre 1901.

soutient et parachève l'action. Voilà qui est entendu, et MM. Doumic et Le Bidois le disent trop bien pour qu'on ait à y revenir.

Néanmoins, avant que Racine vînt, le visage humain avait été déjà sur la scène française, dans le sens où Racine l'emploiera, la "décoration qui devient une partie de l'action." Le précurseur du grand poète est certes un modeste écrivain; mais ne sait-on pas que, dans l'art du moins, les plus humbles ne sont pas toujours les moins chanceux. Pour n'appartenir pas au premier rang du théâtre (ou plutôt, sans s'être maintenu au premier rang, car il y fut un temps dans l'opinion des contemporains), La Calprenède³ n'en a pas moins connu la valeur dramatique d'une notation suivie des visages.⁴

Je tenterai d'indiquer le parti qu'il en tira dans deux de ses tragédies: *le Comte d'Essex* et *la Mort des enfans d'Herodes*.⁵ Elles ne comptent pas moins d'une quinzaine d'indications chacune. Le dessein est net. Ces faisceaux de traits placés au centre du drame pour le rendre plus saisissant et contribuer à le précipiter marquent en outre son champ d'action.

Dans les intrigues de "cours funestes" qu'il sollicite ici c'est surtout aux physionomies de leurs acteurs que La Calprenède demande sa pièce: spectacles complets en soi, et qui portent écrits les sentiments du personnage et les péripéties du drame.

Si le visage dénonce en effet le courtisan à qui l'on voit

Comme aux Cameleons mille fronts différents,⁶

il trahit également le monarque dont les "raisons d'Etat"

³ Pour la mise au point de ce dramaturge aujourd'hui négligé on devra consulter le travail de M. Lancaster: *La Calprenède Dramatist, Modern Philology*, juillet et novembre 1920.

⁴ Ce n'est pas à dire que d'autres dramaturges de l'époque n'aient pas senti les ressources de la notation de la physionomie; cf. Mairet, *Sophonisbe* (repr. 1634), I, 2; III, 4; V, 5; Tristan, *Panthée* (1639), II, 3; III, 3.

La Calprenède lui-même n'a pas toujours amalgamé la physionomie du personnage à l'action du drame. Il s'en est parfois tenu à des généralités ou à des instantanés qu'il a laissé perdre; cf. *Jeanne Reyne d'Angleterre* (1638), I, 2, 3; IV, 4; V, 2, 3, 5. Dans *Edouard* (tragi-comédie, 1640) nous relevons deux observations (I, 3; III, 3) qui concourent à l'effet de la pièce.

⁵ 1639.

⁶ *Herodes*, II, 1.

sont bien assez puissantes
Pour donner à son front cent formes différentes.*

Aussi bien les monarques, personnages prépondérants de ces tragédies, sont des êtres tourmentés dont le physionomie révèle à chaque instant le trouble intérieur. Comme les pensées qui les agitent sont le ressort de la pièce, c'est sur leurs traits que nous devons suivre le progrès de l'action. Pour que rien n'en échappe à personne, les jeux de physionomie des moments décisifs sont inscrits au texte.

C'est à la subite altération des traits d'Élisabeth:

Iuste Ciel quel changement
Que la Reyne est troublée O Dieu le teint lui change (*Essex*, I, 3).

que nous connaissons que le drame est présentement amorcé. Les efforts qu'elle fait sur elle-même:

. . . reprends ce front Royal,
Et cache si tu peux ton estrange foiblesse (IV, 2);

les avis qu'elle reçoit:

Remettez-vous Madame, et que votre visage
Ne fasse point ce tort à vostre grand courage (V, 2);

les marques de l'impossibilité qu'elle éprouve à maîtriser son émotion en apprenant l'exécution d'Essex:

. . . de quelque façon que sa douleur se flatte
Son mortel desplaisir visiblement esclatte (V, 3);

voilà les jalons du drame. L'image de la femme succombant sous sa peine en expose l'étape dernière:

La Reine devient pasle elle ferme les yeux,
Et s'est esvanouye. . . (V, 6).

Un passage suffirait à montrer l'importance donnée au témoignage de la figure: Alix vient justement de reprocher à la reine de ne pas mieux dompter son chagrin,

Et rien ne vous oblige à respandre des pleurs (V, 2),

quand arrive la nouvelle de la mort d'Essex; et alors c'est la reine,

* *Id.*, V, 1.

le visage décomposé, nous l'avons vu, qui commande que l'on ne se trouble point :

Rappelle ton courage.

Voy tout d'un front égal et d'un mesme visage (v, 3).

Il y a là plus que de l'ironie.

D'Hérode ballotté par la peur d'être assassiné et l'horreur des succès sur quoi il établit sa puissance on nous signale d'abord

Ces yeux rouges de sang dont les traits redoutables

Portent dans leurs regards des morts inevitables (I, 1).

Afin que nous le voyions comme il est sous ses "ajustements" on nous prévient qu'il "peint ses cheveux, se farde le teint" et que même parfois

il adoucit ses yeux (Ib.).

Il s'agira donc de le regarder de près et sans relâche pour saisir le drame dans sa pleine intensité, à son foyer, si je puis ainsi dire, sur ce visage qui domine la pièce et dont l' "obiet espouvante."

C'est d'ailleurs à observer le tyran que les autres personnages mettent tout leur soin. Ils ont noté, nous l'avons dit, que les plis de son front traduisent ses inquiétudes. Se départ-il un instant de sa contenance habituelle, la lueur est aussitôt aperçue :

... j'ay leu dans ses yeux qu'il seroist bien aizé

D'appaier son courroux s'il n'estoit appaisé (v, 1).

On croit avoir remarqué qu'il est une personne dont le regard (il ne saurait être question d'aucun autre langage) touche le despote :

... d'un simple regard elle attendrit ce cœur (Ib.).

C'est elle qui implorera la grâce d'Hérode. Comme c'est elle justement qui se disait épouvantée à sa vue, n'y aurait-il pas là (v, 3)—hors-texte—une "scène des regards" ?

Mais c'est assez dire que, Hérode ou Elisabeth, il y a dans ces tragédies de La Calprenède (comme il y aura dans la tragédie racinienne) quelqu'un qui est maître des autres, sur qui tous les yeux sont fixés pour tenter à déchiffrer les destinées dont on voit passer les ombres sur son front.

Le maître à son tour tâche à pénétrer sur leurs figures les sentiments de ses sujets. Hérode se vante de son coup d'œil. D'un regard il a jugé des motifs d'Alexandre :

. . . ie vois l'ainé dont le visage blesme
 Tesmoigne à cet abord une douleur extremes.
 Il fremit, il paslit, et par ses changemens
 Il me découvre assez ses divers mouvemens (I, 2).

L'avantage ne serait pas complet cependant s'il n'en informait son interlocuteur:

. . . quel mauvais presage
 Tuay-je de vos yeux et de vostre visage (I, 3).

Hérode ne s'explique pas là-dessus; mais il est évident que l'impression qu'il a reçue, et qui confirme les soupçons qu'il avait, ne sera pas pour rien dans la suite des événements.⁸

Élisabeth n'est pas moins confiante en sa propre perspicacité. Elle a lu l'aveu de la trahison sur les traits d'Essex:

Tu paslis desloyal, et le remords imprime
 Sur ton coupable front les marques de ton crime (I, 1).

Le comte a beau protester que son visage "exprime mal les mouvements de son âme," le tour est joué.⁹ Du reste le bien fondé de l'accusation n'importe guère, et l'auteur ne s'est pas autrement soucié d'éclaircir le procès.¹⁰ Il a suffi que la reine ait vu ce qu'elle a vu. Vraie ou fausse la révélation est décisive; le drame part de là.

D'ailleurs La Calprenède n'a pas voulu restreindre ses personnages au rôle de *rapporteurs*; il leur laisse la liberté de traduire.¹¹ L'auditoire reçoit ainsi deux renseignements au lieu d'un. Par exemple, les fils d'Hérode ne s'entendent pas toujours sur le compte de leur père. L'un a cru voir qu'il voulait séduire sa belle-fille.

⁸ Il est à noter que c'est par la vue, pour ainsi dire, qu' Hérode est puni. Le remords d'avoir fait mourir Mariane prend la forme d'une image qui hante son sommeil (I, 2). Le spectacle de sa belle-fille évanouie le bouleverse (IV, 2). Élisabeth s'évanouit à la vue de la bague d'Essex (I, 6).

⁹ Il est au moins un obstacle à ce que les monarques connaissent les sentiments des sujets; La Calprenède le dit:

Les visages des Roys ont un éclat auguste
 Qui retient les esprits dans une crainte iuste,
 Et ce rayon secret de la Divinité
 Imprime le respect avec la Majesté (*Jeanne d'Angleterre*, I, 3).

cf. aussi, *Essex*, I, 1.

¹⁰ Comp. I, 5 et II, 4.

¹¹ Aussi est-ce en vain qu'un personnage prendra son "front" à témoin de son innocence; cf. *Herodes*, II, 4; IV, 1; *Essex*, III, 1.

L'autre a observé qu'il n'en était rien.¹² Faut-il ajouter que le mari de Glaphira, obsédé par la jalousie, n'a découvert que ce qu'il cherchait.

Les autres personnages s'observent mutuellement.¹³ Nous nous bornerons à signaler un trait qui rappelle assez certain passage d'*Andromaque*. Glaphira suppliait Salomé d'intercéder auprès du roi, quand elle s'est aperçue que l'autre ne l'écoutait plus :

Mais ie vous fais Madame un discours inutile,
 Au lieu de vous toucher ie voy qu'il vous aigrit.
 Ie congnoy vostre humeur, ie congnoy vostre esprit;
 Et vostre intention m'est assez descouverte (III, 1).

Nous nous sommes contentés de passages où il est expressément fait mention de la figure. On pourrait en citer où, pour n'être pas compris dans le texte, son rôle n'en est pas moins certain. Il est évident, par exemple, que les conspirateurs épient le visage d'Hérode examinant leur message :

Seigneur si ce complot estoit moins important
 J'eusse celé des maux qui vous affligent tant;
 Et n'eusse point donné ces mauvaises nouvelles
 Dont vous avez receu les atteintes mortelles (II, 2);

et qu'ils y ont vu qui les engage à poursuivre. . .¹⁴

Voy comment le trespas sur son visage est peint
 Voy la nuit de ses yeux, la palseur de son teint,
 La livide couleur de sa levre déteinte (*Herodes*, v, 5).

Nous desservirions notre auteur en prétendant qu'il a fait aussi bien que Racine là même où Racine a mis le meilleur de son génie. J'ai voulu seulement marquer que le talent de La Calprenède a ouvert la voie, et que l'honneur lui revient d'avoir donné la première étude d'un spectacle d'âme qui soit un élément de l'action.

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¹² v, 1.

¹³ Cf. *Essew*, III, 1, 5; v, 1; *Herodes*, II, 2; v, 1.

¹⁴ Certains passages (*Herodes*, I, 2; IV, 2; *Essew*, v, 6) prêtent à des expressions de physionomie qu'il eût été inutile de souligner. On peut noter aussi la "physionomie" de la mort.

VOLTAIRE REREAD

A propos of Professor G. R. Havens's statement (*MLN.*, XLIV, 492) in his article entitled "Voltaire's Pessimistic Revision of the Conclusion of his *Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne*," that "the phrase 'voilà l'illusion' was changed to 'C'est qu'elle [*sic*] illusion!'" it seems to me that this change would not render the expression more forceful; and, if so, at the expense of grammar. May I suggest that the phrase, which occurs in the fac-simile accompanying the article, should be read, "Ciel, quelle illusion!"?

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 AN ALLUSION IN 1620 TO ALEXANDRE HARDY

As allusions to the acting of plays in France during the early part of the seventeenth century are rare, the following passage in the *Lectori* of Father Caussin's *Tragoediae sacrae*, Paris, Chappelet, 1620, is not without interest:

Iniquum est siquidem Phyllidis aut Charicleae amoribus ardere scenas, & de martyrum agonibus Christianorum pulpita conticescere, quos ignorare flagitium est, contemnere piaculum.

The reference seems to be to Hardy's *Chastes et loyales amours de Théagène et Cariclée*, printed in 1623, but acted some years before, and to the *Filli di Scire* of Bonarelli, one of the best known Italian pastorals, already imitated in France and probably acted there by Italian players. As the writer's purpose was to defend the publication of his four Latin tragedies, he would naturally mention plays by authors of established reputation rather than obscure productions in which heroines of these names also appear.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

REVIEWS

Le Mouvement Humaniste aux États-Unis. By LOUIS J.-A. MERCIER. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1928. Pp. x + 282.

The book of Professor Mercier is an exposition of the doctrines of three American critics of literature and society, MM. W. C. Brownell, Irving Babbitt, and Paul Elmer More; and falls into four divisions. The preface rests upon two ideas: first, since "la terre de France est au centre géographique du globe," humanism turns naturally to France for guidance; and second, "la question fondamentale qui intéresse également MM. Babbitt, More et Brownell, c'est celle de la culture dans une démocratie." Next comes an exposition of the principal ideas of these critics in order. Third, there is a summary view of the movement of humanism. Last, there are some sixty pages of translation into French of typical essays from the critics indicated.

Since Professor Mercier is himself of the humanist persuasion, his book is naturally sympathetic; and he has at his command the admirable power of summarizing precisely the ideas of others which the French possess. Written presumably for a European public, his summaries of the views of MM. Brownell, Babbitt, and More are clear and informative. There is, of course, not the same need of such a book for the American student since he can consult the works of the writers themselves.

But if Professor Mercier is sympathetic and clear, these excellent virtues do not conceal the essentially propagandistic nature of his volume. His treatment is not critical but didactic.

He writes that "le mouvement humaniste comprend donc une psychologie, une esthétique, une pédagogie, une sociologie, une politique nationale et internationale, et il s'élève jusqu'à l'idée religieuse." He says also that humanism "est lumineusement simple et cependant compréhensive. Elle touche et unifie tous les domaines. Elle ne s'oppose aucunement à un appel aux forces civilisatrices de la religion puisqu'au contraire elle ose à peine croire qu'elle puisse réussir à sauver la civilisation sans leur secours. Mais, d'autre part, elle se plante solidement sur le terrain positiviste. Elle défie toutes les écoles de pensée de se montrer plus réaliste, plus critique, plus fondée en raison, plus objective qu'elle ne l'est elle-même."

Wondering whether Faust's thirst for the secret of all knowledge is at length to be satisfied, the critical reader is naturally anxious to know how a program of these magnificent pretensions is supported in fact as well as in books; whether its foundations are sure;

and whether the psychologists, aestheticians, pedagogues, sociologists, students of political science and international law, and theologians, not to speak of literary historians, critics, and philosophers are to lie down together and accept this new dispensation which is to be everywhere, at all times, and to all men the same. Here is the assurance of universal truth. Remembering, however, a tendency on the part of the humanists to refer to these fellow-laborers as "pseudo-scientists," such of the judicious as are humbly engaged in mastering smaller departments of knowledge are not likely to be convinced by Professor Mercier's asseveration, especially since he nowhere meets any of the sound objections which have been raised against the new *Summa Theologica*.

The epic grandeur of the program thus outlined makes it difficult to deal with Professor Mercier's book within the limits of a journal devoted to the minuter labors of the philologist and the literary historian. The question, it is clear, is not one of exact scholarship, but of a universal program of knowledge, based on the symbolical fact that "la terre de France est au centre géographique du globe." One is tempted to speculate on the mixed emotions with which this sentence will be read by a cultivated Chinese gentleman or a cultured Parsee. The argument is circular: the distinguished author is delighted with humanism because it looks to French traditions; and French traditions are true because they anticipate humanism.

Professor Mercier's refusal to recognize any weakness in the humanist propaedeutic makes it difficult to discuss his treatise effectively. Thus he accepts without comment the late Mr. Brownell's delineation of American life in his *French Traits*, published in 1888, and of American art in his *French Art*, published in 1892, and nowhere indicates a suspicion that these treatises do not necessarily apply to American life forty years later. He accepts without demur criticisms of American education by Mr. Brownell and Mr. Babbitt without realizing (except for a footnote on Harvard University) that a new synthesis is well along the process of formation. Mr. Babbitt's well-known prejudices in the criticism of authors this side of Rousseau draw from him no reproof, though it is difficult to reconcile a wise "humanism" with this critic's notable irritability; and the same is true *pari passu* in the case of Mr. More. He does not meet the just observation of Mr. F. B. Millett (Manly and Rickert, *Contemporary American Literature*, revised edition, p. 89) that Mr. Babbitt identifies romanticism "with all that is in his eyes aesthetically and ethically evil" and that his "work betrays a disconcerting absence of the balance and restraint of the classicism to which he professes allegiance." Finally he nowhere meets the objection that whereas these critics set up masterpieces in the "tradition," themselves determining what the tradition is, they then justify the "tradition" by the masterpieces; nor does he

show why another set of masterpieces, chosen by another interpretation of the general terms which the humanists employ, should lack validity.

If we pass from mere matters of literature to the realm of political theory, we note that Professor Mercier accepts without examination Mr. Babbitt's identification of American (Jeffersonian) democracy with "Rousseauism," although, as Professor Chinard has justly pointed out (*Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism*, 1929), Jefferson owes nothing to Rousseau and was essentially a conservative. Neither does he stop to inquire why, in the main, documentary proof of the influence of Rousseauism in the United States is still to seek (neither does Mr. Babbitt); or to explain away the fact that the structure and government of American democracy has been in the main Hamiltonian. Although the brilliant review of Mr. Babbitt's *Democracy and Leadership* in *The New Republic* (xi, 1924, 49) by Professor T. V. Smith should have revealed to him the inadequacies of Mr. Babbitt's simple theory of the state, Professor Mercier does not admit that the whole theory of democracy has changed; and that it rests, as Professor Smith points out, upon the conception that "each man shall through training of all his capacities be encouraged to participate in all the processes of society" rather than upon an anarchic wish-fulfillment; yet this point of view has been urged by Professor Smith in two recent volumes, as well as by others. In sum, Professor Mercier totally ignores the significance of liberalism in American political theory.

Professor Mercier tells us that humanism "est fondamentalement une philosophie de la Volonté" and speaks elsewhere of the "ethical will." He does not, however, seem to suspect that the humanist psychology is purely literary; and that neither the dismissal of psychology as a pseudo-science nor literary asseveration as to human freedom meets the point at issue. Nor does he pause to consider that, whether the will be free or not, if we assume it to be free (as in the philosophy of *As if*), the intricate problem of human motivation is still to solve in terms of inheritance, environment, and general social control. Laboratory science is "naturism," but unfortunately for idealism, a name is not an argument; and as Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch has pointed out (*The Modern Temper*, 1929, chapter II), the literary psychology of the humanists leads logically to the animal naturalism which they scorn.

Whatever the sound elements in the humanist program may be (and certainly the literary criticism of Brownell, the erudition of Babbitt, and the prose of More are in themselves admirable), it is not possible to accept seriously a program of such vast pretensions which blandly ignores realities. Confronted by this book as

well as by various humanist pronouncements, it is, moreover, difficult for an American critic, though he strive to be reasonably intelligent and hope to be intellectually humble, to suppress his irritation at a point of view which reads American culture mainly in terms of its crudities and its failures. Generally speaking, Professor Mercier and the three critics of whom he is the advocate, interpret our contemporary civilization in terms of the America of 1880; and they cannot see, or will not admit, the emergence on American soil of a sound and interesting culture, since that culture cannot be fitted into their program. Yet, if any part of their idealism is to be saved, Professor Smith's advice is still excellent if "humanity will not come to humanism," humanism had better "make a pilgrimage to humanity."

We badly need a thorough and impartial examination of the whole humanist program, one which will lay bare its excellences and reveal its defects. The loose use of general terms in such volumes needs to be carefully checked; and the definitions from which they operate need to be examined in the light of a realistic critique. Professor Mercier's book is a clear résumé of the critical works he advocates; but his book is in no sense a critical one itself.

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The American Scholar, a Study in Litterae Inhumaniores. By

NORMAN FOERSTER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929. Pp. ix + 67. \$1.00.

The movement which it has become customary to call "the new humanism" is undoubtedly the major aesthetic program in contemporary America, and with its analogues in England (in the work of Mr. T. S. Eliot) and France (M. Maurras) takes its place as part of an international tendency comparable to romanticism or Cartesianism. Though its founders are Messrs. Babbitt and More, Mr. Norman Foerster has recently assumed the rôle of major prophet for the new creed and has published what has become a series of books and essays in its furtherance. *The American Scholar* is another item in this series and defends the humanistic cause by taking to task the methods and aims of contemporary American scholarship, particularly in the field of literature.

The main trouble, one gathers, with American scholarship thus delimited is its preoccupation with philology, literary history, social history, and psychology; its neglect of aesthetic criticism, its lack of taste. As a cure Mr. Foerster proposes a development and application of critical standards which will be found in

tradition. We must turn our backs, he maintains, on something which he denominates "Germany" and orient ourselves toward something which he denominates "France." Then American scholarship will discover the "universal and unchanging" in man. Putting this program into effect would mean abandoning "the German doctorate" or, as a compromise, having two degrees, one for Teutonic souls and the other for Gallic, the one "scientific," the other "critical."

It is easy to see that the real issue in the argument is between the study of literature as a fact and its appraisal as an art. To analyse a poem, to symbolise its rhythm and its rhyme scheme, to write the biography of its author, to compare and contrast its form and matter with other poems, to relate its language and ideas to the general history of language and culture, to set it against its social background, is to treat it as a fact. To tell whether it is a great poem or not is to treat it as a work of art. The two functions are obviously different, as different as saying, "Wilkes Booth shot Abraham Lincoln," and "Wilkes Booth should not have shot Abraham Lincoln."

The issue, however, is deeper than that. Whether the "true" scholar is a scientist or a critic may seem a matter of nomenclature only and if Mr. Foerster simply wanted to call aesthetic critics "scholars" and "scientists" "non-scholars," the scientists ought to be willing to grant him that harmless right. It might hurt their pride, since "scholar" is a eulogistic epithet. But they could stand the wound. What Mr. Foerster really wishes is that professors of literature should stop being "scientific" and become "aesthetic." Like many other propagandists, he tells men that they ought to be what they "truly" are and says that they "truly" are what he would like them to be.

His program gains a certain attractiveness from his theory of traditional standards, which he finds embedded in a "unity of memory running through the ages" (p. 34). Unfortunately the race has frequently suffered from aphasia. Readers of this magazine need no reminder of Shakespeare's reputation in parts of the eighteenth century, of Dryden's naive remarks on Chaucer's uncouthness, of the total miscomprehension of Gothic architecture before the middle of the nineteenth century and of the absurd ideas of classical architecture in the Renaissance. I venture to maintain that no work of art has sustained a uniform reputation through time and that what we who were educated in American universities think of as intrinsically great literature is simply that catalogue of books which our teachers either found out for themselves were great or which they accepted as great on the say-so of their teachers.

That there is a tradition goes without saying: there are several. The professors have one, the public another. The professors are

moreover divided laterally into layers of tradition depending upon their schooling. And so is the public, depending on their social background. By what trick of logic a book may be said to be great when no one finds it great, or small when no one finds it small, I leave to Mr. Foerster to elucidate. The truth is rather that works of art become great and small; their values change. This to be sure will not seem sensible to people who argue that a knowledge of philology, psychology, and history are not essential to an understanding of literature. (Would it also have been of as little value to Dryden and David Garrick?) But to one who refuses to separate man's works from man's life as a whole, the relativity of aesthetic values seems reasonable enough and helps him understand why Diderot could weep at *Le Père de Famille* and William Blake be ridiculed by his contemporaries.

Mr. Foerster might also explain when a tradition is not a tradition. For 175 years literature has been dominated—so say the new humanists—by Rousseau and Romanticism. But part of Rousseau—the part which is “romantic”—goes back to the English platonists, through them probably to the Florentine Academy, to the medieval platonistic mystics, to John Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, to Dionysius the Areopagite in the fifth, to Plotinus in the third, through obscurer Alexandrians—perhaps Philo-Judaeus—to Athens and the *Timaeus*, and, if M. Bréhier is right, through Apollonius of Tyana to the gymnosophists of India. There is a tradition as old as that of “humanism.” When one understands that one of the planks in Mr. Foerster's own platform, the creation of an ethics by fiat regardless of science, goes back to Kant and thence to the deplorable Savoyard Vicar, one is perhaps less puzzled by his desire to relegate “science” to a lower plane, but no less sure that “science” is needed to enlighten the study of literature.

The facts are that aesthetic appreciation, as other than impressionism, demands a much greater knowledge of the “sciences” than most of us have. Without it we shall fall into absurdities, trivialities which are best left to the newspaper critics. Professors in the past have attempted aesthetic criticism. In the France to which Mr. Foerster looks with longing, it was the rule—up to 1840 or thereabouts. Victor Cousin was a great hand at it. Let Mr. Foerster re-read *Le Vrai, le Beau, Le Bien*, and see how he likes it. Surely the merit of the French theses is just their abandonment of this technique. Did it mean that they turned German?

Not at all. One can study semantics without being a pedant and psychology without being prurient. The trouble with the German theses of the type Mr. Foerster quite rightly attacks was not that they were establishing facts, but that they were establishing minute and unimportant facts in isolation, facts whose relevancy to litera-

ture was left obscure. It takes nothing more than patience—or at least assiduity—to write such theses. Intelligence was admittedly a liability not an asset. I still remember papers I was made to write in a seminar on Milton which anyone who could read and count could have done as well. But after all what else can a boy of twenty turn out, unless he is a genius? Real reform would be, as Mr. Foerster says, in throwing the Ph. D. overboard and substituting the D.ès L. (*de l'Etat*). But that is not dumping “science” and taking on “appreciation.”

If one is willing to go as far as M. Maurras or Mr. Eliot, the situation is different. In that event tradition has supernatural sanction. The beautiful is the divine presence, grounded in revelation and expressed through the Church. But our humanists violently reject catholicism, even the Anglican variety. In which case their tradition is no more holy than any other. They cannot then explain why great books should last any longer than small ones and no one except by fiat (*absit* Rousseau) has given us any reasonable and universally valid method of distinguishing good from bad.

That aesthetic criticism is possible, no one will deny. It might take the form of considering each book by itself, studying its technique, tracing its pattern, elucidating all the formal characteristics which make it what it is. Our emotions over geometry are proof that mankind can be stirred by purely aesthetic traits. But that is as far from “humanism” as it is from “impressionism” and it is only one of the tasks which professors of literature have before them. Meanwhile nothing is gained by stifling the life which the history of ideas has infused into literature. A robin is no less a bird for being called a *Turdus migratorius* (Linn.) nor is *Paradise Lost* any less a poem for being known to be the embodiment of certain theological legends with a traceable history and a recognizable place in the mosaic of seventeenth century literature. Were the choice between humanism and pedantry, no one would hesitate; but it seems rather to be between enlightenment and aestheticism. It is all very well for Mr. Foerster to cite Carleton Brown to the end that “the final goal of our research . . . is to understand and interpret the life of man”; this cannot be done without knowledge, even philological. But whether that knowledge will show “the underlying and permanent significance of humanity” is a debateable point. Too much has occurred to let us believe that time and change are unreal. The substantial and the permanent have a way under analysis of turning into the accidental and the temporal.

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Die deutsche Novelle im Mittelalter. Auf dem Untergrunde der geistigen Stromungen. Von HERMANN WEISSER. Freiburg i. B., Herder & Co. 1926. iii + 128 Seiten.

Der Gattungsbegriff "Novelle." Von ARNOLD HIRSCH. Germanische Studien. Berlin, Emil Eberling, 1928. 158 Seiten.

Wir leben im Zeitaler der Wissenschaft und nichts ist uns so zuwider als Unsicherheit in der Terminologie gewisser Begriffe. Was ist z. B. eine Novelle? Seit Goethe haben viele versucht das Wesen der Novelle festzulegen, doch ist es bis jetzt niemand gelungen ein wirklich erschöpfendes Bild derselben zu geben.

Die beiden vorliegenden Werke machen es sich zur Aufgabe eine umfassende Begriffsbestimmung der Novelle als poetischer Erzählungsgattung zu geben. Beide Werke ergänzen sich dabei aufs schönste, Hermann Weisser beschäftigt sich mit den Hauptstromungen des politischen, philosophischen und religiösen Denkens des Mittelalters und der Parallelität der Erscheinungen auf dem besonderen Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Novelle, während Arnold Hirsch's Untersuchungen Zeit und Raum der abendländischen Novelle—von Boccaccio's *Decamerone* bis zu Thomas Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*—umfassen.

Wir beschäftigen uns zuerst mit Hermann Weisser's Arbeit. Ihm ist es zunächst darum zu tun aus der Fülle der Definitionen eine herauszuheben, die dem Wesen und der Form der Novelle wirklich entspricht. Goethe's berühmter Ausspruch . . . "was ist eine Novelle anders als eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit" legt das Wesen der Novelle nicht erschöpfend dar, sondern deutet nur den reinen Wortsinn des italienischen Wortes "novella." Weisser betont ausdrücklich das Verdienst der Romantiker um die Novelle. An Hand eines Beispiels aus dem "ältesten mittelalterlichen Novellenbuch, der *Disciplina clericalis* des Petrus Alfonsi (um 1110)¹ und unter Hinweis auf spätere Novellen kommt er zu der folgenden Definition (S. 7): "Die Novelle ist eine Erzählung, die die innere und äussere Entwicklung, die Schicksale eines Einzelmenschen in seinem Verhältnisse zu einem oder mehreren anderen Menschen in einer oder in einigen kurzen Situationen mit entscheidenden Wendepunkten darstellt." Die folgenden Kapitel des Buches sind der Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der abendländischen Novelle bis zum Anbruch der Neuzeit gewidmet. Durch das ganze Werk bleibt Weisser seinem in der Einleitung ausgesprochenen Entschluss treu und verfolgt die mittelalterlichen Geistesströmungen—die Einheit der Weltanschauung, den beginnenden Individualismus—und ihren

¹ *Sammlung mittelalterlicher Texte*, ed. A. Hilka, Heft 1: *Die disciplina clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi* (1911).

Einfluss auf die zeitgenössische Novelle. Er vertritt seine Anschauungen mit der berechtigten Überzeugung des Kenners. Man darf ihm deshalb einen kleinen Angriff auf Hermann Hesse, dessen Einleitung zu einer Auswahl der *Gesta Romanorum* "von keinerlei Sachkenntnis getruht ist," wohl verzeihen.

Auch Arnold Hirsch gibt uns in der Einleitung zu verstehen, dass seine Arbeit von einer Untersuchung einzelner Kunstwerke aus, zur Bildung eines Gattungsbegriffes der Literaturgeschichte, des Begriffes "Novelle," zu gelangen sucht. Es folgt eine kurze Geschichte des Wortes "Novelle" und eine Geschichte der Novellentheorie. Der Verfasser zeigt, dass Verschiedenheit in der Übersetzung des Wortes "novella" viel zur Begriffsverwirrung beigetragen hat, und dass das Wort "Novelle" als Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Gattung von Erzählungen nach 1760 langsam bekannt wird. Seine Ausführungen über Novellentheorien decken sich im Wesentlichen mit denen Weisser's. Nicht leicht ist es sich durch das Kapitel über die logische Struktur der Gattungsbegriffe hindurchzuarbeiten. Hirsch vertritt hier die Ansicht, dass sich das aristotelische Begriffssystem nicht auf die Literaturgeschichte anwenden lasse, denn: "Die Gattungsbegriffe der Literaturgeschichte erfassen nicht das Vorbildliche (oder gar Gesetzmässige), nicht das Durchschnittliche—sie sind die Steigerung von hier mehr dort weniger scharf vorhandenen formalen Eigenschaften zu einem Idealtyp von logischer Vollkommenheit" (S. 84). Hirsch's Untersuchungen der einzelnen Kunstwerke (Idealtypen) ergeben folgendes "Der Novelle eigentümlich ist, dass sie das Subjektive in artistischer Formgebung verhüllt, dass diese Stilisierung der Ordnung und Fülle der Welt zu einer Beschränkung auf eine Situation und zur Wahl von ungewöhnlichen Geschehnissen führt" (S. 147).

Den Verfassern gebührt volle Anerkennung für die Gründlichkeit und Sachlichkeit mit der sie ihre Studien durchführten. Von besonderem Wert sind die beiden Büchern beigegebenen Quellenverzeichnisse.

LYDIA ROESCH

West Virginia University

Three Plays: Tamerlane, The Fair Penitent, Jane Shore, by
NICHOLAS ROWE. Edited by J. R. SUTHERLAND. London,
Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. 353. 15 s.

Rowe has been unduly neglected, though not to the extent one might infer from his latest editor's failure to make a single reference to Professor Hart's edition of *The Fair Penitent and Jane Shore*. Mr. Sutherland's object was evidently rather to reprint

these and one other play handsomely than to provide an extensive critical apparatus. Fifteen pages are devoted to Rowe's life, six to a sketch of "The State of the Theatre in 1700," and sixteen to an account of Rowe's various plays. The bibliography is limited to editions and criticism contemporary with Rowe. Aside from a scattering of textual variants, the remainder of the editor's contribution consists of sixteen pages of notes, largely theatrical items culled from Cibber, Chetwood, Gildon, etc., though a few historical allusions are explained. Repeated reference is made to "*The Autobiography*[!] of Colley Cibber."

The book is pleasing to the eye, but the page makes little attempt to suggest the quartos, speech tags being spelled out in full and centered. The editor confesses to numerous silent corrections of printers' errors, and punctuation is sometimes unnecessarily modernized, also silently. This tampering is not, however, carried out consistently, and some of the changes do not inspire confidence in Mr. Sutherland's familiarity with usage in Rowe's time, which in the case of *Jane Shore* is modified by the author's intentional archaisms. Thus (p. 257), the editor, apparently misunderstanding the "Or . . . or" construction, substitutes a comma for the (correct) semicolon of the qto. after the first line of Catesby's second speech (cf. the two lines after Jane's entrance, p. 260). There is actual negligence, unless the editor's copy of the qto. differs from the one I have used, in the handling of brackets (e. g., p. 278) for stage directions. In fact this edition is somewhat lacking both in fidelity to the original text and in consistent application of the textual plan adopted.

Misprints, however, seem to be rare, and for this the editor is to be commended. I have collated Mr. Sutherland's text of *Jane Shore* with a copy of Q 1714 and have noticed, except for intentional discrepancies, only the following, and these may of course be due to variants among the copies. Dram. Pers., Q omits final "e" of "Ratchliffe" (also s. d., p. 303, and occasionally elsewhere in both text and s. d.); p. 263, "I'll wait on you the instant"—Q: "you on" (cf. p. 283, "Peace of Mind shall wait you," and, p. 290, "wait me"); p. 283, "let us take our flight"—Q: "wing"; p. 314, last line in Q ends with "?," not "!" ; p. 317, n. 2, Q reads "Skriek," not "Skreik."

HAZELTON SPENCER

Das Englische Renaissancedrama. VON PHILIPP ARONSTEIN.
Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1929. Pp. x + 336.

Das Englische Renaissancedrama is an ambitious effort at a survey of Elizabethan drama in some three hundred and twelve pages of text. In this attempt Dr. Aronstein is surprisingly suc-

cessful. He has covered his field without evidences of painful compression of his material and he has by no means confined his discussion merely to the greater plays of the chief dramatists.

Dr. Aronstein has economized his space by reducing his introductory matter to a bare summary. Medieval drama—from the earliest tropes to John Heywood—is given eight and a half pages. Eighteen pages more bring us to the discussion of Lyly's comedies, that is, to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In a book upon "renaissancedrama," so brief a treatment of the medieval stage is not out of place, but it seems hardly well-considered to devote such a meagre proportion of the work to the period in which renaissance—or naissance—of the drama got under way in England. The somewhat superfluous synopses of plays might have been eliminated and the space so gained have been utilized in a less summary sketch of earlier sixteenth-century drama.

Dr. Aronstein's method of presenting his material is an interesting combination of the modes of various historians of English drama. He divides his periods into seven parts—introduced by "Die Anfänge," from the beginnings to Marlowe—which cover from four to seventeen years. Within these subperiods, he considers the types which are most in evidence, presenting not only some succinct and meaty criticism of representative plays but brief accounts of their authors. In consequence, however, the book, by reason of the resulting scrappiness of the various parts, and the wide separation of the sections which cover various writers may prove confusing to the beginner, for whom, presumably, it is designed. But no system of arrangement in literary history is entirely satisfactory, and possibly the merits of that employed by Dr. Aronstein outweigh its defects.

A number of slips are to be noted, many of which might have been removed by careful proofreading, although others are more serious. For example, Dr. Aronstein repeats (p. 21) the usual error regarding the plays of Hrotsvitha, who, he says, wrote "sechs lateinische Komödien nach Art des Terenz." The pious nun wrote neither to imitate nor to emulate Terence, but, as she herself announces, to provide the tenth-century reader with an edifying substitute for the ribaldries of the Roman poet. From the earlier portion of the volume, too, the inexperienced reader is apt to get the impression that mystery, morality, and interlude did not overlap in time and did not continue to be written and played until well into the reign of Elizabeth. Dr. Aronstein is misleading when he says that the comedies of Grazzini, who was born in 1503, appeared "im Anfänge des 16. Jahrhunderts" (p. 30); curiously enough eighteen lines further on, he dates correctly Grazzini's *La Spiritata* in 1561. That Lyly can be accurately called "der Schöpfer des romantischen Lustspiels" is doubtful. Credit may rightly be due

him as the introducer of literary style into comic dialogue and as the creator of certain types of character. But neither he nor any other single comic dramatist created romantic comedy: indeed Lyly's comedies as wholes stand apart from the general course of Elizabethan dramatic development.

The bibliography, which professes to list a selection of the most useful works upon English drama of the period, is, unfortunately, neither up to date nor discriminating. Although Dr. Aronstein's book bears the date 1929, the latest study cited appeared in 1927. A number of the works are no longer authoritative, and in various instances the most important treatments of dramatists or topics are ignored. A bibliography may be brief, but it should be, in any case, of positive utility. Dr. Aronstein's cannot be recommended to the average reader. Regrettably, the bibliography is disfigured by typographical errors. We find "J. P. Murray," "J. Quincey Adams," "Mandell Craighton," "S. P. Coleridge," "M. T. Hunt, Th. D." Earlier in the volume, errors occur which can hardly be charged to the printer; "Edward" Malone and "W. Wallace" (p. 6) are examples. On p. 21, "1567" stands for "1527." The volume seems well indexed.

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE

The University of North Dakota

An Analysis of the Stylistic Technique of Addison, Johnson, Hazlitt, and Pater. By ZILPHA E. CHANDLER. Iowa City: University of Iowa Studies: Humanistic Studies, IV, No. 3. Pp. 110. \$1.00.

This academic writer, not herself a faultless master of English idiom, undertakes to lecture Addison, Johnson, Hazlitt and Pater on their want of clearness and force, the result of numerous faults of grammar and logic which she finds in all of them. Her conclusions are based on passages of approximately 1500 words from each of the four writers. Since she finds so much to complain of in the meagre selections analyzed, one can imagine how badly these archaic writers would come out if she studied them at length! There is no one of them that is not guilty of faulty subordination, false parallelism, improper ellipsis, and inaccurate employment of words, to name but a small number of the criteria brought to bear. I have been fond of all four of these men, and had naïvely supposed that they were all notable for unusual precision in the use of English words, and that Addison, at least, was a writer of exceptional lucidity. It does me good to find that I can read the passages cited

without any difficulty or sense of ambiguity in the meaning. And I am still more pleased to find that often the Iowa critic is simply mistaken. It is not true that, in the cases cited, Pater uses the preposition *like* for the conjunction *as*. When did it become incorrect to say of Lamb that, "in the purely human temper, he can write of death, almost like Shakespeare"?

What ails this writer is pedantry. She lacks humor and historical sense. It would do her good to read *Words and their Ways in English Speech*. She has no trace of scepticism as to the validity of tests producing results so at variance with the impression derived from a simple reading of the English classics. She takes for granted that the rules of Professor Hill, often so helpful for University Freshmen, are equally binding on the authors of the *Spectator* and *Table-Talk*, and that the standardization—or, say, the sterilization—of English idiom, which has given us the *New Republic* and the *Saturday Review*, is an unmixed blessing and a sign of progress towards perfection. If she had her way, she would put a stop altogether to the feeble maunderings of individual pens and have imaginative literature—if she admits imaginative literature at all—produced by a grammatical syndicate, or, still better, by machine.

A large part of Miss Chandler's treatise is taken up with an analysis of the rhythms and phrase-patterns of the writers studied; and to this end she has invented an apparatus of outlandish terms and symbols as elaborate as the higher mathematics. I don't pretend to have mastered all the subtleties of this method, but having patiently scanned the conclusions, and checked them extensively by the texts of the authors, I strongly suspect that the results do not in this case justify the means. I am not unsympathetic to this type of minute analysis; but it surely has no value unless conducted by a critic of sense and sensibility. There came to me recently the prospectus of a critical essay on American scholarship. I trust that the author has duly taken into account the type of scholarship represented by the volume before us.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

University of Minnesota

La Jeunesse de Swinburne (1837-1867). Vol. I, *La Vie*. 271 pp. Vol. II, *L'Œuvre*, 618 pp. By GEORGES LAFOURCADE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. \$2.55.

La Jeunesse de Swinburne is an exhaustive study of the poet's first thirty years. Volume I gives new details about certain aspects of his career, notably his relations with his family and friends, his

education, his early reading. In discussing the reception of Swinburne's books, the author has fallen into occasional errors. Thus, he states (I, 184) that *The Queen-Mother and Rosamond* was noticed only by *The Athenaeum*, receiving no attention from *The Spectator*. But it was reviewed in the latter journal on January 12, 1861. Again, the important critical article on *Poems and Ballads* in *The Athenaeum* for August 4, 1866, is incorrectly assigned to Lush (I, 247 f.), whereas it was actually written by Buchanan (cf. Harriett Jay, *Robert Buchanan*, p. 161).

M. Lafourcade uses the *Athenaeum* critique and that by John Morley in *The Saturday Review* to introduce one of his central theses: Is the sensuality of *Poems and Ballads* real or merely literary? From 1866 to the present time careful students have noted in Swinburne's early work a reprehensible association of eroticism and pain. M. Lafourcade emphasizes more than his predecessors the crucial nature of the abortive love-affair with Jane Faulkner, though it had already been recognized that this experience has left its record in *The Triumph of Time*, *Les Noyades*, and *A Leave-Taking*. He reads *Dolores* as a poem embodying Swinburne's reaction from the mood expressed in *The Triumph of Time*, a turning away from normal human love to Our Lady of Pain. M. Lafourcade finds the Marquis de Sade's influence—to which the poet was exposed by Lord Houghton but to which he was rendered susceptible by congenital tendency—in unexpected places. These discoveries do not warrant, however, M. Lafourcade's calling *Notes on Poems and Reviews* false and adding, "Dans un sublime tour de passe-passe, *Dolores* était à demi caché sous les voiles du *Garden of Proserpine* and de *Hesperia*" (II, 464). Though Swinburne did attack from a vantage-ground of his own choosing, he was justified in linking the three poems. *Hesperia* obviously belongs to the group, as its references to *Dolores* show. W. H. Mallock's *Memoirs of Life and Literature* (p. 76) tells of Swinburne's mentioning in conversation *The Triumph of Time* and *Dolores* along with *The Garden of Proserpine* as autobiographical, the latter being an utterance of "his revolt against the flesh and its fevers." M. Lafourcade emphasizes the personal element in *Poems and Ballads* in order to controvert the traditional assertion that the poet was inspired by literature rather than by life. But the critic states his problem in too categorical a fashion. It is the very abnormality of love in *Chastelard* ("Enfin et surtout Chastelard incarne les aspirations sexuelles de Swinburne" [II, 280]) which makes that play seem remote from humanity. Who would deny, moreover, that *Sapphics* ("ce pur exercice prosodique" [II, 459]) is a poem as genuinely inspired as *Dolores*? M. Lafourcade rightly insists on the fundamental nature of Swinburne's lyrical fervor, but seems to forget that books, vicarious experience, have been as potent a stimulus to the imagination of great poets as actual experience.

Volume II analyses in detail Swinburne's early work, including most of that in Mr. T. J. Wise's collection of unpublished material. M. Lafourcade examines the poet's apprenticeship in the light of his study and imitation of the old chronicles, Boccaccio, the border ballads, the Elizabethans, and his contemporaries, tracing the evolution of his artistic, religious, and political ideas. The sources, chronology, and form of the early dramas and poems are ably discussed. Of M. Lafourcade's many incidental discoveries, *The Unhappy Revenge*, a youthful play, is of especial interest. *Modern Hellenism*, a disputed contribution to *Undergraduate Papers*, is ascribed to Swinburne (II, 169-70).

The author has fared badly with "those predestinate sons of Tophet, the printers," as Swinburne calls them, misprints being too numerous to record. Various incorrect references are given: "G. Daniel" (II, 236) for "Samuel Daniel"; "Letter to the Editor of *The Spectator*, 17 août" (II, 587) for "... 27 août"; "Letter to H. G. Fielder, *Times Literary Supplement*, August 14" (II, 588) for "Letter to H. G. Fiedler, August 19." The index is hardly adequate. Signs of carelessness in regard to mechanical matters make one a little suspicious of the valuable appendices containing variant readings and hitherto unpublished work. In spite of its defects, however, *La Jeunesse de Swinburne* deserves cordial praise as a worthy contribution to our knowledge of a noble poet.

CLYDE K. HYDER

Harvard University

The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne.

Edited by ROSCOE E. PARKER. Oxford University Press for the E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 174, 1928. Pp. liv + 137.

Das Mittelhenglische Versgedicht The Seege of Troye, eine philologische Untersuchung nebst einem Apdruck der drei Handschriften von DR. LEO HIBLER-LEBMANNSPORT. Graz, 1928. 2 parts. xii + 212; iv + 64.

In this 1928 volume of the Early English Text Society Mr. Parker has made accessible three hitherto unprinted poems on St. Anne, all from the fifteenth century: a northern version from the Phillips MS. 8122, now University of Minnesota MS. Z. 822, N. 81; a southeast Midland version in rime royal; and a more northern version in quatrains. The second and third were written for the celebration of the Feast of St. Anne, one probably for St. Anne's Guild at Bury St. Edmunds. More important than these is the long version of the Minnesota MS. which is interpolated into the

Northern Homily Collection and which Mr. Parker considers the source for the original version of the Virgin group of plays in the *Ludus Coventriae* (Plays VIII-XII, XIV, XV). His evidence consists partly of parallels in incident and partly of verbal parallels. The latter are by no means so close as the parallels between the *Northern Passion* and the Passion group; in fact most of them appear to be the chance likenesses that might arise when two men were adapting a Latin text into English; only the phrases of the colloquy between Mary and Gabriel (pp. xlvii-xlviii) seem too close for chance resemblance. As to the parallels of incident, Mr. Parker occasionally overrates the importance of *The Life of St. Anne* as source: in Play VIII (*The Conception*) the genealogies preceding the play are much nearer *Legenda Aurea* (p. 585) than the St. Anne poem; the phrase "pylgrimys and pore men" (*Lud. Cov.* 27) echoes "peregrinis pauperibus" (*Leg. Aur.* 587) rather than *Anne* "widows & childer fadyrlesse (p. xli); and the angel's appearance to Joachim and Anna (*Lud. Cov.* 147-210) is closer to the *Legenda Aurea* account (pp. 587-8) than to *The Life of St. Anne* (vv. 130-264). In Play X (*The Betrothal*) the names of Mary's three maidens, Susanne, Rebecca, Sephore, are nearer to Pseudo-Matthew's five (Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, Cael) than to the five in *The Life of St. Anne* (Gentea, Sophora, Sussanna Albigia, Agabell). In other words, *The Life of St. Anne* cannot be said to include "practically all the material contained in the plays" when so many details are more closely paralleled in other works. On the whole, however, Mr. Parker has done scholars a service by his straightforward introduction and his usable texts.

Dr. Hibler-Lebmannsport's investigation of the Middle English *Seege of Troye* is entirely independent of the edition by Miss Barnicle (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 172). While she prints four MSS. of the poem with a glossary and an elaborate discussion of the connections with other Troy material, Dr. Hibler-Lebmannsport's primary concern is the discovery of what the rime words show as to the dialect of the author and the scribes, and his printing of the three MSS. (unfortunately the Arundel MS. was not known to him) is largely for the convenience of the philological investigator. Two questions are important for his inquiry: how far does the Harley MS., with its recognized tendency to interpolation, represent the readings of the original in passages parallel to Lincoln's Inn MS. (*L*) and Egerton MS. (*E*); and how is the mingling of North Midland and South Midland forms in the rimes to be explained? Following Ficke, Dr. Hibler-Lebmannsport assumes a lost MS. (*Y*) as the common original of (*L*) and (*E*) and to this he ascribes the Northern forms in the rimes. The Harley MS. he thinks sometimes preserves the original readings where *L* and *E* represent a corruption made by *Y*, and the home of the author he places in central or northern Warwickshire.

In limited space, details of proof cannot be discussed; only suggestions may be indicated for later students of the poem. In the first place, exact allocation of dialect to a section of one shire is hazardous, especially when the evidence is a slender gathering of rime words. In the second place, the existence of the lost MS. *Y*, from which *L*, *E* (and Arundel) are supposed to have been copied, is by no means established: Ficke's proof, on which Dr. Hibler-Lebmansport relies, is inadequate; and Miss Barnicle refuses to posit *Y*, believing that all the MSS. were independently copied from one original. But if no northern MS. intervened between *L*, *E*, and the original, then the Northern or North Midland forms in the common rimes must be due to the author: and his home must have been, not Warwickshire at all, but somewhere further north.

Certainly the determination of this dialect cannot be considered a closed matter. Miss Barnicle's analysis (pp. xxix-xxx) fails to take into account such rimes as *sle3th: de3th* (1970-1) and *cloþ: goþ* (645-6). Perhaps with the new light thrown by the Arundel MS., Dr. Hibler-Lebmansport may revise his conclusions.

FRANCES A. FOSTER

Vassar College

BRIEF MENTION

The Novels of Thomas Hardy. By J. H. FOWLER. The English Association, Pamphlet No. 71. A speaker who gracefully describes himself as "an antique lecturer who grew up under the influence of the Victorian poets," while reluctantly acknowledging the greatness of Hardy as an artist, yet feels impelled to sound a warning against the danger of taking him for a great teacher. Hardy is a fine landscape artist, though in relation to Nature he is characterized by "fascinated observation rather than warm-hearted devotion"; a creator of strong characters, especially of women, and one who exalts instead of debasing our view of human nature. But he is all the more dangerous for being so great a magician. The peril is that we may fall under his evil spell, may come to share his withering views of human destiny, and that some day we may wake, helpless and disenchanted, "on the cold hillside."

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

Keats and Mary Tighe, by EARLE VONARD WELLER. The Modern Language Association of America. Pp. 333, 1928. \$3.50. In a scholarly book, a publisher's 'blurb' should be as discreet as it is

informative; the 'blurb' on the jacket of this book claims far too much, thus prejudicing one unjustly against the author.

Nevertheless, the author begs the question of Mrs. Tighe's influence on Keats as early as p. viii. The word-groups are not at all convincing; and the statement that melancholy and mystery, faëry and gloom, vividness, the pictorial, and haunting rhythms, found in Mrs. Tighe, are, because found in Keats, necessarily imitative in the latter, is uncritical, for such characteristics are common to many Romantic poets.

ERIC PARTRIDGE

London

A Myth of Shakespeare. By CHARLES WILLIAMS. New York, Oxford Press, 1928. Pp. 146. The author has connected a number of scenes from Shakespeare's plays through settings, in blank verse of quite unusual charm, which give an interpretation of the dramatist's associations with his fellows and some of his thoughts about his art. Although Mr. Williams disclaims any thesis except that Shakespeare was a born poet and working dramatist, his own point of view is clear enough, and is presented with feeling and insight. Particularly interesting are the passages dealing with the relation of Shakespeare to Marlowe, and, later, to Ben Jonson; the passages on the nature of poetry and the possible attitude of Shakespeare toward the printing of his plays.

E. G.

Collected Essays, Papers Etc., IV, A Critical Introduction to Keats. By ROBERT BRIDGES. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. 71-171. \$1.00. The poet-laureate has chosen the novel and effective means of winning adherents to his somewhat radical spelling reforms by using them in beautiful but inexpensive reprints of his essays. Slight, ingenious modifications of the italic type which indicate the various sounds give the pages an archaic though not unpleasant appearance. The notable critique here reprinted, which first appeared in 1895 and has hitherto been available only in the Muse's Library edition of Keats, is one of the most illuminating and finely appreciative essays on the poet that has ever been written. Mr. Bridges tells us frankly, unpretentiously what he likes, what he thinks poorly of, and why, and as he has taste and discrimination and as he is himself a distinguished poet, this is a volume that every lover of Keats will wish to own.

R. D. H.

Modern Language Notes

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TWO NOTES ON *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

In the September (1929) number of *PMLA*, I have attempted to establish the first quarto of *Titus Andronicus* as that one of the four early editions which is closest to the MS. of the author.¹ I there suggest altering the received text of the play in 31 instances to bring it into closer conformity with the first quarto readings. If I am correct in my weighing of evidence, the stage-directions and speech-headings of the first quarto² will similarly take on a new importance in the eyes of the textual critic.

(1) *The stage-direction before I, i, 18.*

The reading of the First Folio—and that obtaining in modern editions—is “Enter Marcus Andronicus aloft with the Crowne.” The three quartos³ read merely: “Marcus Andronicus with the Crowne,” and print the words directly above the first line of Marcus’ speech, centering them after the manner of a speech-heading, rather than placing them, as was often the case with stage-directions, at the right of the page. Furthermore, the first six speeches of the play (of which this is the third) show speech-headings similarly centered above their first lines—the seventh speech being the first to place the speaker’s name on the same line with the

¹ With the obvious exception of Act III, sc. ii, which appeared for the first time in the First Folio.

² Although the unique copy of the first quarto (1594) has never been reproduced and is not at present accessible to scholars, it has been carefully collated with the second quarto (1600) by Mr. Evald Ljunggren, Librarian of Lund University, and the findings have been published in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLI, 211-5.

³ Mr. Ljunggren does not specifically refer to this reading, but in view of the care with which his collating was done, it may be assumed that absence from his list indicates similarity between the two first editions.

opening words of his speech, and to the left. It seems to me then highly probable that the original author intended these words for a mere speech-heading; that Marcus Andronicus was not conceived of as entering at this point, but as having been on the stage from the opening of the play; and that he was implicitly referred to in the first stage-direction: "Enter the Tribunes and Senatours aloft." Such an interpretation would allow this most important of tribunes to enter with the imperial crown *before* the rival claimants had striven for it "by factions and by friends." I therefore suggest reducing the note of entry in modern editions to a single descriptive phrase: "*Marc. (holding the crown)*: Princes that strive," etc.

(2) *The speech-headings before I, i, 358, 360, 368, 369, and 371.*

Before line	Qq	F ₁	Capell	Camb. eds. & Craig	Neilson
358	two sonnes	two Sonnes	Quintus & Martius	Quintus & Martius	Quintus & Martius
360	sonne	sonne	Martius	Quintus	Quintus
368	3.Sonne	1 Sonne	Quintus	Martius	Lucius
369	2 Sonne	2 Sonne	Martius	Quintus	Martius
371	2 Sonne	2 Sonne	Martius	Quintus	Martius

At line 358 the three quartos⁴ and the First Folio read: "Titus two sonnes speakes." For the following reasons, I venture the opinion that this is an error for "Titus 2.Sonne [*i. e.*, Titus' 2nd Son] speakes." Such a reading would make specific the otherwise vague speech-heading at 360: "Titus sonne speakes," which would then indicate a second speech by the speaker of 358. It would eliminate the irregularity, apparent in the three quartos, of introducing a speech by an unnamed 3rd son before one had been assigned to a 2nd son—an irregularity that probably caused the Folio editors to change "3.Sonne" to "1.Sonne." It would explain Titus' use of the singular noun in the succeeding line: "What villaine was it spake that word?"⁵ as well as his later outburst against this particular son: "Speake thou no more, if all the rest will speede" (372). And it would help differentiate between the

⁴ In this instance Mr. Ljunggren specifically quotes the first quarto reading and points out its identity with that of the second quarto.

⁵ The plural "these boyes" of 365 does not require a double speaker in 358, for Lucius had already spoken for the dead Mutius (I, i, 347-8) before the 2nd son raised his voice.

characters of these all too colorless younger brothers. The second son, speaking now four times, would consistently show himself the fearless champion of the dead; while the 3rd son, speaking but once, would appear the tactful conciliator: "He is not with himselfe, let vs withdraw" (368). This reading would also make slightly more plausible the form "speakes" in 358, although, as other 3rd person plural forms in -s are found on rare occasions in the play, this possibility would not in itself be sufficient to justify the change. As for deciding which of the two young men is to be identified as Quintus and which as Martius, I see no definite indication in the play. And since I follow Professor Austin K. Gray, of Haverford College, in believing that Act II—in which the boys are named—was written by Shakespeare, and Act I—in which they are numbered—was not, I do not see that this makes much difference. The impractical, poetic youths of the second act are both different from the brief-spoken fighters of the first. But if an attempt must be made in a modern edition to give them baptismal names, I should be inclined to follow Capell, and call the second lad Martius, and the third Quintus, on the basis of two speeches (II, iii, 250 and 257) in which Martius shows somewhat more spirit than does his companion by acting as spokesman in the colloquy with the Emperor.

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MACDOBETH

Dr. Tannenbaum was right to suspect the 'Macdobeth' entry in the Stationers' Registers (*MLN.*, XLIV, 13), but his condemnation is too comprehensive. He was unable to find the entry in Arber because it occurs in the Court-Book section of Register B, which Arber was not allowed to print, and it is evident that the search conducted by Dr. Tannenbaum's friend did not justify his confident negative assertion.

The entry is at the foot of foll. 262^a and runs:

Tho: Millington /. Thomas Myllington is likewise fyned at 11s. vi^d for printinge of
a ballad contrarye to order wch he alsoe p^rsently paid./.
Mid the ballad intuled The taming of a shrewe Also one oth Ballad of Macdobeth.

The italicized portion is crossed out in the Register: it is in a

different hand from the rest, and is, I have little doubt, a modern fabrication. The writing is rather bad and some of the readings doubtful: the last word may be either 'Macdobeth' or 'Macedbeth'.

Had Dr. Tannenbaum searched a little further he might have found that the genuine part of the entry was cited by Herbert in 1790 (*Typographical Antiquities*, III, 1379). I drew attention to the suspicious character of the addition in a paper on 'The Decrees and Ordinances of the Stationers' Company' read before the Bibliographical Society in Dec. 1927 (*The Library*, VIII, 418).

W. W. GREG

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THE PARSON OF WROTHAM IN *SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE*

It is a well known fact that when Shakspeare's *Henry IV* was first acted, Sir John Falstaff appeared as "Sir John Oldcastle." Oldcastle was known as a Protestant martyr, and he had been celebrated by Bale and Foxe. His treatment at the hands of Shakspeare was resented, and as a result *The First Part. of the True & Honorable History, of the Life of Sir Iohn Old-Castle, The Good Lord Cobham* was acted by the Lord Admiral's men, probably in 1599.¹ In this play Oldcastle is restored to a position of dignity, and the comic part is borne by Sir John, parson of Wrotham, it being the obvious purpose of the authors to transfer the vices of Shakspeare's "Oldcastle" to a priest of the Roman Catholic faith.² Sir John's first speech (ll. 154-68) is a roisterous denunciation of the Protestants, "theeues and rebels, sblood heretikes, Plaine heretikes." But he loses no time in betraying his own vagabond character. When Suffolk refuses a purse offered by the Bishop, Sir John says,

¹ First printed in 1600. The authors were Drayton, Munday, Hathway and Wilson. See edition by John Robertson MacArthur, Chicago, 1907. For evidence that the new characterization of Oldcastle was designed as a corrective see the prologue.

² MacArthur (*op. cit.*, pp. 44-9) believes, however, that for the actual characterization of Sir John the dramatists were more indebted to the friar in Peele's *Edward I.* than to Falstaff.

Were ye all three vpon New-Market heath,
 You should not neede straine curt'sie who should ha't,
 Sir Iohn would quickly rid ye of that care (ll. 195-7)

And shortly after he fully exposes himself in a soliloquy.

A Priest in shew, but (in plaine termes) a Theefe.
 Yet let me tell you too, an honest Theefe:
 One that will take it where it may be spar'd,
 And spend it freely in good fellowship.

 Besides, to comfort me
 I haue my Doll, my Concubine as 'twere,
 To frolicke with, a lusty bouncing gyrl. (ll. 293-304)

Sir John and his Doll continue to furnish amusement throughout the play.

It has been supposed³ that the name, "Sir John of Wrotham," was suggested by a passage in Holinshed in which the English writers who lived in the reign of Henry IV are mentioned. The list begins with Chaucer, and includes Gower and Richard Scroope, and "Iohn Wrotham, a Carmelite frier of London, and after made warden of an house of his order in Calis."⁴ This John Wrotham was evidently a very respectable person, and there is a far more likely source for the "Parson of Wrotham." In Fabyan's chronicle, immediately after the account of Oldcastle's execution, the following passage occurs:

And aboute that season, the persone of Wortham in Norfolke which tyme had haunted Newmarket heth and there robbyd and spoyled many of ye kynges Subgettes was nowe with his Concubyne brought unto Newgate where he lastly dyed.⁵

³ MacArthur, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁴ Ed. London, 1808, III, 59.

⁵ First ed. 1516, Vol. II, Fol. clxxix, v.

The same account occurs in Gregory's chronicle.

Ande the same day (i. e. that of Oldcastle's execution) the person of Wortham, theffe, and hys peramowre was broughte unto Westemyster Halle. And he was sente to Newgate, and there he dyde.

[*The Historical Collections of A Citizen of London* . . ., ed. James Gairdner (Camden Soc., 1876), p. 116.]

Cf. Kingsford, C. L., *Chronicles of London*, Oxford, 1905, p. 270 for a variant reading in *Cotton Vitellius A xvi*.

Francis Blomefield reprinted the following which he had seen in Ms.:

The Christian name "John" is nothing in favor of the Carmelite friar, as it was a generic name for a country priest.⁶ Nor is the difference between *Wrotham* and *Wortham* of any significance, especially not since Fabyan referred to one of the three *Wrothams* in Norfolk.⁷

As the chronicle, or chronicles, which the authors of *Sir John Oldcastle* saw, made the time of the parson's arrest correspond to that of Oldcastle's execution, and as some pains were taken to save Sir John of Wrotham from the scaffold in *Part One*, we may safely conjecture that he appeared in the final scene of the second part, which is now lost.

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CAXTON'S *RECUYELL* AND SHAKESPEARE'S *TROILUS*

It is believed that Shakespeare made use of an earlier play in his *Troilus*, and that, from the close resemblance between *Troilus* and *Iron Age*, Heywood made use of the same.¹ Since the prologue and act v, scene 5 of *Troilus* show a knowledge of Caxton and not Lydgate, while the rest shows a use of one or the other, it has been thought that Shakespeare's ultimate source is Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* rather than Lydgate's *Troy Book*. But, inasmuch as some question the authorship of the prologue and many agree that little or none of act v, scenes 4-10, is Shakes-

In 1418, the parson of *Wrotham in Norfolk*, which had haunted *Newmarket Heaith*, and there robbed and spoiled many, was with his concubine to *Newgat of London* where he died.

[*An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, Vol. I., London, 1805, p. 472.]

⁶ Cf. MacArthür, *op. cit.*, p. 44 and note.

⁷ Also spelled *Wretham*, *Weretham* and *Wertham*. The scene of the parson's activities in the play is largely in Kent where there is also a town of *Wrotham*. Blomefield (*op. cit.*, *ibid.*) conjectured that the thieving priest of the chronicles was either Will. De-Lawe of *East* (or *Great*) *Wrotham*, or his successor.

¹ John S. P. Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy in Shakespeare and Heywood," *PMLA*, xxx, 753-759.

peare's, the use of Caxton alone throughout has remained no more than a probability. I find that while there is no material in *Troilus* that is in Lydgate and not in Caxton, there is matter in the play and the *Recuyell* that is not in the *Troy Book*. This evidence all occurs in the same scene.²

In iv, v, 17-53, Cressida, brought to the Grecian camp by Diomedes, is welcomed hospitably by Agamemnon, Nestor, Ulysses, Achilles, Patroclus, and Menelaus. Likewise in Caxton:

The comyng of breseyda plesid moche to alle
the grekes. And they cam theder and fested
her And demaunded of her tydynges of Troye and
of the kynge Pryant / and of them that were
wyth Inne. And she sayd unto hem as moche as
she knewe curtoysly Than alle the grettest that
were there promysyd her to kepe her and holde her
as dere as her doughter. (p. 605).

In Lydgate (III, 4425), Creseyda is received, not by the Grecian commanders, but by Calchas.

The most conclusive evidence appears in the second half of this scene in *Troilus*, that is, in the encounter between Hector and Ajax. Hector, giving his reasons for wishing to end the combat, says:

Thou art, great lord, my father's sister's son,
A cousin-german to great Priam's seed. (iv, v, 120-1).³

This shows a striking verbal likeness to Caxton's:

thelamon Ayax that was sone of kynge thelamon
and exione And was cosyn germayn of hector . . .
.
And therby hector knewe that he was his cosyn
germaine sone of his aunte. (p. 589).

Lydgate merely calls Ajax "cousin" (III, 2078). While the word *german* occurs once or twice elsewhere in Shakespeare in the sense of relation or cousin, inasmuch as *cousin-german* is found only here

² Although there is no definite proof that the comparison of a ship to "Perseus' horse" (i, iii, 40-42) shows a knowledge of Caxton rather than Ovid, I believe that it does, since Shakespeare seems to have in mind Caxton's version of the origin of Pegasus, in which he rationalizes the "hors fleyng" as really a ship (p. 196).

³ This passage may probably have been in the original play, as it is in Heywood. See *PMLA*, xxx, 751.

in *Troilus*, the resemblance to Caxton is significant. Finally, as in Shakespeare Hector says, "Let me embrace thee, Ajax" (iv, v. 135), so in Caxton, "hector for curtoisye enbraced hym in his armes and made hym grete chiere" (p. 590). In Lydgate the incident closes merely with the request of Ajax that Hector make the Trojans cease pursuing the Greeks (iii, 2106 ff.).

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"A WIDE SEA OF WAX"

In the most recent edition (1928) of *Timon of Athens* (*The Arden Shakespeare*), Professor Ernest Hunter Wright says, of the phrase "a wide sea of wax" (i, 1, 47): "Probably a hopelessly corrupt passage. It has been thought to allude to the ancient practice of writing on tablets covered with wax; also to mean 'a waxing sea,' i. e., a swelling sea; both explanations seem desperate."

The context shows, I think, that the proper reading is "a wide sea of air." The poet in the play says to the painter:

My free drift
Halts not particularly, but moves itself
In a wide sea of *air*: no levell'd malice
Infects one comma in the course I hold;
But flies an eagle flight, bold and forth on,
Leaving no tract behind.

The reference to the "eagle flight" indicates that Shakespeare's thought in the third line was of the air or sky. "Sea of air" is not, in Shakespeare, a queer phrase; he uses "sea of troubles" in *Hamlet*. Moreover, in *Timon*, iv, 2, 23, he has the very phrase "sea of air":

Leak'd is our bark,
And we, poor mates, stand on the dying deck,
Hearing the surges threat: we must all part
Into this sea of air.

This scene, up to line 30, is ascribed by Professor Wright, and by nearly all other critics, to Shakespeare. The same is true of the opening scene of the play up to line 175.

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ROBERT YARRINGTON

According to the *DNB*, "Nothing has been discovered concerning Robert Yarrington," the disputed author¹ of the well-known "Two Lamentable Tragedies. The one, of the murther of Maister Beech a Chaundler in Thames-streete, and his boye, done by Thomas Merry. The other of a young childe murthered in a Wood by two Ruffins, with the consent of his Vnckle. By Rob. Yarrington," 1601. At the end of the play we read: "FINIS. Rob. Yarrington. Laus Deo," which led Dr. W. W. Greg to make an interesting conjecture.²

The piece, as we have it, was certainly copied out and to some extent edited by one hand, for the curious direction 'to the people' for 'aside' occurs in both parts, and certain peculiarities of spelling run throughout. These are due, I believe, not to Chettle, but to Yarrington, the scribe, as I take it, who placed his name at the end of the MS.³ whence it found its [way] on to the title-page.

This suggestion is made more plausible by the fact (unnoticed before) that in *An Annuall Catalogue . . . of the Company of Scrivenors*⁴ of the City of London, preserved in the Bodleian MS., Rawl. D. 51, a "Robt. Yarrington junr." is recorded as having obtained in 1603 his freedom of the Company by apprenticeship served in the shop of John Partridge.⁵ While certainty is impossi-

¹ See Sir E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), III, 518. To this may be added, A. C. Baugh's ed. of William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* (1917), 48, and a review by W. W. Greg, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIII (Jan., 1918), 100; S. R. Golding, "The Authorship of the 'Two Lamentable Tragedies'," *Notes & Queries*, CXL (13 Nov., 1926), 347; R. A. Law, "Further Notes on 'Two Lamentable Tragedies,'" *ibid.*, CXLIII (6 Aug., 1927), 93. The earlier arguments that Day, Chettle, and Haughton were the authors have been abandoned in favour of a tyro at dramatic writing.

² *Henslowe's Diary* (1904-8), II, 208. It may be noted that this suggestion, although part of an argument [since withdrawn in the review of Baugh] for composite authorship, merits attention for its own sake.

³ A parallel case is found in a transcript of Daborne's *The Poore Mans Comfort* in MS. Egerton, 1994 (f. 292r), where, however, the author's name is also given: "Finis/FINIS/By R: Dabourne/The poore Manns Comfort./The Ende of the Pore manns Comfort/By P. Massam/FINIS/."

⁴ Or, before the charter of 1615/16, the Writers of the Court Letter.

⁵ Folio 27v. Partridge was a prosperous scrivener and was later master of the Company. Yarrington, Jr., may or may not have been related to the "Jno: Yarrington" (f. 26r) who obtained his freedom in 1578 from the

ble, the suggestion is on the whole attractive that this scrivener and the man whose name appears on the title-page and at the end of the play are the same. Whether we should consider the senior Yarrington as the transcriber is doubtful, as his son need not have signed himself "junior." Although it may be presumed that the latter was still a youth in 1594/95, when it has been plausibly argued that the play was written, it is unnecessary to suppose that the manuscript was transcribed at that date. However, if the Statutes of 1615/16 represented the custom, his entrance into the Company had been preceded by at least seven years' apprenticeship.

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CANARY WINE AND *CAMPASPE*

The discussion of the authorship of the first song in *Campaspe* turns in part upon the date when Canary wine was first imported into England. Observing the mention of "fatt Canary" in the first line, Dr. W. W. Greg rejected the attribution to Lyly, noting that *Campaspe* was printed in 1584, and adding, "The first mention of its importation I have been able to find in the Calendar of State Papers is in June, 1597." Other scholars accept 1597 as the earliest date for the importation of Canary wine.¹ I wish to show that a song referring to contemporary use of Canary wine in England might have been written as early as 1584 or indeed much earlier.

There is ample evidence that English trade with the Canaries existed practically throughout the sixteenth century. In 1526, Bristol merchants trading with the West Indies had established a trade between the Canaries and England, and in the later years of Henry VIII English ships frequented the Spanish Canaries

shop of "Fr: Kidd," the dramatist's father. The former is mentioned also in 1589 (f. 26v) and in 1596-7 (f. 27r) where he is called "John. Yarrington senr" (an error for "Yarrington").

¹ W. W. Greg, "The Authorship of the Songs in Lyly's Plays," *MLR*, I, 48; Albert Feuillerat, *John Lyly* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 404; W. J. Lawrence, *Times Lit. Supp.*, Dec. 20, 1923, p. 894; J. R. Moore, *PMLA*, XLII, 623.

and the Portuguese Azores. On the voyages to and from Guinea, vessels sometimes put in at and traded with these islands. In 1568, the Spanish ambassador said that there were "many rich English ships at the Canaries." Even after the open rupture with Spain, in 1585, English trade with the Canaries continued, and may have increased.²

That Canary wine formed a part of this trade there is every reason to believe. Wines and sugars from the Canaries were being imported in English ships as early as 1540.³ Thomas Nicols, who for seven years was resident agent for Thomas Lock, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castlyn, London Merchants of great credit "trading regularly in the Canary Islands" as early as 1550, informs us that great quantity of "singular good wine" was produced there.⁴ As the sugar trade declined, production of wine increased; in 1587 many sugar plantations in the Canaries were being transformed into vineyards.⁵ Richard Newman, an English sailor, testified in 1587 before the fiscal of the Holy Office in Grand Canary that in 1584 a ship in which he shared brought a cargo of wheat to Canary and "took a cargo of wines and sugars for London."⁶ Canary wine is mentioned in a list of imports into England in 1595.⁷ After the end of the Earl of Leicester's lease of the wine customs, the import "was divided into two farms, first that of the French and Rhenish wines, and secondly that of the Sweet wines mostly imported from Spain and the Canaries."⁸

² *English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries. Extracts from the Archives . . . of the . . . Marquess of Bute*, ed. by L. de Alberti and A. B. Chapman (London, 1912), pp. xii-xiv; J. A. Williamson, "England and the Opening of the Atlantic," *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (New York, 1929), p. 33; *Hakluyt's Voyages* (London, 1810), II, 458-62, 471, 496, 533-4, etc; Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925), III, 391.

³ J. A. Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The evidence is found in the High Court of the Admiralty Examinations, Nos. 3 and 4, *passim*, 1538-1542.

⁴ *Hakluyt's Voyages*, II, 458-62.

⁵ *English Merchants*, p. xvii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷ *Elizabethan Domestic State Papers MSS.*, 1595, Vol. 255, No. 56, as cited in *English Merchants*.

⁸ A. P. Newton, "The Establishment of the Great Farm of the English Customs," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series (London, 1918), I, 144.

Though there are no records as to the precise amount of Canary wine brought into England in these years, the evidence seems to justify the statement that it was being imported throughout the century and that the final quarter of the century saw a considerable increase in the trade.

Dr. Greg thinks that Canary wine must have been "a popular favourite" when the song in *Campaspe* was written.⁹ This seems an unwarranted assumption. It is known that all Lyly's plays, except *The Woman in the Moon*, were written for the child actors, and were acted at Court, in the little theatre in Blackfriars, or the small theatre near St. Paul's. Chambers says, "Nothing written by Lyly for . . . any adult stage is known to exist."¹⁰ There can be no doubt that the child actors played to a small and select public.¹¹ One may admit that in 1580 or 1584 Canary wine was not a popular favourite and yet insist that in those years a reference to it would have been appreciated by a small choice audience.

In conclusion, I should like to challenge two of Professor Moore's statements. He thinks that the first stanza of the first song in *Campaspe* is carelessly assigned to Granichus.¹² May not Granichus as prospective host fittingly introduce the song? The parts of this song seem to me quite in character. With regard to the song in *Mother Bombie*, III, iii, Professor Moore says, "Blount, or his reviser, followed both stage directions" [in the quartos of 1594 and 1598], and attributed to the old men, Memphio and Stelio, a "tender love duet" intended for Accius and Silena. Is it not clear that a song written by Dekker or another for the characters mentioned in the quartos, Memphio and Stelio, would not have been a "tender love duet"? The fact that in spite of stage directions the song does suit Accius and Silena is pretty decisive proof that Blount printed the song originally written for this place. An impartial examination of the other songs in rela-

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 412; and see H. N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors* (Urbana, 1926), pp. 137-43, 262-64.

¹¹ J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses* (Boston, 1917), p. 112; *Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 36; A. Nicoll, *British Drama* (New York, 1925), p. 91.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 633-4.

tion to the context will, I believe, lead to the conviction that most of them are reasonably adapted to the situations and the characters. Is it true, as Feuillerat says, that "Les chansons originales sont perdues?"

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TWO NOTES ON THE TOWNELEY SECOND SHEPHERDS' PLAY

1. Line 352.

My foytt slepps, by Ihesus, and I water fastand.

The First Shepherd is waking from his sleep with his comrades on the moor. The second half of the line is unintelligible as given in the manuscript. The change of *water* to *walter*, 'roll or toss about,' restores the sense. The word occurs earlier in the same play, line 236, in which Mak, in reply to the question,

How farys thi wyff? by my hoorde, how farys sho?

answers,

Lyys walteryng, by the roode, by the fyere, lo!

2. Line 391.

A house full of yong tharmes!
The dewill knock outt thare harnes!
Wo is hym has many barnes
And therto lytyll brede!

Mak is lamenting the number of his children. In the first line above, Professor Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, I, 107, corrected the rhyme by substituting *tharnes* for *tharmes*, and he has been followed in this by two later editors. But *tharmes* fits the context perfectly, being virtually equivalent to 'bellies,' and the author's readiness to use occasional inaccurate rhymes appears elsewhere in the play: 95, 99, *grefys—lyffys*; 186-8, *tenory—hye—me*; 283-5, *lyft—syght—shyft*; 467-70, *feete—wytt—mete—grete*; 678, 682, *slake it—nakyd*.

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A POSSIBLE NEW SOURCE FOR MOLIERE'S *TARTUFFE*

In Juan de Zabaleta's *El Día de fiesta por la mañana*, Madrid, 1654, an interesting and too little known example of Spanish character-writing, one portrait in a gallery of twenty, *El Hypocrita*¹ might well be recognized as a possible model of *Tartuffe*; not, of course, of the incidents in the play, but of the protagonist's essential character. Zabaleta presents a religious impostor, a gifted actor, self-indulgent, concupiscent, clever and unscrupulous. More even, Zabaleta has caught him in various attitudes strikingly familiar to the reader of *Tartuffe*, and one, indeed, which definitely recalls Orgon's first impressions of him. This part is, of course, the most convincing, but it will be well also to draw attention to other details, unimportant in themselves, but all contributing to an appreciable weight of cumulative evidence.

A sensualist, then, like Tartuffe, Zabaleta's *Hypocrita* might well 'manger autant que six' (192) or well be 'gros et gras, le teint frais, et la bouche vermeille' (234, cf. 647), or drink at his breakfast 'quatre grands coups de vin' (255), for

en estando acabado de vestir, abre vna alacena que tiene en lo mas escuro del alcoba: y echa en vn vidro (sic) no melindroso de Venecia, vn poco de vino de San Martin, que es como vino de vn Santo, le quiere traer consigo por reliquia: moja en el media dozena de vizcochos largos y anchos. Bebe sobre ellos vn buen trago del mismo vino; y porque no le salga el olor a la boca, se come tras del otros dos vizcochillos (p. 196).

He has purposely left his excellent bed in such condition that he may be suspected of having slept on the floor:

Dexase la cama, despues de levantado, ni de todo punto descompuesta, porque si entra alli alguna alma piadosa pueda dezir que el estar la cama deshecha es disimulo, para que piensen que ha dormido en ella, auiendo dormido sin duda en el corcho que delante de ella haze oficio de tapete (p. 195).

This clever suggestion of ascetic life recalls Tartuffe's parting injunction to Laurent, although meant for the ears of Dorine: 'Laurent, serrez ma haire avec ma discipline,' which in its his-

¹ Cap. VII. A recent annotated edition by G. L. Doty, to the pages of which I shall refer, makes it easily accessible: *Rom. Forsch.*, XLII (1928), 147-274; XLII (1928), 275-400. For *Tartuffe* I shall quote the lines in Despois-Mesnard.

trionic aptness also reminds one of the *Hypocrita's* tactics on leaving his house: 'Llega al umbral de la puerta y parase en él: allí, porque ay quien le vea, se persigna con vnas Cruces muy bien formadas . . .' (p. 196). He has an eye for a servant girl's attractions, as Tartuffe had for Dorine's, for in choosing his calls he reflects that, as to Doña Fulana: 'la donzelleja que la sirve es tan hermosa, que mirandola no ay mal rato' (p. 196).

But now we come to the *Hypocrita's* aspect and behaviour in church. Orgon's description will be remembered:

Chaque jour à l'église il venoit, d'un air doux,
Tout vis-à-vis de moi se mettoit à deux genoux.
Il attiroit les yeux de l'assemblée entière
Par l'aideur dont au Ciel il poussoit sa prière;
Il faisoit des soupirs, de grands élancements,
Et baisoit humblement la terre à tous moments (283 ff.).

Thus the *Hypocrita*, on entering:

Echa con mesura humilde [*d'un air doux*] la vista por la Iglesia, y va a hincarse de rodillas donde ve que está la gente de mejor porte. allí es donde quiere clauar el engaño. Pone ambas rodillas [*à deux genoux*] en el suelo con sossegado reposo, dando a entender que va muy assiento [*sic*]. Mira de hito en hito [*tout vis-à-vis?*] al Altar, y luego poco a poco va dexando caer los parpados, como que contempla (p. 197).

Here the author interrupts his description to assure us that the hypocrite, as Tartuffe might well have done, was only 'pensando en qual de aquellos que tiene admirados con la virtud que finge, se morirá y le hará su testamentario, que es lo mismo que hazerle su heredero' (p. 197) and this, it will be remembered, Orgon finally did (cf. 1175). But, returning to our hypocrite, still in prayer: 'Despues que ha estado de rodillas grande rato delante del Altar nuestro hipocrita, para despedirse dél, se humilla y besa el suelo' (pp. 197-198) [*et baisoit humblement la terre*]. And here, finally, is the picture of "l'ardeur dont au ciel il poussoit sa prière"; his "soupirs," his "grands élancements":

Al Euangelio se leuanta, junta los pies, pone las manos dentro del sombrero, dexando fuera los pulgares, fija los ojos en el Sacerdote, y suspendese inmovil en figura de estatua. Llega el memento primero, ponese de extasis, y dà vnos baiuenes tan sutiles, que parece que le menea el aire (p. 198).

I do not know of any translation into French of Zabaleta's book

that could have been utilized for the *Tartuffe*, but there is no objection to assuming that Molière may have read the original. At any rate, it would seem that Zabaleta's *El Hypocrita* cannot be neglected in any study of the genesis of the *Tartuffe*. As an essentially complete sketch of the main character, it may be considered as convincing as Aretino's *Ipocrito*,² and, in the field of Molière's Spanish borrowings,³ more important than Lugo y Dávila's *Los Dos Hermanos*, Tirso's *Marta La Piadosa*, Castillo Solórzano's *La Garduña de Sevilla* and even Salas Barbadillo's *La Hija de Celestina*. Indeed, Montufar's disarming self-accusation when unmasked in the latter novel, although it has acquired great importance as a peripety in Molière's play, is after all an incidental expression of one of the hero's main characteristics. These we find in Zabaleta's sketch presented and organized, together with some of the notable details of conduct, into one single character and into a separate portrait entitled, as Molière's play itself might have been, *The Hypocrite*. The likeness to *Tartuffe*, of course, is not complete. There is a suggestive outline, fertilizing hints, rather than a model; but after all, in dealing with a spirit like Molière's, such a basis for creative effort is really the one most commonly acceptable.

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ADDITIONAL SOURCES FOR MOLIERE'S *AVARE*, *FEMMES SAVANTES*, AND *TARTUFFE*

When Molière, actor and stage-director, composed, he must have had in his head so many lines, names, and situations, acquired from plays in which he had acted, that he could hardly avoid introducing them into his own comedies. The belief that such was the case, supported by numerous resemblances that have been discovered between his works and those of Corneille, Scarron, Boisrobert, Rotrou, etc., has led me to submit the evidence that two plays not

² Cf. Moland, *Molière et la comédie italienne*, Paris, 1867, 209 ff. Of course, Régnier's *Macette* (l. 123-124), contributes only an idea to *Tartuffe*, III, 3.

³ Cf. Martinenche, *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, 157 ff., who believes that Molière was directly indebted to Salas Barbadillo as well as to Scarron's *Hypocrites*.

hitherto discussed in this connection may be looked upon as being among the sources of his inspiration. They are Le Vert's *Docteur amoureux*¹ and *les Trahisons d'Arburan* by Boisrobert's brother, Le Metel d'Ouville, both of them published in 1638.

Le Docteur amoureux, performed originally by the troupe of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, but made public property by its printing, could have been played by Molière. That it was considered a leading comedy as late as 1646 is shown by its figuring in the *Boutade des comédiens*,² a ballet of which the entries are danced by characters from plays that were familiar to the audience. As comedies were none too numerous when Molière began to act, it is by no means improbable that he was acquainted with it early in his career, and it will be remembered that, when he made his first appearance on the Parisian stage after his wanderings in the provinces, he played (Oct. 24, 1658) *Nicomède* and a piece called *le Docteur amoureux*, though nobody knows whether the latter was the comedy published in 1638. Now, while Molière's *Avare* goes back to Plautus for its main events, the name of the miser's daughter, Elise, and the fact that her lover, in order to be near her, disguises himself as a servant are not found in the Latin comedy. Both the name and the lover's disguise do appear, on the other hand, in *le Docteur amoureux*. Moreover, in the latter, as in *l'Avare*, the desirability of having an elderly mate is described, while old Hélène in the *Docteur amoureux* refers to her *fluxion* as does Harpagon to his. The play also resembles in some details the *Femmes savantes*, for Hélène, like Bélise, gives a long list of her imaginary lovers and asserts that timidity has prevented a lover from declaring his passion for her; while in both comedies a pedant has a servant with literary aspirations who is named Julien. The proper names, Elise and Julien, are significant. Taken in connection with the other similarities, they make it seem probable that Molière made use of this forgotten comedy.

The influence of d'Ouville's play is more important. Although

¹ The play appeared anonymously, but the *privilege* refers to it as the work of "L. V.," letters that probably refer to Le Vert, who published two plays not long after.

² Published by Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de Cour*, VI, 161-76. Lacroix does not identify the play, though the fact that Hélène and the pedant dance in the entry assigned to it, should have left no doubt as to which *Docteur amoureux* is meant.

the sources of *Tartuffe* have been extensively studied and its relation to the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement and to various forms of literature, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which hypocrites appear, pointed out, certain details have been left unaccounted for, among them those concerned with the scenes of attempted seduction and of unmasking in the third and fourth acts. In the *Trahisons d'Arbiran* the protagonist attempts to seduce his friend's wife just as Tartuffe makes love to Elmire, the wife of his benefactor, Orgon. In both cases the would-be seducer is repelled by the wife. To explain his proximity to the lady's person, Arbiran remarks (1, 2),

Je regardois l'esmail de cette belle chaine
Dont la façon me plaist,

and Tartuffe,

Je tâte votre habit. L'étoffe en est moelleuse.

Her rebuff renders the man hostile and suspicious in both plays, so that, when it becomes necessary for the wife to have another interview with him, she has to overcome this hostility before she can make him reveal his iniquity. In *Tartuffe*, as every one knows, Elmire puts her husband under the table in order to convince him that his friend feels more than a brotherly interest in her. In *Arbiran*, when the wife seeks to save her husband, whom Arbiran has prevailed upon the king to condemn to death, it becomes necessary for her to convince the king that Arbiran's testimony is untrustworthy, invented in order to rid himself of the husband and get possession of the wife. She accordingly forms a plan and asks the king to hide in such a way that he may listen to her conversation with Arbiran without being seen by him. In both cases, when the wife has set her stage, she sends for the villain, who, when he arrives, shows his distrust of her and reminds her of the previous ill treatment he has received at her hands. In both cases she succeeds in allaying his suspicions by talking of the peculiarities of the feminine heart (v, 7):

Es-tu si delicat? Ne veux-tu pas, mon cœur,
Qu'une mauuaise humeur quelque fois ne me vienne?
Et puis j'auois desir de cognoistre la tienne;
Cette petite fougue où ie te viens de voir,
Bien souuent sur nos cœurs a beaucoup de pouuoir;

Nous voulons posséder pour estre possédées,
 Mais aussi quelquefois estie vn peu gourmandées,
 L'amour en est plus grand. . . .

In both plays, when the wife has won the villain's confidence, she reminds him that the person whom she knows to be listening is still to be dealt with. Arbiran replies that it is easy to dispose of the king; Tartuffe answers that the husband is a man to be led by the nose. It is at this moment that the listener, finally convinced of the villain's guilt by this disparaging reference to himself, makes his appearance and expresses himself in each play in somewhat the same terms:

The King: A-t'on iamais rien veu de plus abominable?

Orgon: Voilà, je vous l'avoue, un abominable homme!

This series of resemblances seems to me too extensive to be due merely to coincidence, especially as we know that the author of the *Trahisons d'Arbiran* was a dramatist of considerable reputation in Molière's youth, that the play was successful and was acted at Paris as late as 1647. Molière may have seen the play when he was first seeking to establish a troupe at Paris, may have played in it and stored away in his memory situations that were to reappear, a score of years later, in *Tartuffe*.

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OLD FRENCH *amenestraison*

In the glosses of Raschi of Troyes (1040-1105), *Ber.* 42 a, 50 b, *Sab.* 156 b, and *Git.* 67 b,¹ there is found a more or less popular Old French form *amenestraison*, < Latin *administratio*em, rendering the Aramaic *dīstana*, "portion at table." A similar sense, "portion of food" is found in a letter of Abbot Geroldus, written at Fabaria, now Pfäfers, canton of Saint-Gall, Switzerland, 1110 A. D.,² who speaks of the *praebendas aliasque administrationes* of

¹ See Darmesteter et Blondheim, *Les Gloses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de Raschi*, Paris, 1929, § 37.

² Mabillon: *Annales ordinis sancti Benedicti* (Paris, 1713), Tome v, appendix, p. 678, cited in Du Cange, s. v. *administratio*.

food and drink which are to be furnished to the monks of Fabaria. Raschi's use of *amenestraison* in connection with the table is no innovation, since the verb, *administrare*, "to serve at table," occurs as early as Varro (first century B. C.), who writes *mel ad principia convivii et in secundam mensam administratur*.³

The related verb form *amenetrer*, not cited by Godefroi, La Curne, or Tobler, is found in a similar sense in the *'Aruk* of Ratisbon, a thirteenth century Talmudic dictionary containing French glosses.⁴ It serves to render *caq* in the Hebrew phrase (II Kings, IV, 41), *caq-la-am we-yokelu*, understood to mean "serve the people, that they may eat." Examples of the more learned form *amenistrer* in the sense of "serving food" are cited by Godefroy, s. v. *amenestrer*, from thirteenth and fourteenth century texts. *Administrare*, "to serve at table" survives also in Provençal. Arnaut Vidal de Castelnoudari says in *Guillaume de la Barre*.⁵

Le senh'en G. vay talhar ("to carve")
Als efans, els amenistrava.

This example, as well as the meaning of the word in Raschi, indicates the inexactness of Lévy's definition "dish" (*Gericht*) for *ministracio*, *ministrazo*⁶ in the following passages of the *Breviari d'Amor* (1288) of Matfre Ermengaud of Béziers (ll. 9911-9922):

E deu sos ostes issamen
Recebre quex alegamen . . . ,
E ministran los deu servir
Gent e onrar e car tenir
E dar bonas ministracios,
Segon qu'es lurs condicions,
Els deu soven amonestar
Que voluntiers dejon manjar.

and (ll. 18106-18111):

E pesso mai de pro manjar
Que de tot l'als quez an a far,
E d'aver grans ministrasos

³ *Res Rusticae* III, 16, 5, ed. Goetz (Leipzig, 1912), p. 144, cited in the *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, s. v. *administro*.

⁴ Perles. *Graetz Jubelschrift* (Breslau, 1887), p. 13.

⁵ Ed. Paul Meyer (Paris 1895), p. 117, ll. 3970-3971.

⁶ *Provenzalisches supplementwörterbuch* s. v. *ministration*.

De galinas et de capos
E de grasses cabritz raustitz
O grasses conilhs o perditz

The word means "portion, helping." Lévy's definition is due to the passage ll. 17153-59:

Et en los rix son atur met
Quo aio blancx pas e clars vis,
Grassas galinas, capos fis,
Perditz e gruas e pavos
E diversas *ministræos*
E grandas outra mezura
Tan qu'en greujo lor natua.

In this passage *diversas* means not "different," but "several, divers." Cf. Lévy, s. v. *divers*.

It is curious that French examples of *administrare* in the related sense of "administering the sacraments" seem to be cited only for a late period. Thus Godefroy, s. v. *aministrement*, quotes *aministrement* in reference to the sacrament of baptism only from the *De Vita Christi*,⁷ of which the MS. was written in the fifteenth century. Related expressions were probably in use in French in this sense much earlier, since the Englishman William of Shoreham⁸ wrote about 1320⁹ in reference to Holy Orders:

The signe hys of thys sacrament
The bisschopes blessynge
Forth myd the admynystracioun.

Amenistrâ is used at Faucigny (Haute-Savoie) in the sense of "donner les derniers sacrements" (v. Wartburg, *Frz. etym. Wb.*, s. v. *administrare*).¹⁰

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⁷ MS. of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, fonds fr., 181, fo 53c.

⁸ Konrath, *Poems of William of Shoreham* (London, 1902), ll. 1555-57, cited in the N. E. D. s. v. *administration*.

⁹ Konrath (*op. cit.*) introduction, p. xiv.

¹⁰ The author is extremely indebted to Professor D. S. Blondheim for suggesting the subject of this note and for his assistance in its preparation.

A VARIANT OF ONE OF GÓNGORA'S BALLADS

In Foulché-Delbosc's edition of the *Obras poéticas de D. Luis de Góngora*¹ he reproduces the ballad "El español de Oran" virtually as it appears in Durán's *Romancero General* (BAE, x, 122, no. 234), but he appends to it the following footnote, which was undoubtedly a comment of Chacón's²:

Estos dos últimos quartetes [!] son ajenos, en lugar de otros seis o siete suyos, que no se han podido hallar.

It is possible that some of the missing verses are contained in the variant found in Hs 10313 of the Nationalbibliothek at Vienna. The library catalogue,³ in its description of the manuscript, places it in the 17th century. As the manuscript is anonymous and its origin and sources unknown, it is difficult to vouch for the authenticity of its contents. The ballad must speak for itself. The scribe does not mention Góngora's name, nor does he indicate whether he copied the poem from a written or printed source or whether—as some of the variant passages seem to indicate—he wrote from oral recitation or from memory. In the first forty lines the deviations are limited to single words or phrases of little importance, as, for example, *ginetes* for "cenetes" (l. 9), *ciegas* for "mudas" (l. 14), *ruido* for "estruendo" (l. 19), etc. From then on the Vienna version reads as follows⁴:

*El galán que tiernamente
la esoucha la mira y habla
le dize señora mía
tan dulce como enojada
non illorejs ojos hermosos
que uestras lagrimas manchan*

¹ New York, Hispanic Soc. of America, 1921, I, 95-96.

² Cf. *op. cit.*, I, ix-xi.

³ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum*. Edidit Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis. Volumen VI. Vindibonae Venum dat F. Tempsky Bibliopola Academiae. MDCCCXCIII.

⁴ The MS. is entirely devoid of punctuation. It contains a comma-like notation over every letter *u* and a dieresis over every *y*, which have been omitted in the transcription. All variations from Foulché-Delbosc's version are italicized.

*mis honrados pensamientos
 y augueran mis esperanzas
 por que con honra y amor
 yo cumpla que me quede y vaya
 uaya a los moros el cuerpo
 y quede con uos el alma
 que no uolueran a Oran
 sin catiuos y sin fama
 esta espada en uestro nombre
 a dios que tocan al arma*

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AN ADDITION TO THE BRETON CANON

Machiavells Dogge, an anonymous satire, was printed by Bernard Alsop for Richard Higgenbotham in 1617. In one hundred thirty-nine six-line stanzas the poet addresses his dog, deploring that the world has fallen on evil days. He exhorts the dog to attack the different vices that are prevalent, thus leading to a spirited enumeration and description of the various forms of gaming. Then he attacks various types of people,—lawyers, pirates, soldiers, gallants, physicians, and the like,—and adds another exhortation to the dog to cling to some especial virtue or avoid some especial vice. In conclusion, the author sums up what he has said, and the dog, having set the world aright, lies down and takes his rest.

This poem copies no less than twenty entire stanzas, as well as lesser passages, with very little change from Nicholas Breton's satire, *I Would and Would Not*, which had been published three years earlier in 1614. At first glance it would seem that about one-sixth of *Machiavells Dogge* was merely an unblushing pilfering from Breton, but a closer examination indicates a possibility that Breton himself was the author of both.

No one familiar with Breton's satires can fail to be impressed with the similarity of *Machiavells Dogge* to works admittedly by him. Its tone is his—a tone of mild and moderate admonition, often cast in proverbial phraseology. Its style—with ease and fluency of versification and language—is his. The plan or structure is the same as in Breton's satires, based primarily upon a succession

of roll-calls of types of erring humanity, with appropriate tolerant reproof of the faults and foibles of each; this tolerant and good-humored satire is highly characteristic of Breton.

Scores of phrases, ideas, and figures which are frequently used in Breton's acknowledged work occur in *Machiavells Dogge*. Although some are proverbial, and some used also by other authors, many of Breton's favorite and characteristic expressions remain, such as his fondness for mentioning Maid Marian, Parnell, Jack of Lent, a pudding's end, and such traits as rhyming "trifles" with "nifes."

There is a similarity in the ending of *Machiavells Dogge*,—

So let them fall to work, God speed the Plough . . .
And so good Dog, lie downe and hold thy peace,—

and the conclusion of Breton's *Pasquils Mad-cap* (1600),—

Pride shall goe downe, and vertue shall increase
And then my Muse be still, and hold thy peace,—

as well as to the "Epistle to the reader" from *Pasquils Mad-cap*, ". . . when they goe well to worke, God speede the plough." But the conclusions are a commonplace, and "God speed the Plough" is proverbial.

Machiavells Dogge was entered in the Stationers' Register by Richard Higgenbotham on the same date, January 7, 1616/17, as Breton's *A Dialogue Betwixt a Courtier and a Cuntrey Man*,— a circumstance that recalls Cuthbert Wright's entry on July 5, 1622, of Breton's *Nay Then and Nothinge*.

It is, however, in the borrowings of *Machiavells Dogge* that the chief interest lies. A stanza from Breton's poem set against another from *Machiavells Dogge* will serve to show how closely the original text was followed. Only the variations in *Machiavells Dogge* have been printed.

I Would and Would Not
Nor would I haue the Crane
 picke out mine Eyes,
Nor Pyes, nor Parats, teach me
 how to prate:
Nor fill my Pawnche too-full
 of Wood-cock-pyes,

Machiavells Dogge
For Birdes, let not the Crane

Nor let the parat teach thee
 now
 . . . thy paunch
 . . . Woodcockes pies,

Nor haue Madge-Howlet make me	Nor let make thee
watch <i>too-late</i>,	. . . . .
Nor let the Cuckooe learne me	. . . . . teach thee
how to sing,	. . . . .
Nor with a <i>Buzzarde</i> , make too	. . . . . the Buzard
lowe a wing.	. . . . .

There are more changes in the foregoing stanza than ordinarily occur; frequently in most other stanzas only one or two variations in wording appear. Furthermore, the changes in the later poem usually occur only where it was necessary to make the verses conform to the changed point of view: in *I Would and Would Not* the author is soliloquizing; in *Machiavells Dogge* he is addressing the dog. The following stanzas will illustrate the necessary minimum changes:

<i>I Would and Would Not</i>	<i>Machiavells Dogge</i>
And I would reade the rules	Yea, let us
of sacred Life,	. . . . .
Perswade the troubled soule	. . . . .
to patience:	. . . . .
The husband, Care, and Comfort	. . . husbands care
to the wife,	. . . . .
To childe and seruant,	The
due obedience.	. . . . .
Faith to the friend, and to	. . . . .
the Neighbour peace,	. . . . .
That love might live, and	. . . . may
quarrels all may cease.	suites at law may . . .

As may be observed, occasional slight changes were made in *Machiavells Dogge* to clarify the sense, to rectify errors, and, sometimes, to make the meaning more specific. Scattered sample lines will illustrate:

<i>I Would and Would Not</i>	<i>Machiavells Dogge</i>
Cut lusty faces out of	. . . rusty
rotten Logges	. . . . .
Nor be a Minstrell at a	Or beare a Bride Cuppe . . .
Marriage	. . . . .
And feede a sight of Fooles,	Oh no, I see a sight of
with Had-I-wist,	had I wists,
To weepe for Siluer, when	Doe
theyr Golde is gone	. . . . .
To weare Pyed Coats, Turn-spit,	Laugh, weare long coates, and sing,
and eat fat-meat	. . . . .

A complete list of the borrowed passages follows:

<i>I Would and Would Not</i>	<i>Machiavells Dogge</i>
Stanza 122, last couplet	Sig. A3, 4th stanza, last couplet
Stanza 123	Sig. A3, 3rd stanza
" 124, line 5	" B4, 1st " , line 2
" 124, line 6	" B4, 1st " , line 4
" 125	" B4, 2nd "
" 126	" B4, 4th "
" 127	" B2v, 4th "
" 128	" B3v, 1st "
" 129, lines 1 and 2	" B4, 3rd " , lines 1 and 2
" 129, last couplet	" B4v, 1st " , last couplet
" 135	" D1, 3rd "
" 136	" D1, 4th "
" 138	" D3, 1st "
" 139	" D3, 2nd "
" 140	" D3, 3rd "
" 141	" D3, 4th "
" 142	" D3v, 4th "
" 143	" D3v, 1st "
" 144, lines 1, 2, 3, 4	" D4, 1st " , lines 1, 2, 3, 4
" 145	" D4v, 2nd "
" 146	" E1, 1st "
" 147	" E1, 4th "
" 148	" E1, 3rd "
" 150	" E1v, 1st "
" 151	" E1v, 2nd "
" 152	" D4v, 4th "

I Would and Would Not is composed of 154 stanzas; thus it will be seen that *Machiavells Dogge* draws chiefly from the last part of Breton's poem, that is from stanza 122 to stanza 152, except for seven stanzas. Each of these seven is so distinctly in the first person and so obviously a soliloquy, as not to lend itself to ready adaption to the plan of *Machiavells Dogge*. Four stanzas are taken over only in part, and stanza 137 has been treated so freely in *Machiavells Dogge*, sig. D1v, first stanza, that it has not been included in the list.

Just as the verbal borrowings were close but not slavish, so *Machiavells Dogge* does not take over the stanzas from *I Would and Would Not* in strict consecutive order. Rather they are distributed so as to form the skeleton upon which the entire poem is built, with much new amplifying matter intervening.

It is interesting to note that another poem of Breton's underwent the same treatment elsewhere.¹ Of the thirty-six stanzas comprising "Brittons Divinitie" printed in *The Arbor of Amorous Devises*, 1597, sixteen in entirety and parts of two more were taken with slight variations from Breton's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Love*, 1592. It must be remembered, however, that *The Arbor* was a piratical anthology put out by Richard Jones, and that presumably Breton had nothing to do with it. Thus it is impossible to tell whether Jones or his hired collector merely filched the most attractive moralizing passages from *The Countesse of Pembrokes Love* and strung them together with improvisation of their own,² whether they received a manuscript in which some unknown person had already performed that service, or whether they secured a manuscript in which Breton himself had constructed a new moralizing poem utilizing portions of a former work of his. Each of the three solutions is possible; *The Arbor of Amorous Devises* will not give us the key to *Machiavells Dogge*.

An imposing list of "internal evidence" may be drawn up to link the original parts of *Machiavells Dogge* with Breton's recognized work, but such evidence is notoriously tricky. Yet when the uniformity of style and tone of *Machiavells Dogge* is noted, it would seem virtually impossible for another author, however able, to have imitated Breton's work so accurately and skilfully, even if the imitation had been intrinsically worth the time and effort. Such verse as the following would appear to be pure Breton:

And so good Dogge, lie downe and take thy rest
The beggers all are going home to bed:
Each little bird is nuzling in her nest:
And every horn'd beast gunnes to cast the head,
And euery Mowse into her hole is gone,
And thou hast little left to thinke vpon.

For if it bee, as I doe hope it is,
The world is come vnto a happy passe:
Kindnesse lets no man know what thing is his:

¹ I am indebted to Mr. F. H. McCloskey for calling this as well as other matters concerning Breton to my attention.

² Witness the ingenious way in which two poems from Thomas Howell's *Arbor of Amitie* (1568) were joined in Jones' *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), ed. H. E. Rollins, pp. 7-8, 147-150.

The Horse is growne so inward with the Asse,
 And loue is growne so great twixt friend and friend,
 That no man stands vpon a Puddings end.

There is, then, a strong probability that, in *Machiavells Dogge*, another unsigned Breton poem can be rescued from anonymity and added to the Breton canon.

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OVID AS A SOURCE FOR SPENSER'S MONSTER- SPAWNING MUD PASSAGES

Mr. Lemmi's article¹ on monster-spawning Nile-mud passages in the *Faerie Queene* attempts to show that their origin lay in Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library*. In his review of classical authors who had written on the subject he omits mention of Ovid. But Spenser follows passages in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* more closely than in Diodorus Siculus, Lucretius, or any of the other writers cited by Mr. Lemmi. There are three passages in Spenser which make use of the autochthonous and abiogenetic theory of the origin of life (only the first two are mentioned by Mr. Lemmi): *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 21, III. vi. 8. 3-9, and VII. vii. 18.

Three passages in Ovid develop the same idea. In *Met.* I, 416-437, Ovid tells how the earth spontaneously generates the fertile seeds of life in the slime when the seven-mouthed Nile has receded from the drenched fields and returned to its former bed. The farmers, as they turn over the lumps of earth, find innumerable forms of life (cf. Spenser's "Infinite shapes of creatures," III. vi. 8. 8), both the ancient shapes and creatures new and strange. *Met.* xv. 362-4 describes how, when dead bodies by lapse of time or by the liquefying power of heat have become thoroughly putrid, tiny animals are bred in them. And in *Met.* xv. 375-8, Ovid says that the slimy mud contains seeds that produce green frogs, without legs at first; but it soon gives them legs adapted to swimming.

The similarity of ideas in the passages of the two authors needs but few comments. Jortin, Todd, and Greenlaw² have shown

¹ C. W. Lemmi, "Monster-Spawning Nile-Mud in Spenser," *MLN.*, xli, 234-38, April, 1926.

² Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Philology*, xvii (1920), 439-64.

Spenser's knowledge and use of the first and fifteenth books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Spenser's knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* in general is too well known to need comment.

Mr. Lemmi says, "Surely that 'late waters,' found in none other of the possible sources, is echoed in Spenser's 'when his later spring gins to avale.'" Ovid's "diluvio . . . recenti" (I.434) is not only a possible source, but also is closer to "later spring" (= flood) than Diodorus Siculus' "ἐν τοῖς ὑψίμοις τῶν ὑδάτων." Again, the slime, the "mud on which the sunne hath shynd," and the "huge heapes of mudd," which are mentioned as showing the closeness of indebtedness to Diodorus Siculus, are found in Ovid.

The stanza in which are found the lines

Out of their decay and mortall crime
We daily see new creatures to arize. (VII.vii 18.5-6)

refers, apparently, to the second passage quoted from Ovid. The idea of "new creatures" arising from the bodies of dead animals occurs in none of the passages cited by Mr. Lemmi or in other possible sources which I have examined; and, incidentally, it occurs in Mutabilitie's speech, which is permeated with Ovidian allusions before and after this stanza. This is irrefragable evidence that Spenser used Ovid for his ideas of abiogenesis, whatever other authors he also knew and used.

Great father he of generation
Is rightly cald, th'authour of life and light;
And his faire sister for creation
Ministreth matter fit, which tempred right
With heat and humour, breedes the living wight. (III vi.9.1-4)

point more certainly to *Met.* I.430-43, "For when moisture and heat ("umor calorque") unite, life is conceived, and from these two sources all living things spring," than to the passage suggested in Aristotle's *Generation of Animals* (I.II).

Finally, if a source for the "loathly frogs and toades" need be found, it is rather in a reference to the origin of frogs quoted in the last extract from Ovid than in Diodorus Siculus' account of mice appearing from the slime.

Spenser was probably not indebted to any one source for his ideas of spontaneous generation. Specific source ascription is a hazardous undertaking when, as I think Mr. Lemmi's article has

shown in this case, an idea has become almost a convention; but Spenser knew his Ovid well, and the echoes in the phrases mentioned above further indicate the extent of that knowledge.

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E. K.'s NOTE ON THE GRACES

On *The Shepheardes Calender*, iv, 109, 'E. K.' has the following note:

The Graces be three sisters, the daughters of Iupiter (whose names are Aglaia, Thalia, Euphrosyne, and Homer onely addeth a fourth, .s. Pasithea) otherwise called Charites, that is thanks. Whom the Poetes feyned to be the Goddesses of al bountie and comelines, which therefore (as sayth Theodontius) they make three, to wete, that men first ought to be gracious and bountiful to other freely, then to receiue benefiits at other mens hands curteously, and thirdly to requite them thankfully: which are three sundry Actions in liberalitie. And Boccace saith, that they be painted naked (as they were indeede on the tombe of C. Iulius Caesar) the one hauing her backe toward vs, and her face fromwarde, as proceeding from vs: the other two toward vs, nothing double thanke to be due to vs for the benefiit, we haue done.

There are two Latin passages which should perhaps be cited in illustration of this note, Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, i, 3, and the Servian commentary on Virgil, *Aen.* i, 720. Thus Seneca records that Hesiod gave the names of the graces as Aglaie, Euphrosyne, and Thalia (*Theog.* 909); also that Homer gave one of them a different name, Pasithea (*Il.* xiv 275). He also indicates that before his time the Graces had been regarded as goddesses of bounty as well as of comeliness: "Alii quidem videri volunt unam esse, quae det beneficium, alteram, quae accipiat, tertiam, quae reddat."

The 'Theodontius' who is quoted here must be the 'Theodontius' who is very often quoted as an authority in Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*—though he is not mentioned in Boccaccio's chapter on the Graces. It may be interesting to note that something very like the comment here quoted from him is offered in Perotti's *Cornucopia*: "Treis autem ideo esse prodiderunt, quia et benefici esse in alios debemus, et aliorum beneficia suscipere, et iis qui in nos liberales fuerunt retribuere. Dare autem, et accipere, et referre tres actus sunt inter se distincti."

For Boccaccio's statement as to the pictured grouping of the Graces, and its significance, see his *Geneal. deor. gentil.* v, 35: *Has dicunt . . . nudas incedere et invicem vinctas; ac ex eis duas facie ad nos esse conversas, cum tergum tertia vertat. Quid autem in hoc senserint veteres excutiendum est. . . . Vel aliter: si quid enim in hominem gratum miseris, ab eo in te duplum seu maius redire videbis.*" This is perhaps derived from Servius, *Aen.* i, 720: "Quod vero una aversa pingitur, duae nos respicientes, haec ratio est, quia profecta a nobis gratia duplex solet reverti."

This traditional grouping, and similar explanations of it, may be found in various well-known authors: Petrarch's *Africa*, III, 216-18, Perotti's *Cornucopia*, Alciati's *Emblemata*, No. 163, Natalis Comes, *Mythologia*, iv, 15. It is thus the more noteworthy that Spenser himself changed it, to express a different meaning, *F. Q.*, vi, 10, 24:

And ecke them selues so in their daunce they bore,
That two of them still froward seem'd to bee,
But one still towards shew'd her selfe afore,
That good should from vs goe then come in greater store.

E. K.'s authority for the painting of the Graces on the tomb of Julius Caesar is not easy to find. But the conventional grouping which he describes is shown in very ancient paintings, at Catania and at Pompeii; see S. Reinach, *Réperloire de Peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922, p. 158. There they are represented with ears of grain and fruits in their hands—a fact which lends some support to Natalis Comes' unusual version of their function: "Dicuntur Gratiae filiae esse Iovis et Eurynomes, quod nihil aliud significat quam fertilitatem agrorum frugumque abundantiam."

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A NOTE ON PARLEMENT OF THE THREE AGES, 220

Than tercelettes full tayttely telys doun stryken,
Laners and lanerettis lightten to thes endes.

These lines (*Parlement of the Three Ages*, ed. Sir I. Gollancz, Oxford, 1915, 219-220) are taken from an extended account of a day's hawking along the bank of a river. They give a spirited

description of the attack made upon teal by the several hawks that are cast off by the falconers: the tercelet (male of the peregrine, an excellent hawk for teal, cf. F. Chapman, *Birds of Eastern North America*, New York, 1928, p. 305), the lanner, and the lanneret (male of the lanner).

Gollancz has misunderstood the meaning of line 220, for he glosses *lightten* as 'alight,' and *endes* as 'regions, parts' (OE. *ende*), and apparently understands the line to mean that the lanners and lannerets alighted near certain spots whence the teal might be expected to rise. The word *ende*, however, is not derived from OE. *ende*, but from OE. *ened* (Ger. *ente*), 'duck.' The word is found in *Havelok* 1241:

Ne was þer spared gos ne henne,
Ne þe hende, ne þe drake,

and in *Prompt. Parvulorum* (*EETS.*, p. 145): 'End, dukbryd: *Anas*.' If the meaning 'duck' be acceptable, the following quotation will explain the poet's use of *lightten* (OE. *lhtan*, 'alight'; cf. also NED. *light*, v¹, II, 9, for meanings 'descend, fall'):

Perhaps the leading characteristic in the flying of this kind of hawk [the lanner or the peregrine] is that it habitually captures its prey . . . by making a dash or shot at it . . . from some position where it can command an advantage in speed and force. In many cases the bird is itself so conscious of this natural aptitude for stooping in preference to mere following, that it habitually places itself, when on the look-out for food, at a considerable height, from which it can descend with great ease and velocity upon any victim which may happen to be passing beneath, using the principle of gravity to increase the force of its downward flight.²

Lightten is here to be glossed 'stoop, swoop down.' Line 220 is then to be translated 'Lanners and lannerets stoop to these ducks' (the teal).

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² E. B. Michell, *The Art and Practice of Hawking*, London, 1900, pp. 11-12.

A POSSIBLE GREEK COGNATE OF ENGLISH *BAD*

The derivation¹ of NE. *bad* from OE. *bæddel*² has been pretty generally accepted. Certainly none of the other etymologies which have been suggested has proved so satisfactory. But the further etymological connections of OE. *bæddel* and the doubtless related *bædling*³ have not been brought to light.

The Greek *σπαταλός*, "luxurious," is a possible cognate. The semantic connections are not too remote: the corresponding verb, *σπαταλώ*, may have the meaning "be effeminate"; and the verb *baddle* occurs in NE. (Cheshire dialect⁴) in more primitive meaning than the OE. shows, in such a sentence as "He's baddling all his money away."

Phonologically, there are no difficulties. The alternation of IE. initial *sp-* and *bh-* is not unknown.⁵ From an original IE. **s-bhatelós*, then, Gr. *σπαταλός* and an early Germanic **badlaz* (with loss of *ə* in an unaccented syllable⁶) would regularly result. The OE. *bæddel* and *bædling* represent normal developments.

I am not acquainted with any previous attempt to provide *bæddel* with IE. connections. Prellwitz⁷ suggests that *σπαταλός* is perhaps to be regarded as standing for an earlier **σπαλταλός*, an unlikely guess. He would then connect it with OHG. *spildan*, "vergeuden, verschwenden." Boisacq⁸ makes no suggestion.

If this etymology of OE. *bæddel* and *bædling* is correct, it settles the question⁹ of the quantity of the stem-syllable vowel; the *æ* must be short.

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¹ By Zupitza; cf. the etymological comment in NED under *bad*.

² *Bæddel* in Archbishop Aelfric's vocabularies (Wright-Wülcker: *AS. and OE. Vocab.*) translates *andreporesis*, i. *homo utriusque generis* (109. 13), *hermafroditus* (161. 12).

³ *Sup. Bos.*—Tol. *AS. Dict.* 61. *An effeminate person: mollis, μαλακός.* The suggested connection with *bedd* in *Bos.*—Tol. *AS. Dict.*, 66, is of course unlikely.

⁴ Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*, I, 124.

⁵ Hirt, *Idg. Gram.*, I, 330; § 306. 14. 2.

⁶ Hirt, in *IF.*, 7. 194.

⁷ *Gr. Etym. Wb.*², 425.

⁸ *Dict. etym. de la langue gr.*², 892 f.

⁹ *Sup. Bos.*—Tol. *AS. Dict.*, 61.

A POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME *THOPAS*

Few suggestions have been made concerning the significance of Chaucer's selection of *Thopas* as the name of the hero of his fragmentary mock-romance.¹ But if it is true, as Professor Manly argues,² that Chaucer wrote this poem as a satire upon the Flemings, then his selection of *Thopas* as the name of his knight was, I believe, a part of the jest.

In the later middle ages the topaz (thopas) was quite generally believed to be an effective cure of sensuality. An Anglo-Norman prose lapidary which Studer and Evans ascribed to the thirteenth century says, describing the powers of the topaz,

. . . Ele vaut mult a une maladie ki l' em apele fi. . . Ele refreidit homme et le rent plus chaste et meins luxurius. Ele deit ser en or.³

A French lapidary in verse which according to Pannier is of the thirteenth century, says,

. . . . Voluntiers doit porter tel pierre
Cil qui de sa char est pechiere
Por lui donter et repentir;
Homme refroidie sans mentir . . .⁴

Another, known as the *Lapidary of Philip*, which dates from the fourteenth century and which attained wide circulation, informs the reader that

. . . Qui ceste pierre porte, plus en aime son cors a demener chastement,
et plus aime a regarder la celestial vie royal . . .⁵

Since a description of the topaz and its virtues given in a fourteenth century lapidary attributed to Sir John Mandeville is brief and fairly typical, it may be quoted entire:

¹ See Lange, "Chaucers Sir Thopas, 'Ritter Honiggold'," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xxxvii, 1299, 1669, and 1827. Also Skeat, *Works of Chaucer*, V, p. 183.

² Manly, "Sir Thopas: A Satire," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, xiii, p. 52.

³ Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, Paris, 1925, p. 123. It is only the late lapidaries, those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which refer to the chaste influence of the topaz.

⁴ Pannier, "Les lapidaires français des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, Paris, 1882, p. 243.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

Topaze d'Arabie vient des fleuves de l'Orient; il y en a de deux manieres, et sont semblables a or vierge; l'une l'est plus que l'autre; elles valent a une maladie qu'on appelle fiel; elle sent la lune, car quand la lune doit etre pluvieuse, la pierre est relente (de mauvaise odeur), mais quand il doit faire beau temps, elle est claire et reluisante; elle refroidit l'homme, le rend plus chaste et moins luxurieux, et doit seoir en or.⁶

Now, since lapidaries, which so generally attributed to the topaz this chaste influence, were very widely read in the middle ages, it seems reasonable to believe that to the literate circles, which Chaucer addressed, mention of the topaz would suggest chastity.

But the low ebb of sexual morals in Flanders during Chaucer's time is a matter of common knowledge. For example, Vanderkindere, in *Le siècle des Artevelde*, writes:

Partout la richesse, l'abondance donnaient une sorte de vertige; on voulait abuser de tous les plaisirs; la première expansion du luxe aboutissait au triomphe du libertinage. . . . Le relâchement des mœurs se marque encore par le nombre considérable de bâtards dont il est fait mention.⁷

James Hutton, summing up the moral situation in Flanders during this period, says:

Many a good-looking girl found a fortune in her face more easily than she would have done at the distaff. Married women supplemented their honorable gains by means concealed from their husbands . . . Rape and abduction were common, for a gift in the hand perverted the integrity of the judge. Illegitimate children were seen in almost every family rich enough to maintain them . . .⁸

The English, in constant communication with their neighbors across the Channel, could not well have failed to be aware of conditions there. But many Englishmen were not compelled to go abroad to gain first-hand impressions of Flemish morals.

Vanderkindere says,

Les femmes flamandes étaient admirées pour leur fraîcheur et l'éclat de leur teint; l'Angleterre nous en enlevait un grand nombre, qui n'étaient pas destinées à mener une vie exemplaire.⁹

⁶ Is. del Sotto, *Le lapidaire du quatorzième siècle*, Vienna, 1862, p. 80.

⁷ Vanderkindere, *Le siècle des Artevelde*, Brussels, 1879, pp. 402, 400.

⁸ Hutton, *James and Philip van Artevelde*, London, 1882, p. 106.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 390. As his authority, Vanderkindere cites Riley, *Liber Gildhallæ lond.*, p. 283. No page 283 (the *Liber* is in more than one

And in the city of London, where lived Chaucer and those for whom he wrote, the following ordinance was passed in 1393, indicating very plainly the reputation which the Flemings bore:

. . . Whereas many and divers affrays, broils, and dissensions, have arisen in times past, and many men have been slain and murdered, by reason of the frequent resort of, and consorting with, common harlots, at taverns, biewhouses of huksters, and other places of ill-fame within the said city, and the suburbs thereof, and more especially through Flemish women, who profess and follow such shameful and dolorous life.—we do by our command forbid, on behalf of our Lord the King, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, that any such women shall go about or lodge in the said city, or in the suburbs thereof, by night or by day; but they are to keep themselves to the places thereunto assigned . . .¹⁰

Our chain is now complete. If indeed Chaucer meant to write a satire on the Flemings—and Professor Manly's argument makes it seem probable that he did,¹¹—it seems reasonable to conclude that since the topaz was generally regarded as causing its possessor to live chastely, and since the Flemings bore among the people whom Chaucer addressed, the reputation of being particularly unchaste, therefore in naming his knight *Sir Thopas*, Chaucer meant to call to the minds of his audience one more weakness of the people whom he was satirizing.

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volume) nor, for that matter, any page in the work, so far as I have been able to discover, contains any mention of Flemings in this connection. But despite my inability to locate the source of Vanderkindere's remark, I believe that it is not without foundation, for it seems unlikely that he would deliberately and for no evident reason invent such a definite statement. Furthermore, Hutton, *op cit.*, p. 104, makes the same observation, in phraseology very similar to that given above—though, of course, he may simply have copied Vanderkindere.

¹⁰ Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries*, London, 1868, p. 535. Translated from Letter-Book H, fol. cclxxxvii.

¹¹ The fact that Professor Manly's theory enables us to see some significance in the peculiar name *Thopas* is, of course, itself one more argument in favor of the truth of that theory.

THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN THE *APOLLONIUS*
OF TYRE

In his study of *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*,¹ Mr. Morgan Callaway, Jr. arrived at conclusions which will always have interest for the student of English literature. Mr. Callaway confined his investigations to authors who are considered classic in this early literature. In order to determine whether his conclusions held for a writing that is more colloquial in its expression, the author undertook an investigation of the participial construction in the *Apollonius of Tyre* in relation to its Latin original.

There was found to be a general conformity here to the practice of the Old English authors whose writings Mr. Callaway examined. Like them the translator of the *Apollonius* studiously avoided the participial construction. Out of eighty participles in the Latin original, only six were allowed to remain participles in the Old English version. This fact offers further justification for Mr. Callaway's view that the absolute participle of Old English was probably borrowed from the Latin, but "failed to recommend itself to our forefathers and never acquired a real hold on the language."

Again, the renderings of the participle correspond to those pointed out by Mr. Callaway, though there is a variation in the comparative frequency of certain constructions. It is true that the subordinated finite verb in a dependent clause and the co-ordinated finite verb in an independent clause are the favorite modes of translation. Instead, however, of the dependent clause ranking first with the other a close second, there is in the *Apollonius* a great preponderance of the independent clause rendering. Furthermore, the prepositional phrase is less used as a means of translation than Mr. Callaway found it. The following table will show the kinds and the distribution of the translations:

47 cases of the independent clause:

- 1 with the independent and dependent ideas of the Latin reversed
- 2 with the Latin participial phrase converted into a separate sentence.
- 1 with the meaning altered.
- 1 with a free translation.
- 42 with a literal translation.

¹ Johns Hopkins dissertation, Baltimore, 1889.

10 cases of the dependent adverbial clause.

- 1 connected by mid-ðȳ-ðe.
- 3 connected by ðā-ðā.
- 2 connected by ðeah.
- 1 connected by ðæt.
- 2 connected by mid-ðām-ðe.
- 1 connected by swā.

3 cases of the prepositional phrase.

- 2 introduced by æfter.
- 1 introduced by æt.

6 cases in which the participle is retained.

14 cases in which the participle is not translated at all.

Mr. Callaway believes that Old English writings were adversely affected by the preference of their authors for other constructions. Of the two most commonly used methods of translating—the dependent conjunctive sentence and the co-ordinated finite verb—he says that, though the former may sometimes give a felicitous rendering, the latter is not only less felicitous but is often not so correct—that it is monotonous and makes the sentence drag. In connection with the *Apollonius* this assertion would need rather to be transferred to the all-too-frequent use of the participial construction in the Latin original. The independent statements of the Old English version, on the other hand, lend vigor and directness to the narrative. Dramatically vivid and suggestive is the Old English rendering, for example, of the Latin phrases “Stans in litore nudus intuens mare tranquillam”; “Ðā stōd hē nacod on ðām strande and behēold ðā sē.”

Nor is it true, as far as the *Apollonius* is concerned, that the co-ordinated verb translation is not so correct. Except in the very small number of cases in which the translation is slightly free, the Old English co-ordinate clause is a literal translation. The fact that the idea is expressed in the independent rather than the dependent form makes no difference here, for the absolute participial phrases of the Latin do not subordinate ideas as they are subordinated in temporal, concessive, and causal clauses: they are independent in their effect and are merely used to lend variety to the modes of expression.

Exception may be taken to the importance given by Mr. Callaway to the need of the participial construction for making the language capable of delicate shadings and for overcoming monotony and

unwieldiness. It is true that Carlyle and Newman, to mention two examples, are given to the use of the absolute participle. On the other hand, such masters of style as Swift and Addison are sparing in its use. Yet who would say that, as a result, their writings suffer in any of these respects? The use or non-use of the participial phrase seems to be a matter of temperament. To say this is to hint at the alluring fields into which Mr. Callaway has enticed one person, after these many years, with his thought-provoking study.

The Latin participles and their Old English translations: 1. *valeicens omnibus*; Appollonius bæd ealle grētan 2. *tribus diebus et noctibus totidem ventis prosperis navigans*; Mid-ðy-ðe hie onginnon ðā rūwan, and hie forð wāron on hiea weg 3. *Stans autem in litore nudus, intuens mare tranquillam*; Ðā stōd hē nacod on ðām strande and behēold ðā sē. 4. *Et prosternens se illius ad pedes effusis lacrimis*; omitted 5. *Miserere, quicunque es, nudo naufrago, non humilibus parentibus sed notabilibus genito*; Gemiltsa mē nacodum foilidenum. Næs nā of earmlicum byrden geboren. 6. *tenens manum eius*; omitted. 7. *exuens*; omitted 8. *tribunarium in duas partes dividens*; tōslāt ðā his wāfels on twā. 9. *dicens*; ðus cweðende. 10. *Et haec dicens*; æfter ðisum wordum. 11. *demonstrata sibi via carpens igitur portam civitatis ingreditur*; hē ðode on ðone weg ðe him getæht was, ðð-ðæt hē becōm tō ðære ceastre geate and ðær inēode. 12. *per platform puerum nudum currentem*; nacodne cnapan geond ðā strāte iernan. 13. *oleo caput unctum, sabano precinctum, voce magna clamantem et dicentem*; Se wāf mid fle gesmierwed, and mid scietan begyrd . . . And cleopode micelre stefne, and cwæð. 14. *Hoc audito*; Ðā-ðā Apollonius ðæt gehierde. 15. *exuens se tribunarium*; hē hine unscrýdde ðām healfan sciccle. 16. *deo favente*; swā god wolde. 17. *Et respiciens unum de famulis*; Ðā beseah hē hine tō ānum his manna. 18. *Videns autem Apollonius se a civibus laudari*; Ðā-ðā Apollonius gehierde ðæt se cyning hine hērede. 19. *Famulus prior ingressus*; Ðā ðode se mann in beforan ðām cyninge. 20. *cunctis epulantibus*; ðeah-ðe ealle ðōre menn æton. 21. *sed respiciens aurum*; ac hē behēold ðæt gold. 22. *sordido tribunario indutum*; ðæt hē wæs mid horgum scicclese bewæfēd. 23. *reversusque ad regem*; ðā wende hē ongēan tō ðām cyninge. 24. *Et ille tacente illo*; Ðeah hē hit self forswige. 25. *prius ingressus*; Ðā ðode se mann in beforan. 26. *Et respiciens Apollonium hilari vultu*; Ðā beseah Arcestrates se cyning blīðum andwlitan tō Apollonio. 27. *Hoc audiens*; omitted. 28. *et accedens ad eum*; Ðā ðode ðæt mæden tō Apollonio. 29. *respiciens filiam suam*; hē bewende hine ðā tō ðære dohtor. 30. *Puella vero respiciens Apollonium*; omitted. 31. *Rex vero videns tantum bonitatem filiae suae*; se cyning blissode on his dohtor welwillendnesse. 32. *Finitis sermonibus*; æt ðære sprāce ende. 33. *respiciens juvenem*; omitted. 34. *egresso*; Apollonius ðā útðode. 35. *accipiensque lirām*; and nōm ðā hearpan. 36. *atque ita facto silentio*; Ðā wearð stilnes swige geworden. 37. *Post haec deponens lirām*; æfter ðisum forlēt

Apollonius ðā hearpan. 38. intuens Apollonium; omitted. 39. Peractoque convivio; Ðā sōðlice ge-endede se gebēorscipe. 40. vale dicentes regi et reginae; grēttōn ðone cyning and ðā cwēn. 41. Et haec dicens; omitted. 42. videns filiam, omitted. 43. hoc audito; Ðā-ðā Apollonius ðæt gehierde. 44. Et respiciens famulos; Hē beseah ēac tō ðām ðēovum mannum. 45. Puella timens; Ðā ādrēd ðæt mæden. 46. agens deo gratias; gode ðancigende. 47. tenens Apollonium manu; se cyning hēold Apollonius hand on handa. 48. Quos videns; omitted. 49. rex subridens; Ðā smercode se cyning. 50. hoc dicens; omitted. 51. dicens, ðus cweðende. 52. respiciens Apollonium; Ðā beseah hēo tō Apollonio. 53. accepto codicello; Ðā nām Apollonius ðæt gewrit. 54. perlectis codicellis; Ðā-ðā se cyning hæfde ðæt gewrit ofer-ræð. 55. ignorans; ðā nyste hē. 56. respiciens ad tres juvenes; Beseah ðā tō 61. Ipso autem Apollonio relicto; Ðā æt nīehstan forlēt se cyning Apollonius. 58. tenens ei manum; Ðā nām hē Apollonius hand. 59. videns; Ðā geseah se cyning. 60. tenens manum; se cyning hēold forð on Apollonius hand. 61. Ipso autem Apollonio relicto; Ðā æt nīehstan forlēt secyning Apollonius hand. 62. dicens, hire tō cwæð. 63. dicens; ðus cwæð. 64. exiens foras respiciens Apollonium; Eode ðā ūt beseah tō Apollonio. 65. dicens; ðus cweðende. 66. adjurans me; omitted. 67. ignorans quod uxor sua esset; Ðā nyste nā Apollonius nē ne gellefde ðæt hēo his gemæcece wære. 68. At illa audiens; Mid-ðām-ðe hēo ðæt gehierde. 69. Quam videns; mid-ðām-ðe Apollonius ðæt geseah. 70. vale dicens, hēt sōna gelæccan strangulionem. 71. dicentes; cwædon. 72. proferens; Ðæt mæden ðā forð-eode. 73. munera restituens; heora weallas wurdon geedstaðelode. 74. vale dicens; omitted. 75. dimittens medietatem regni sui Apollonio et medietatem filiae suae; becwæð healf his rice Apollonio healf his dohtor. 76. omnibus hiis peractis; Ðisum eallum ðus gedōn. 77. sedens cum sua conjuge; omitted. 78. intuens eum; Ðā beseah Apollonius tō ðām fiscere. 79. adprehendens manum eius; Ðā genām hine Apollonius be ðāra handa. 80. His rebus expletis; æfter eallum ðisum.

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ANGLO-SAXON IN THE SENSE 'MEDIEVAL ENGLISH'

In a catalogue (No. 131, Autumn, 1929) of miscellaneous books offered for sale by Thomas C. Godfrey, Stonegate, York, England, I note the following item:

66 Anglo-Saxon.—THE VISION AND CREED OF PIERS PLOUGHMAN,
edited . . . by THOS. WRIGHT. . . .

Here, it would seem, *Anglo-Saxon* is used in the sense 'medieval English.'¹

¹ For another possibility, cf. *RMS.* III (1927) 455 f.

A like use is exemplified in an article called "The Origin of the Longbow," by the late Henry S. Pancoast, printed in *PMLA*, XLIV (1929). The passage in question reads thus (p. 225):

In any inquiry into the practise of aichery among the Anglo-Saxons—and by this I mean the distinctively English population before and *after* the Conquest—we shall get nearer the truth . . . [*italics mine*]

Let the dictionary makers take note.

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REVIEWS

A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. Part I: The Preclassical Period, 1610-1634. By HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER. Two volumes. 786 pages. Index. (Semicentennial Publications of The Johns Hopkins University.) The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore and Les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1929. Price: Cloth, \$10.

Cet ouvrage marque une date. Il nous donne ou du moins nous promet (car ces deux volumes ne sont encore qu'une aile de la construction totale) la première histoire intégrale, dans l'ensemble et dans les détails, de la période dramatique la plus célèbre—et la plus mal connue—de la Littérature française moderne.

Si on veut se faire une idée à peu près adéquate du labeur entrepris par Lancaster, qu'on s'imagine une enquête approfondie comme celle de Marsan sur la Pastorale, par exemple; qu'on étende cette enquête à tous les genres dramatiques de tout un siècle; qu'on y ajoute l'histoire des salles et des planches, des auteurs et des acteurs, du public même; qu'on se figure chaque pièce (256 dans ces seuls deux premiers volumes) comme démontée rouage par rouage, ramenée à sa date, à son thème, à ses sources. Maintenant, que l'on songe aux difficultés spéciales des recherches bio-bibliographiques pour la période dont s'occupe notre auteur. Ces difficultés elles ne sont pas seulement dans la rareté et dans la dispersion des textes imprimés, parfois manuscrits. Elles sont aussi dans le secours même que le chercheur croirait pouvoir attendre des bibliographes antérieurs. En effet ce secours est précaire, perfide: les négligences de Lérès, les erreurs de Maupoint, les "coquilles" de Beauchamps, les mensonges de Mouhy, les imperfections des frères Parfaict! (Je connais ces gens-là et je les ai souvent maudits

de bon coeur.) Et le pis est qu'à part quelques originalités dans l'erreur ils se copient les uns les autres. Quant aux bibliographes modernes, la plupart sont des descripteurs typographiques : la lettre, la marge les intéressent plus que le fond, le texte, les variantes. Enfin il fallait tout voir, tout revoir, tout défaire, tout refaire. Il fallait que notre auteur vérifiât toutes les dates, dates de composition, de représentation, d'impression. Par l'exemple de Lancaster on verra comment une date qui pour le lecteur n'est qu'un chiffre est pour le chercheur un document qui peut redresser toute une théorie générale consacrée—et fausse.

Sans doute il y avait les prédécesseurs immédiats de la Critique et de l'Histoire littéraires (dont certains fort éminents et sûrs comme Lanson). Mais leurs travaux ne portaient que sur des points particuliers ou des esquisses générales. Et même sur ces points particuliers traités par les meilleurs érudits (Marsan, Rigal etc.) il fallait passer leurs conclusions au crible et au creuset.

Ainsi on voit l'originalité et l'audace de l'entreprise. Comment L. s'en est-il tiré? On ne pourra naturellement le dire avec certitude que lorsqu'il aura poussé sa construction plus avant. Mais dès maintenant nous pouvons augurer avec confiance de ce qui va suivre par ce que nous avons. En effet on sent qu'on a à faire ici avec une méthode prudente et sagace. Au reste les deux volumes que j'ai sous les yeux portent justement sur la période la plus difficile et la plus fluide de toute l'histoire dramatique du XVII^{ème} Siècle. Ainsi de la façon heureuse dont L. s'est tiré de sa tâche ingrate on peut présager qu'il se tirera encore mieux de l'histoire de périodes plus statiques et plus claires. Dans sa partie présente, qui portait sur une époque touffue et broussailleuse, il a fallu à L. le courage et le coup d'œil d'un pionnier en même temps que la pénétration d'un vrai critique. J'imagine que plus tard, quand il en viendra au Classicisme proprement dit, c'est aussi l'*esprit de finesse* au sens pascalien qui devra entrer en jeu. Mais même sur ce point je compte sur les espoirs et les indications que nous donne l'œuvre telle que nous l'avons maintenant.

Au fond, le vrai sujet de ces deux volumes c'est la Genèse du drame classique. C'est vers la Clairière des Géants, vers Corneille, Racine et Molière que notre Pionnier poursuit sa marche à travers la sylvie obscure. C'est seulement en se plaçant au point de vue de cette Genèse et de cette Annonciation du Classicisme que je veux tenter, non pas de résumer son livre (tâche impossible) mais d'en signaler quelques conclusions saillantes. Voici donc :

Paris devient centre d'activité dramatique et les acteurs professionnels s'y établissent d'une façon permanente seulement à partir de 1629. Mais sous Henri IV et dans les neuf années suivantes la production dramatique est active sans être vivace car rien de remarquable n'est demeuré de ces années de théâtre à part les débuts de Hardy. Dans cette période ce qui domine en nombre c'est la tragédie suivie de près par la Pastorale. Les survivances

médiévales sont visibles dans la mise en scène et dans la Comédie (ou plutôt dans la Farce). Quant à Hardy lui-même, son influence a été surtaite. Il lui reste d'avoir été un auteur singulièrement fécond, mais on travaillait avant lui, autour de lui et parfois aussi bien que lui dans le sens préclassique. Il a été en tout cas probablement le premier auteur dramatique professionnel (j'ajouterais après les fatistes du XV^{ème} Siècle). Mais s'il a vivifié le théâtre préclassique, il ne l'a pas créé. Il en fut l'animateur, non le père (p. 13-65). Dans la période de 1610 à 1618 les sujets grecs et romains dominent dans la tragédie. Et la Comédie existe, contrairement aux affirmations de ceux qui ne voient rien entre Larivey et Corneille (p. 138-147). Avec Racan et Théophile, tous deux de bonne maison, l'activité dramatique se hausse dans l'échelle des valeurs sociales; la versification malherbienne prend pied au théâtre. En ce qui concerne Théophile, son *Pyrame* (1621) fut un événement et Mairet saura s'en souvenir. Au compte de cette période il faut mettre un remarquable sentiment de la nature (p. 210, 224, 272, 319) qui deviendra bien rare chez les classiques. En général la verdeur, le réalisme dru, l'intrusion du comique et du lyrisme donnent au drame de cet âge un caractère excessivement curieux. Quant aux fameuses règles des Unités, il faut distinguer avec Lancaster le problème purement critique (surabondamment et complaisamment traité depuis les humanistes aristotéliens de l'Arrière-Renaissance) du problème historique et pratique. A ce point de vue on ne voit les unités faire leur vrai début formel qu'avec la *Silvanre* de Mairet (1630) et sa *Préface* (31 Mars 1631). Les Unités ont été une mode italianisante (Pastorale du Tasse, de Guarini, de Bonaielli) et non une adhésion à des doctrines livresques. Cette mode n'est devenue un code que plusieurs années plus tard (p. 371-383). Le même Mairet contribua beaucoup à donner à la tragi-comédie l'éclat qui en fit un des genres les plus importants pour la genèse de la tragédie classique (p. 450-566). La Comédie après un demi-sommeil d'un demi-siècle s'établit fermement entre 1630 et 1634. C'est dans la Comédie que Corneille fera son début et apprendra son métier. Sa *Mélite* (dont une argumentation serrée fixe la date à 1630) marque dans le développement du théâtre préclassique non par des nouveautés organiques essentielles, mais par le tour, le ton, la manière. Le thème est relativement simple et sobre, le style et le mode d'observation sentent « l'honnête homme ». C'est dans la *Suivante* (1633) que Corneille observe pour la première fois les trois unités. Mais il se relâchera dans *La Place Royale*. Il est faux que Corneille ait "inventé" la Comédie classique, mais par leur qualité et leur nombre ses comédies ont haussé le genre, l'ont approché à la fois de la vie courante et du ton de la société mondaine (p. 613). Et surtout c'est dans la Comédie que Corneille a pris conscience de ses facultés de dramaturge. Mais dans la tragédie même Corneille comme Hardy, mais avec le génie en plus, fut l'animateur et non le père du drame classique. Cet honneur revient à Mairet, l'inoculateur des Trois Unités, l'auteur de *Sophonisbe* (jouée en 1634), où le pouvoir moteur est déjà tout interne, tout psychologique et où est déjà le sentiment de "la scène à faire." *Sophonisbe* est une tragédie qui tient encore debout non seulement par son influence, qui fut grande, mais par sa valeur propre.

Dans cette revue trop rapide je ne me suis attaché qu'aux aspects proprement littéraires de l'ouvrage. Il m'est impossible en effet de résumer en ce peu de pages le tissu serré de faits et de renseignements que L. nous donne aussi sur la question des salles de théâtre, sur les troupes, les acteurs, la disposition de la scène, etc. On peut penser que l'éditeur critique du *Mémoire de Mahelot* n'a pas négligé cette partie de son étude. Le côté non seulement tech-

nique mais social de l'histoire du théâtre, les goûts et les réactions du public, l'évolution des valeurs sociales attachées à la profession d'acteur et d'auteur tout cela qui est de grande importance a été traité avec autant de science que de conscience. On regrette seulement l'absence de plans et de planches, mais cela viendra peut-être plus tard dans un album terminal.

Outre sa partie critique et technique, l'ouvrage constitue de par l'étude analytique de quelque 250 pièces une sorte de *Thesaurus dramaticus* d'une valeur unique. Il a fallu à l'auteur un vrai stoïcisme pour se pencher de si près sur tant de textes (souvent dispersés, introuvables), sur des centaines de productions dramatiques dont tant sont moins que secondaires et qui sont souvent d'une extraordinaire monotonie dans l'extravagance (surtout les Pastorales et les Tragi-Comédies). La sobre précision, la juste minutie des analyses et surtout l'incomparable utilité de ce travail pour le chercheur doivent nous faire passer sur l'inévitable monotonie de ce répertoire. Oserai-je avouer que j'ai lu comme un roman même ces parties de l'ouvrage? C'est que mon esprit était possédé moins par l'intérêt de ces thèmes en eux-mêmes que par la joie et la gratitude de voir rassemblés ainsi tant de renseignements, tant d'ordre et de lumière jetés sur un cahos. Mais je conviens que cette volupté austère pourra ne pas être du goût de tout le monde. En tout cas il est infiniment précieux (même pour ceux qui n'auront pas à utiliser techniquement cet inventaire de thèmes) de pouvoir se faire une idée des goûts et des intérêts du public de ces époques. Peut-être L. aurait-il pu nous donner dans quelque coin de son œuvre une sorte de synthèse et de classement de ces thèmes familiers? Leur recurrence, leur caractère stéréotypé le permettait. L'humour sobrement malicieux de notre érudit aurait pu se donner carrière dans ce bilan de trucs et de ficelles: malentendus, obstacles, jalousies, disparitions, enlèvements, reconnaissances, fausses lettres, faux amis, confidentes perfides, messages interceptés, déguisements, poisons et philtres, anneaux volés ou perdus, enfin tout l'arsenal de ruses, d'erreurs et de mensonges au milieu desquels se débattaient de pauvres amants pour le plus grand effroi et le plus grand délice d'un public ingénu.

Le pittoresque et la vie sont dans ces deux volumes. On n'a pas besoin de les y mettre soi-même, mais il faut les y chercher. Je veux dire que l'auteur me semble trop avoir parlé de cet âge et de ces hommes avec le même détachement attentif qu'il met à parler de ces pièces. Par probité intellectuelle il nous vole. Oui, il nous vole un peu de cette couleur, de ce fleuve de vie que notre imagination a coutume de verser sur cette époque trouble et héroïque des trente premières années du Grand Siècle. Si la lumière si vive dont il éclaire son vaste sujet était moins purement intellectuelle, alors nous aurions plus d'atmosphère, un paysage au lieu

d'une architecture. Mais se plaindre qu'un savant soit trop scientifique c'est vraiment, comme dit le proverbe, "se plaindre que la mariée soit trop belle."

Telle qu'elle est cette oeuvre est une entreprise grande, forte. Elle sera utile infiniment non seulement comme trésor de faits et d'idées mais comme exemple et comme guide.¹

LOUIS CONS

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The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV, or French Literature, 1687-1715. By ARTHUR TILLEY. Cambridge: University Press, 1929. Pp. xviii + 458

To his important series of works devoted to French literary history Mr. Tilley has added a book concerned with those writers who, while consciously inferior to their masters of the preceding generation, were preparing the way for Montesquieu and Voltaire. After introductory chapters on Louis XIV and Saint-Simon, which give the setting, he discusses the various genres, emphasizing especially the work of La Bruyère, Mme de Maintenon, Fénelon, Bayle, and Fontenelle. The book has the same quality that characterizes the author's *Literature of the French Renaissance*, owing to Mr. T.'s thorough knowledge of bibliographical material, the evidence that he gives of extensive reading and personal judgment, and his skill in presenting estimates of the authors discussed, accompanied by many quotations from their works. That he is not satisfied with accepting opinions without personal investigation is shown, for instance, by the evidence he submits (p. 313) in opposition to M. Lanson's view that in the sermons of Massillon, apart from traditional formulae, "rien n'y sent le chrétien"; and by his investigation of the question whether the *Voyage de François Léguat* is to be considered an account of real or imaginary travel.¹ I find

¹ Voici quelques observations qui pourront servir à compléter l'*Erratum* à la fin du second volume: Page 142, lignes 1 et 2, "most farces are written in prose or in verses of eight syllables." Avant 1612 (dont il est question ici) les farces en prose sont l'exception. P. 205, l. 24, (citation) "C'est tout un en d'eussiez vous rire." Retablir *deussiez* ou mettre *Sic*. P. 229, l. 13, (citation) "De voix, où de penser parlent de leurs amours" Supprimer la virgule, rétablir ou sans accent ou mettre *Sic*. P. 269, l. 31, rétablir *esprit* P. 301, l. 26, supprimer la virgule après *rendre*. P. 310 l. 26, corriger *imignition* P. 415, l. 34, Rétablir *Vertu* *dieu* au lieu de *Vertu* *bien*. P. 416, l. 22, Rétablir *Uranie* pour *Vranne*, qui n'est que l'aspect typographique du titre. P. 712, l. 17, Le sieur de Fonteny dont on nous parle ici est-il le même que Jacques de Fonteny, l'auteur du *Beau Pasteur*?

¹ Pp. 178-9. Dr. G. Atkinson has argued that this is a piece of fiction chiefly on account of the description of a bird, the *solitaire*, the details of

only a few criticisms to make. While the bibliographical references are extensive, I miss a reference to Dutrait in the chapter that deals with Crébillon, to H. E. Smith's *Literary Criticism of Pierre Bayle* in the discussion of that author, to Michaut's *Jeunesse de Molière*, knowledge of which should have prevented the recurrence of the statement that the dramatist was a pupil of Gassendi (p. 343), and to Guyer (*MLN.*, xxxvi, 257-64), who has a different opinion from T.'s about the relation between Pascal and Fontenelle. One may doubt that Pierre Corneille was offended by the *Caractères* (p. 52), for he was dead when they were published, and that he was influenced to any appreciable extent by Descartes's *Traité des passions*, as by 1649, the year when it appeared, he had composed all of his major productions. And one would like to see a reference to Descartes on p. 419, who certainly believed in the "solidarity of the sciences" as much as did Fontenelle, his disciple. These are, however, matters of minor detail, which do not diminish the general excellence of this interesting and useful book.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Études critiques sur Manon Lescaut. Par PAUL HAZARD et ses étudiants américains. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. xi + 113.

Le petit volume dans lequel M. Paul Hazard a réuni les leçons faites par ses étudiants de l'Université de Chicago pendant les cours d'été de 1928 est une mise au point des plus importantes de l'état des travaux sur *Manon Lescaut*. C'est aussi en plus d'un endroit une contribution nouvelle et marquante à l'étude du sujet. Quelles que soient les indications fournies à M. Hazard par ses étudiants, la marque du maître se retrouve à toutes les pages, avec des qualités de mesure de présentation vivante et souvent spirituelle, et des notations d'une finesse pénétrante qui font que ces chapitres se lisent avec plaisir.

which are largely found in the accounts of other travelers. The bird, moreover, seems remarkably sociable for its name and has tribal marriage customs that are obviously introduced to point a moral rather than to give the result of personal observation. Mr. T., however, argues that the book is a real *voyage* and cites the testimony of his colleague, Professor Gardiner, who is a zoologist and has visited the island where the bird is found, to the effect that the topographical indications of the book are too exact to have been invented. While I do not think that the point has been proved, for one needs to know just what topographical statements are cited and Atkinson's argument is too summarily dismissed, yet it is true that Mr. T. has reopened the question. Atkinson writes me that Vivienne, who accepts A.'s conclusions, has an important article, apparently unknown to T., in *Comité de trav. hist. et scientifiques, bulletin de la sec. géog.*, xli (1926).

Les chapitres les plus nouveaux sont tout d'abord celui dans lequel M. Hazard établit et précise une relation étroite entre la vie sentimentale et dévoyée de Prévost et celle de son héros. Les apologistes de l'abbé doivent se résoudre à admettre qu'il se rendit coupable d'une indélicatesse des plus graves pendant son séjour en Angleterre et que sa vie privée fut loin d'être sans reproche. Encore plus curieux est le chapitre dans lequel M. Hazard démontre qu'au total la plupart des matériaux employés par Prévost dans son petit récit se retrouvent dans ces romans indigestes et fumeux qui s'appellent *Les Mémoires d'un homme de qualité* et *Cleveland*. Ce travail sera d'autant plus utile que loin de donner une solution complète à tous les problèmes que soulève *Manon Lescaut*, il amorce de nouvelles études. Il est indispensable à tous ceux qui voudraient reprendre plus en détail plusieurs sujets que M. Hazard n'a fait qu'esquisser. Il reste à écrire, et M. Hazard fournit les premiers éléments d'une étude de ce genre dans sa bibliographie critique, une histoire de la fortune de *Manon Lescaut* à travers la littérature française et en particulier au dix-neuvième siècle. Il reste également à faire une étude détaillée de la langue, étude esquissée dans le chapitre sur "Le style," mais qui peut être poussée beaucoup plus loin. Enfin le séjour de Prévost en Angleterre offre encore bien des obscurités et des mystères.

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The Johns Hopkins University

Goethe. By CALVIN THOMAS. New edition with a foreword by ROBERT HERNDON FIFE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929.

"The reappearance of Thomas' *Goethe* is a fitting accompaniment to the rising interest in the study of the poet in America which is already showing itself as a prelude to the celebration of the anniversary of his death." With these words Professor R. H. Fife, the successor to the chair of Calvin Thomas, concludes his terse and fitting foreword to this biography, which was first published in the year of 1917 and which on account of the temporary wholesale condemnation of things German never found the large and lasting response it really deserved. Here a great and serious effort had been made by an exponent of American scholarship of distinctly Anglo-Saxon antecedents in more than a biological sense, to grapple with the phenomenon Goethe, and this scholarly devotion of a life-time had been crowned with success, just at the end of an epoch of American culture when the stern puritan outlook on life began to be mellowed by both inner and outer influences. Thus Calvin Thomas' book is at the same time an historical milestone.

Its best and lasting value lies undoubtedly in the parts where the critic is most akin to his task, i. e. in the chapters: Senex Mirabilis, The Philosopher, The Critic, and Faust. Wherever the gift of emotional introjection (*Einfühlung*) is required for a fine-nerved intuition and comprehension of psychological problems we find organic blindspots as in the discussion of Goethe's love.

All the more remarkable is the combination of pregnant precision and inspired poetry in the author's verse renderings, in which again he is at his best when he translates poems of Goethe's mature life and philosophic mood.

We owe both the editor and the publisher a word of gratitude for the re-issuing of a great scholar's legacy.

ERNST FEISE

The Johns Hopkins University

Das literarische Antlitz der Gegenwart. Von HEINZ KINDERMANN.
Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1930.

Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart. Versuch einer Übersicht. Von
PAUL FECHTER. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun. [1929].

Wenn Paul Fechters Reclambändchen auf 70 Seiten mit dankenswerthem Bemühen eine knappe, z. T. durch kontrastierende Gegenüberstellung wirksame Charakteristik der Erscheinungen der deutschen Dichtung der Gegenwart gibt, denen im ersten Kapitel eine orientierende Übersicht der Strömungen vorangestellt ist, so schlägt Heinz Kindermann den entgegengesetzten Weg ein mit seinem Versuch eines Querschnittes durch die Zeit. Seine Methode ist angeregt durch Pinders Buch über das Generationsproblem, und wenn auch bei der Fülle des überschauten Materials die klaren Linien des Nebeneinander von vier oder fünf eigentlich in ganz verschiedenen Altern und Entwicklungsstadien befindlichen Stilen ein wenig verwischt werden (der Anfang betont sie!), so läuft doch das Gefühl dafür als Unterton immer mit. Neu und aufschlussreich ist die Behandlung der *Neuen Sachlichkeit* und des *Idealrealismus*; damit sind wir denn wirklich mit einer durchaus sachlichen literaturhistorischen Betrachtung bis in die jüngste Gegenwart gelangt (worüber man vor vierzig Jahren mindestens den Kopf geschüttelt hätte), und obwohl, wie Kindermann selbst im Vorworte bemerkt, wir in einem solchen Falle doch noch "distanzlos vor der Überfülle des Materials stehen" und in der Wertung sicher nach dreissig Jahren manches anders aussehen wird, so verdanken wir doch immerhin die Möglichkeit solcher Überblicke und Ausblicke einer Ausweitung literarhistorischer Methoden, allerdings auch einer gefährlichen Bewusstheit unserer

Gegenwart, wie sie sich in dem etwas erschreckend schnellen und nervösen Ablauf der letzten Richtungen der literarischen Produktion offenbart. Ob diese Hellhörigkeit und Hellsichtigkeit eine gesunde Errungenschaft der Zeit oder ein Fluch kritischer und produktionsunfähiger Zersetzung ist, kann erst eine ferne Zukunft lehren.

ERNST FEISE

The Johns Hopkins University

Das Problem der Generationen in der Kunstgeschichte Europas.

Von WILHELM PINDER. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt, 1928. xxxi, 192 pp.

Aus der kunstgeschichtlichen Disziplin sind der Literaturforschung in letzter Zeit wichtige Anregungen erwachsen, und wenn man auch bereits wieder geneigt ist, z. B. im Anwenden Wölfflinscher Theorien größere Selbständigkeit und Vorsicht anzuraten, Ausdrücken wie Barock und Rokoko solche entgegenzustellen, die aus der Eigengesetzlichkeit der Dichtungswelt hervorgegangen sind, bleiben immer noch genug große Gesichtspunkte, deren Möglichkeiten, trotz Strich, in keiner Weise erschöpft sind. Das Prinzip der offenen und geschlossenen Form, um nur eins herauszugreifen, ließe sich noch umfassender auf den Stil der Persönlichkeit anwenden: Im Festhalten, Neuverknüpfen und Umspannen seines Freundeskreises, im straffen Führen seiner Korrespondenz, seiner Rechnungen, im Ausmünzen seiner Erlebnisse und Ausführen seiner Pläne, in der Ordnung der Lebensführung, im Einheitsempfinden vom eignen Leben und seinen Perioden, im metaphysischen Verankern seiner Weltanschauung und gewisser Systembildung, letzten Endes im Drang nach Harmonie in jeder Lebensäußerung (selbst bei scheinbarer Disharmonie einzelner Werke durch Ausbalanzieren durch Kontrastwerke (Goethe!)), in allen diesen Lebensäußerungen müßte sich beim Individuum eine grundsätzliche Haltung aufzeigen lassen. Wie weit das auf Zeiten und Bewegungen zutrifft, ist eine viel lebhafter in Angriff genommene Frage, die sich indessen dem Prinzip nach, wie das vorliegende Buch von Pinder auszuführen sucht, stark differenziert, wenn man den Begriff der Zeit nicht ein- sondern mehrdimensional faßt.

Nach Pinder gibt es keine einfachen Gegenwarten. "Für jeden ist die gleiche Zeit eine andere Zeit, nämlich ein anderes Zeitalter seiner selbst, das er nur mit Gleichaltrigen teilt, der Zeitraum ein Koordinatensystem, das aus dem Nebeneinander im Zeitverlaufe (der Zeitfläche) senkrecht zum Uebereinander der Lebensläufe und parallel zu jedem Nebeneinander darin sich bildet." (11) Aus

Gleichzeitigkeit und Gleichaltrigkeit erwachse der historische Rhythmus. Problemgleichheit sei Generationscharakter, Einheit der Mittel (Themen, Vortragsweisen) Zeitcharakter.

Wir können hier nicht auf Pinders Beweisführungen aus der bildenden Kunst eingehen, es fällt indessen auch von dort Licht auf literarische Probleme und Erscheinungen, so zum Beispiel die Darlegung, daß Klassizismus im Grunde Plastizismus sei, in Wahrheit eine versteckte Reliefkunst, in der wieder sich eine totenblaß gewordene Malerei (Kartonkunst) verberge. (Walzel hat diese Idee bereits in der Einführung zu seiner Literaturgeschichte (Handbuch der Literatur) nutzbar gemacht.) Wichtig besonders ist auch für unsere Zwecke der Exkurs über das Alter der Künste im Vergleich zueinander.

"In der Entwicklung seiner so viel jüngeren Kunst wird Bach vielleicht der Plastik von Chartres, Mozart der von Bamberg, Beethoven der von Naumburg weit eher entsprechen als den tatsächlich gleichaltrigen Generationsgenossen alterer Künste" (122). "Beethovens Symphonie ist die Kathedrale von 1800." Demnach erlebt Deutschland eine zweimalige große Romantik, eine um 1500, in der kein Deutscher 'weder sprachlich noch musikalisch mit dem zu wetteifern vermag, was in das Auge hineingeredet wird' eine um 1800, in der dem dichterisch-philosophisch-musikalischen Schaffen nichts gleichwertiges von bildenden Künstlern zur Seite gestellt werden kann.

Untersuchungen über Drama, Epos und Lyrik als jeweils wesentlichen Ausdruck der Zeit dürften in kleinerem Maßstabe dieser Betrachtung entsprechen; sie fehlen uns noch ganz.

Eine Fülle von Anregungen geht von Pinders Buch aus, denen ein kurze Anzeige unmöglich gerecht werden kann. Es wäre verfehlt, sich bei Einzelheiten aufzuhalten mit Zustimmung oder Zweifel. Kein leichtsinniger Projektenmacher, sonder ein Kenner spricht hier und baut auf dem Grunde ausgedehnten und sichern Wissens. Die Literaturforschung kann an dem Werke nicht vorbeugehn.

ERNST FEISE

The Johns Hopkins University

Die Botschaft der deutschen Romantik an Europa. Von JOSEF KÖRNER (Schriften zur deutschen Literatur für die Görresgesellschaft hrsg. v. Günther Müller, Bd. 9). Benno Filser, Augsburg, 1929. 152 pp.

In this modest little volume of 150 pages, splendidly got up by the Augsburg publisher Filser, Dr. Josef Körner of Prague has made a contribution of real importance to the history of the international

dissemination of German Romanticism. Specifically the work shows how Friedrich Schlegel's Romantic principle of historical exposition growing out of his synthesis of *Geschichte* and *Systematik* was taken up by his elder brother August Wilhelm, who made it common European property through the semi-popular *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, the only work of the German Romantic theorists which, with its combination of esthetic criticism and esthetic history, really caught the attention of the general public and became the direct mediator between German Romanticism and the other Romanticisms of Europe. In effect therefore the book expounds the message which German Romanticism transmitted to the rest of Europe, as the title suggests.

Korner investigates the *Dramatische Vorlesungen* from many angles. He studies their sources, their external and internal genesis, their composition and substance. He looks into the question of their reception by the public and by the critics as well. And finally he envisages their surprisingly great influence, through translation, in France, England, Scandinavia, Italy, Spain and the Slavic countries. In particular it is the important and now very rare French version by Albertine Necker de Saussure, a cousin of Mme de Stael, which is called to our attention. Korner sheds a great deal of new light upon the complicated question of genesis and authorship of this translation, or rather adaptation, which perhaps had even a greater vogue than the original work. Incidentally the author enriches also our fund of knowledge concerning the de Stael circle.

The book is prefaced by facsimiles of the first two pages of the *Vorlesungen*. And in the appendix we find about 350 notes referring to the text, and five excursuses. The first excursus exposes the quite uncritical nature and numerous errors of the Amoretti edition of the *Vorlesungen*. The second prints two new Schlegel letters to the publisher Zimmer (1810 and 1811) relative to the lectures. The third, in the nature of a concordance, gives a complete table of references to passages in other writings of Schlegel which repeat specific thoughts found in the lectures. Almost one hundred such cases are listed, a fact which leaves no doubt concerning the typical Schlegelian nature of the lectures. The fourth excursus, more lengthy, makes a careful comparison of the original text of the lectures and the text of the Necker translation. The differences are surprising both as regards nature and extent. They may be roughly classified as additions, omissions, explanatory modifications, weak paraphrases or amplifications, concessions to decorum or good taste, softening of harsh judgments concerning the French drama, alteration of references which would be obscure to French readers, and (very infrequently) errors. The fifth and last excursus reprints the lengthy and important French preface of Mme Necker.

No more interesting contribution to the comparative study of Romanticism has appeared for some time. It goes a long way to show that the debt owed by the rest of Europe to the German theorists of Romanticism is quite definite. And, not content to deal in vague generalities, it reveals without the shadow of a doubt just how this debt was contracted. At last a book on German Romanticism displaying not a scintillating verbosity which is just as baffling as it is hypothetical, but presenting concrete evidence to prove facts of a rare significance.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Edited by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. Pp. vii + 356.

Shakspeare's Silences. By ALWIN THALER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. xi + 279.

J. Q. Adams's edition of *Hamlet* divides itself into two almost equal parts, the text and glossarial footnotes and the commentary. The two parts should, of course, be read concurrently. Professor Adams has constructed a new text on the basis of the Folio and "has labored hard to supply a punctuation that may aid the reader in a dramatic interpretation of the lines." However, when passages from the play are quoted in the commentary, not infrequently the punctuation is quite different from that used in the text. At times the comparison clearly shows a typographical error in the text. For instance, in I, ii, 159, there should be a comma after *break* (cf. Com., pp. 199 and 263), and *Ophelia*, III, i, 89, should be followed by an exclamation rather than by a question mark (cf. Com., p. 253). Other misprints are in the list of *dramatis personae*, where *Bernado* appears for *Bernardo*; in II, ii, 556, *yon* for *you*. I suspect, too, that there should be a comma after I, v, 189 (cf. Com., p. 219), that III, iii, 66, should be a question, and that (1640-62) (p. 180) should read (1642-60). I feel myself that Professor Adams has been a little too sparing in noting asides. For instance, the King's speeches opening and closing III, vii, must, as he is attended, be delivered at least in part as asides.

In several instances Professor Adams's punctuation has enlightened what were to me very cloudy passages. One is so ingenious and so convincing that I quote both the line and the commentary. All earlier editions with which I am familiar imply that Horatio contradicts himself on the number of times he had seen the elder Hamlet. Professor Adams punctuates I, ii, 186, "I saw him—

once," and explains that "Horatio, whose mind is fixed on the Ghost, is so startled [by Hamlet's "methinks I see my father"] that he interrupts: 'O where, my lord?' With mild surprise Hamlet replies 'In my mind's eye, Horatio.' Horatio then starts to tell him of the *real* appearance of his father: 'I saw him—'; but his courage failing, he ends lamely with 'once,' and to cover his embarrassment adds: 'He was a goodly King.'" Most commendable also is the beginning of Act iv with what has customarily been printed as iv, v.

The Commentary is delightfully written; there is not a dull sentence. According to Professor Adams's interpretation the tragic flaw in Hamlet's character is "a form of idealism too lofty for the uses of this world. It was the cause of his disillusionment at the beginning of the play, and of his resultant melancholia; and at the end of the play it leads to his death." Of Hamlet's excuse for not killing the King in III, iii, Professor Adams writes: "Surely a sentiment thus universally condemned is inconsistent with the lovable disposition of Hamlet. . . We cannot believe that these ugly lines denote him truly; we must believe that they are merely the feverish utterances of his sickly brain seeking to alleviate a distress that was otherwise unbearable" (p. 276). It should be noted, however, that Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who had wronged him much less, Hamlet, when completely recovered from his melancholia, orders "put to sudden death, Not shriving-time allowed."

Of the five essays which make up Professor Thaler's *Shakspeare's Silences*, three are reworked from articles contributed to periodicals: "Shakspeare and the Unhappy Happy Ending" and "The Shaksperian Element in Milton" from *PMLA.*, and "Milton in the Theatre" from *Studies in Philology*. The two which here appear for this first time are the opening essay, from which the volume takes its title, and "Shakspeare and Sir Thomas Browne." In the first Professor Thaler discusses interestingly Shakspeare's revelation of his *dramatis personae* by their silences as well as by their speeches, the silent disappearances of characters, silences or omissions in plot, and the like. In the essay on Sir Thomas Browne, he establishes the fact that Browne was familiar with much of the jargon of the theatre; less successfully he seeks, by listing what he considers parallels in thought or language, to show that Browne was familiar with the works of Shakspeare.

Most readers of this beautifully printed volume will, I think, be grateful that the Harvard Press has consented to introduce foot-notes instead of concealing the notes, as it has often done before, at the end of each chapter.

BALDWIN MAXWELL

University of Iowa.

Anthony Mundy, an Elizabethan Man of Letters. By CELESTE TURNER. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1928. Pp. 234.

Essays in Criticism. By Members of the Department of English of the University of California. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1929. Pp. 261.

Studies in English, Number 8. University of Texas Bulletin, Number 2826. Austin, 1928. Pp. 128.

Miss Celeste Turner has put together in a very pleasing way the facts of Mundy's life and has given analyses of the extant works, with some discussion of sources and of possible influences on later writers. One is surprised by the fulness with which the life of this minor Elizabethan can be restored, a happy result of the records left through Mundy's long periods of employment by the Crown and by the city government, but more especially of his tendency to speak of himself in the prefaces and dedications to his numerous works. Of the latter material the writer has made particularly good use, following in this respect the example of an earlier biographer, J. Payne Collier; but her examination of the writings is much more detailed, and she has also had the advantage of the many studies since Collier's work that have touched, more or less incidentally, upon various phases of Mundy's activity. Miss Turner has corrected several errors of long standing, as for example, the identification of Mundy with Lazarus Pyott, the name appearing on the title-page of the second book of the translation of the *Amadis*; and she has also practically established Mundy's authorship of the "Shepherd Tonic" lyrics of *England's Helicon*. Less probable, it seems to me, is the identification of Mundy with the "old Anthony" of Chettle's *Kind-Hartes Dreame*; nor is it always easy to agree with the relationships of cause and effect suggested between certain events of the poet's life.

A careful study of Anthony Mundy is justified, if for no other reason, by his numerous contacts with the more gifted writers of the day; and these contacts Miss Turner fortunately has not failed to stress. She is to be congratulated on her ability to study a minor writer without losing her sense of his relative unimportance.

The second book from the University of California Press consists of eleven essays by as many authors. The first four, dealing with more general aspects of literary criticism, have at least one characteristic in common: each treats of some recent critical attitude or of some feature of our newer literature. Mr. T. K. Whipple protests against the attempt to divorce poetry from morals; Mr. Willard Farnham writes of the romantic spirit of the new poetry

in its revolt against the machine-like precision of modern science; Mr. Merritt Y. Hughes studies the newer humor based on wit and pity instead of wit and love; and Mr. Harold L. Bruce points out the qualities of the new biography in this "Era of Biological Considerations." The seven remaining essays are less general. In a very well planned and clearly written article, Mr. George R. Stewart, Jr., treats of the large moral element in Chaucer which modern readers are prone to minimize. Mr. W. H. Durham shows how the greatly varying criticisms of *Measure for Measure* reflect the critical spirit of the different periods. Mr. Guy Montgomery seeks to justify Restoration comedy as a product of the new scientific spirit of the age. Other papers treat of the background of Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (H. J. Smith), of Thackeray as the real historian of his times (C. W. Wells), of the literary qualities of permanent value in the writings of William Beebe (G. R. Potter), and of the developing technique of Lytton Strachey (B. H. Lehman). The essays as a whole are stimulating and suggestive, promising well for the University of California Publications in English, of which they constitute the first number.

In the first and longest of the nine miscellaneous papers in the eighth number of the *Texas Studies in English*, Professor Morgan Callaway, Jr., makes a very useful survey of the more important works appearing during 1921-1927 in the field of English linguistics. Special notice is given to the contributions of Professors Krapp and Jespersen. In another paper Mr. D. T. Starnes calls attention to Dryden's borrowings in *All for Love* from Shakespeare's plays other than *Antony and Cleopatra*. The similarities in phraseology between the speeches of Dryden's Antony and of Shakespeare's Jaques are so striking as to make borrowing evident; but the borrowings in the other instances cited seem to me to be much more questionable. The remaining articles treat of the fourth-century colonization of Armorica by the British (C. H. Slover), the apparently illogical construction of the superlative in the Icelandic sagas (J. H. Jackson), Elizabeth's use of euphuistic style years before the work of Pettie and Lyly (T. Stenberg), the source of Peele's *David and Bathsheba* (A. M. Sampley), Milton's Samson in comparison with the Biblical hero (E. M. Clark), the identification of "Outis" of the Poe-Longfellow controversy (Killis Campbell), and the critical attitude toward realism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century (H. W. Taylor).

JOHN C. HODGES

University of Tennessee

The School Drama in England. By T. H. VAIL MOTTER. London and New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1929. Pp. 325. \$3.50.

The theatrical doings of English schoolboys in the Tudor and early Stuart times have received a good deal of attention, but Mr. Vail Motter is the first person to carry their history down to the present. Hitherto such scraps of information as might be found have been scattered through numerous volumes of school histories. It is convenient to have them gathered, supplemented by gleanings from school records and newspapers, and presented in an orderly manner. Mr. Vail Motter's documentation is very full. Besides thoroughly assimilating the sources for all periods, he gives, in fifty pages of appendices, a number of play lists, inventories, and cost accounts relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and earlier, and complete tables for several of the more important schools, such as Westminster, Eton, Merchant Taylors, Charterhouse.

His survey of the early, or public, period of activity, which includes the whole of the sixteenth century and a few years of the seventeenth, is soundly done and is necessary to that whole view which is his objective. But the reviewer is naturally more drawn to the period of private performance, extending from the seventeenth century to the present, when plays became strictly a school affair, either as adjuncts to the curriculum or as diversions more or less officially countenanced. These activities have been a matter of interest to all public school men; in the case of Westminster they have been honored almost as a national institution. But, we may ask, now that the facts are available for the first time, what do they mean to the world at large, or to the narrow world of scholarship?

The most immediate and general interest probably attaches to eminent men who have taken part in these plays. We read, for example, that Byron declaimed Zanga and Lear at Harrow, that Macready laid the foundations of his prosperous career at Rugby, that George Colman the elder was moved by the Westminster plays from the church to the stage and that the younger Colman evened the balance by attacking Terence and the Westminster plays as immoral, that Talfourd tried his prentice hand at Eton parodies, that Settle gave some help to the boys of Charterhouse, and that a number of actors made their first flights at one or another school. These contacts are, for the most part, of slight consequence; their chief service is to add lustre to the school records.

Of deeper interest are the policies of schools and the roles which various masters play in the rise and fall of drama. Among them all Westminster has the most notable history. Its famous Play

began with the *Statutes* of Elizabeth in 1560 and has continued with only minor interruptions. Westminster is famous not only for its Terence but also for its unique Epilogues, satirical dialogues in Latin written by its members, witty and topical. Some schools, like Eton, that played an important part on the stage of the sixteenth century have allowed their drama to languish in modern times. Others, like Winchester and Merchant Taylors, have been active in the beginning, lapsed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and had interesting revivals in the nineteenth. Still others, like Christ's Hospital, have had no history before the nineteenth century but are peculiarly active at present. Sometimes the masters have quashed the plays from the feeling that they were impertinent to the school curriculum; under other masters, like John Townley at Merchant Taylors (who wrote *High Life Below Stairs*) and C. H. Hawkins (who founded the Winchester Shakespeare Society), drama has sprung into life again. The sixteenth century schoolmasters were of general accord that the acting of plays is valuable in teaching the control of body and voice, a principle which, in spite of frequent opposition in later years, has never quite died out and is likely to be the basis of plea for revival or continuance. It has in fact been rediscovered more than once, as is proved by the way in which Speech Days have altered their character by substituting dramatic performances for orations.

Thus the history of school plays in England has from the first been primarily a matter of educational policy, and thus, especially in its more recent developments, it concerns the educator more than anyone else. It was only in the Elizabethan period that their stage played any part in the evolution of the public stage. Mr. Vail Motter hopes that the present trend at Rugby and Christ's Hospital, where original plays are acted and invention untrammelled by the habits of the commercial stage is encouraged, may reinforce the efforts of the Little Theatres to develop free drama. But it must be said that the effects are thus far unnoticeable.

HAROLD N. HILLEBRAND

University of Illinois.

Thomas Shadwell His Life and Comedies. By ALBERT S. BORGMAN.
New York, New York University Press, 1928. Pp. x + 269. \$5.

It is no longer necessary to use a progressive tense in describing Shadwell's restoration to the decent eminence from which Dryden's masterly but mendacious satire dislodged him. It has taken a generation to bring him back; but, though there has been all the way along occasional dissent from the adverse verdict, Professor

Allardyce Nicoll's judicious estimate, Mr. Montague Summers's edition, and Professor Borgman's monograph mark the close of an enforced retirement which has few parallels in the history of English literature. Various causes have played a part in ending it. One is the great increase of interest in the Restoration drama, resulting in a closer and more sympathetic scrutiny, under which the intrinsic merits of a good deal of Shadwell's dramatic work have become apparent. Another is the growing utilization of the drama for the study of social history. This aspect of Shadwell is clearly of first-rate importance.

A third reason for his revival is the present tendency to emphasize the continuity of seventeenth-century drama. Shadwell's plays lie in the main current. If Etherege's contribution was more important for the immediate future, his is a narrow stream and his springs are not to be found so plainly in the Elizabethan field. Shadwell, owing much to Etherege, owes still more to Jonson; and, though he sometimes seems but dimly aware of Jonson's intellectual position, he is the principal Restoration channel for the methods of the greatest master of the older social comedy. Thus Shadwell looks back, and yet transmits that powerful influence far beyond the brief day of Congreve. Jonson's *method* was never more popular among the playwrights than it is now. Even the word "humors" has again become a fashionable bit of jargon for the journalistic critics. Though Shadwell's comedies of humors are not his best pieces, it is largely the humors that give the latter their bounce and go. None of the other Restoration galleries can boast so wide a range of portraits, though several greatly excel in brilliance and fineness.

Mr. Borgman's book is a solid and informing piece of work. Of the twenty chapters, five are devoted to Shadwell's life in general and his dramatic and political activities in particular, one to each of his thirteen comedies, one to the history of his reputation, and one to the author's conclusions. Aside from his advocacy of the dramatist's fame, perhaps the most important of these is the assurance that Shadwell was less influenced by Molière than by the Elizabethans.

It seems likely that Shadwell is now in his permanent niche, Mr. Bonamy Dobrée's delightful persistence in persecution notwithstanding. The temperance of his advocates will doubtless contribute to the maintenance of the *status quo*. If Mr. Borgman felt the natural temptation to rush to the other extreme and stake out too strong a claim, he has not yielded. It is a sober and thoroughly convincing account that he has given us.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Types of World Tragedy, Types of Farce-Comedy, Types of Domestic Tragedy, Types of Philosophic Drama, Types of Historical Drama, Types of Social Comedy, Types of Romantic Drama. Edited by ROBERT METCALF SMITH. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1928. 7 vols., \$1.65-\$2.00 each.

Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists. Edited by E. H. C. OLIPHANT. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1929. 2 vols., \$4. each.

Fifty-three plays are reprinted by Professor Smith. Choosing them on literary grounds, the editor depreciates two considerations at present much in favor: the drama as a living form of art in the theatre, and the historical method of studying it. Several of these selections have no relation to the stage, and others are scarcely *typical*. Yet the series will doubtless be useful for introductory courses to literature. There are short critical prefaces, selected bibliographies, and brief biographies. More than half the selections are from the English drama, only five from Greece and Rome, and but two from Russia, Chekhov being unrepresented, as are the pre-Ibsen realists of France. No Spanish drama is included, though space is found for three works by Pinero. Such disproportion justifies the conclusion that this series has not been well selected. On the other hand, the editor's critical remarks are concise and sensible. Mr. Oliphant presents, in what he regards as their chronological order and in modernized texts, fifty-five plays from *Campaspe* to *A Jovial Crew*, with a general introduction and brief notes on the various plays and authors, all infused with his well-known enthusiasm and independence. A novel feature is the inclusion of fifteen plays by Shakespeare, achieved at the cost of shutting out some by other dramatists considered indispensable by most teachers.

HAZELTON SPENCER.

Milton on Education. The Tractate of Education with Supplementary Extracts from other Writings of Milton. Edited by OLIVER MORLEY AINSWORTH. Yale University Press, 1928. Cornell Studies in English, Vol. xii. 369 pp. \$2.75.

Since Milton's *Tractate of Education* has been more frequently reprinted than any of his other prose works, except the *Areopagitica*, and since it is certainly the most readily comprehensible of all his works, the editor of a new edition must presumably offer some reason for its republication. Such a reason is at least

suggested by Mr. Ainsworth by his inclusion in his volume of "Supplementary Extracts from Other Writings of Milton." Here he has gathered together from letters, from prose works, from poems, both English and Latin, statements in regard to education, together with passages which suggest Milton's attitude, both as teacher and as pupil, toward the chief problems of his day. The passages have been carefully compiled, and the volume should prove of service to the teacher of Milton and to the student in the Milton class.

But to the Milton scholar the work must seem disappointing, in spite of all the care the editor has spent upon it. To the thoughtful student of Milton, the notes will seem far fuller than need be, and he may impatiently suggest that it is hardly necessary to discuss at length, with copious parallels, words used in senses entirely customary in the seventeenth century. The Milton student may well question whether an editor should include 272 pages of extracts to supplement a thirteen-page pamphlet; and will wish that Mr. Ainsworth had instead, after merely giving us references to his collection of parallels—practically all of which are easily accessible,—gone on to develop upon their basis an analysis of Milton's theories taken a whole. Such a study, showing significant changes and developments in Milton's ideas of education, suggesting his conception, for instance, of the relation of education to *virtue* and to *liberty*—those dominant obsessions of Milton's life and work—would be of the highest value. The student will regret, too, in Mr. Ainsworth's introductory discussions of humanism, evidences of a method and of a point of view which have been conspicuously absent from the most important Milton studies of the last few years. Mr. Ainsworth tends too much to base his conclusions with regard both to humanism and to education in the seventeenth century upon secondary sources—upon text-books in the history of education and critical treatments of great humanists, rather than upon the work of the humanists themselves. Milton's *Tractate* should be read less in the light of what Woodward has said of Vittorino da Feltre or Watson of Vives, than in the light of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thought itself. It seems hardly necessary today, for instance, to raise that antiquated man of straw, that "the Middle Ages were an era of moral and spiritual darkness, lightened by hardly a single ray of intelligence or piety," or to inquire, as Mr. Ainsworth does (p. 23) "whether humanistic learning was totally in abeyance during that period." And surely students of Bacon and his followers, remembering the Baconian emphasis upon the *practical*, with its effect upon succeeding generations, will not only find nothing strange in the emphasis of Milton and others upon certain practical aspects of education, but will hardly be led into an argument as to whether Milton's scheme was or was not *utilitarian* in purpose (pp. 16 ff.). One would

wish, too, to find Milton's interesting stress upon physical science interpreted less in terms of Dr. Johnson than in terms of contemporary movements of thought. Most of all, the student must regret that Mr. Ainsworth in his discussion of the interesting and important fact that the central point in Milton's theory of education is to be found in his belief in "a definite order among created things" (p. 44) fails to see the significant interpretation of that idea in Milton's day, and, vaguely dismissing it as somehow similar to Plato, takes refuge in a statement that Milton's views on this matter have been "admirably summarized by Dr. Masson."

Thus, this edition of the *Tractate* may be welcomed to the Milton shelves by the teacher, who will find in its careful pages much valuable material competently brought together; but the student must continue to regret that so much labor has failed to produce what would be most eagerly welcomed—a reevaluation of Milton's *Tractate* in the light of the new Milton scholarship.

MARJORIE NICOLSON

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The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay. Edited by BEATRICE WHITE.
Oxford University Press for the E. E. T. S., 1929. Pp.
lxv + 272.

The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay have a definite historical importance in English literature as the first pastoral poems in the language. Moreover, they have real value in presenting to us a picture of life and customs and the trend of thought in the England of the early sixteenth century. The Eclogues are based on two continental works, a letter of the urbane Aeneas Silvius, and poems of the popular Mantuan, adapted for English readers. The result is a significant contrast between the cultures of two widely varying audiences.

The Eclogues have not been especially accessible to modern readers. They were republished only twice, the first time along with the popular *Ship of Fools* issued by Cawood in 1570, and in a *facsimile* reprint of this edition by the Spenser Society just three hundred years later. Scholars, therefore, will welcome a modern edition.

The text of Miss White's edition is an exact reprint of the Cawood copy compared with the surviving early editions and the Spenser Society *facsimile*. There are adequate notes on the matter of the poems, and an introduction in two parts, the first on the life of Barclay, and the second a discussion of the Eclogues. In the life, Miss White has done her best piece of research. She has not only

summed up and evaluated all that has been written on the subject before, but she has discovered much interesting if not significant material among the records of Great Baddow in Essex where Barclay for a time was vicar. In dealing with the Eclogues themselves she has failed to bring out Barclay's full significance. Here in ten pages (as compared with fifty-four on his life) she uses most of her space on the poetic merit of the Eclogues. A more fruitful task would be a comparison of the poems with their Latin originals, showing in some detail just what changes Barclay made in order to fit this strange material to his less sophisticated English audience. Barclay was undoubtedly impressed by the ecclesiastical importance of Aeneas Silvius and the fame of Mantuan. Yet he had no scruples in altering freely and interpolating long passages that are not even suggested by the Latin. The result is that we have numerous references to public men of the time with Barclay's opinions about them, and most interesting of all, copious details of the daily life of Englishmen, their food, their dress, their sports, and their attitude toward the stirring movements of the time. The Barclay who wrote the Eclogues was the medieval cleric standing on the threshold of the reformation. His work, therefore, represents the transition from Medievalism to Humanism, and as such the Eclogues are typical of the age.

However, we have here a worth-while edition, and since the Latin originals are printed along with the English text, the interested reader has an opportunity to make the comparisons himself.

JOHN RICHIE SCHULTZ

Allegheny College

The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh. Edited by AGNES M. C. LATHAM.
Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. Pp. 200. \$5.00.

Miss Latham has performed well a task which wanted doing. Hannah's edition of Raleigh (with other poets) was not revised after 1870. And though the sixty years which have passed have yielded nothing so important as the fragments of *Cynthia* which Hannah gave to the world, yet there have been discoveries, some of them made by Miss Latham herself. Hers is the definitive Raleigh,—and will be, unless such findings as now are scarcely to be dreamed of antiquate her work. She has toiled patiently at the tantalizing problem of the Raleigh canon; and has gone beyond previous investigators in hunting down manuscript copies of his work. By bringing to light (from *Add. Ms.* 27407) a set of verses combining the fragment of the 12th (Hannah's 22nd) book of *Cynthia* and the "Petition to Queen Anne," Miss Latham has added to the corpus of Raleigh's authentic work and has thrown

light upon the nature of at least one of the Hatfield fragments. She also prints for the first time in such a collection the notable poem, "Farewell, false love, the oracle of lies," which is fairly well authenticated as Raleigh's, the already well known and well authenticated "Nature, that washed her hands in milk," and two "doubtful poems"—one an elegy upon Prince Henry and the other a moralistic fragment. In each of these two some lines, at least, suggest Raleigh's authorship.

Miss Latham's reading of "11th" and "12th" as the numbering of the fragmentary books of *Cynthia* she has announced elsewhere (*R. E. S.*, iv, 129); and she is so sure of this reading that she ignores the counter-suggestion of J. P. Gilson (*R. E. S.*, iv, 340). She rightly casts doubt upon the ascription to Raleigh of commendatory verses signed "W. R." in Lathgow's *Pilgrimes Farewell*, 1618,¹ and she calls attention to the problem involved in assigning *Daiphantus*, 1604, to Anthony Scoloker. She makes a good case for the authenticity of "As you came from the holy land," a case which may be strengthened by argument from internal evidence. Such lines as,

Who lyke a queene lyke a nymphe did appere
by her gate by her grace, . . .

His desire is a dureless contente²
And a trustless ioye,

have Raleigh's poetic accent.

The Introduction and Notes in the present volume say good and necessary things, yet they leave one a bit disappointed. Miss Latham has not quite matured her thought, has not gathered up all loose ends. Her first sentence, "It is difficult to believe in Sir Walter Raleigh," makes a fair bid for attention but is generally untrue. One fears that Miss Latham has read too worshipfully some of the works of Lytton Strachey and of Virginia Woolf. She attempts subtleties and nuances, but she fails to describe Raleigh's poetic qualities. The statement, "Sometimes, in the case for instance of *Like to a Hermite poore*, one suspects a foreign source," reveals a considerable oversight, the "foreign source" (Desportes, *Diane*, II, viii) having been printed in full by Sidney Lee in his *French Renaissance in England*. Her ignorance of this source made Miss Latham miss one of the best chances she had to isolate Raleigh's own idiom; for the final couplet of his poem,

¹ There is a couplet signed "W. R." prefaced to *Greene's Tu Quoque*, 1614, which one would hardly think of assigning to Raleigh.

² Cf. *Cynthia*, Book II, 295-6:

Vnlasting passion soune outworne consayte
wheron I built, and onn so dureless trust,

and *History of the World*, p. 23, l. 38: "the false and dureless pleasures of this Stage-play World."

And at my gate dispaire shall linger still,
To let in death when Loue and Fortune will,

is his original addition; and it concentrates his typical language and mood.

I wish Miss Latham had followed out her own suggestion that Raleigh is the author of other poems in *The Phoenix Nest* which are grouped with the five usually ascribed to him. If we turn to p. 66 of MacDonald's edition of the miscellany and list the poems following the one signed "Sir W. H." we find:

1. "Feede still thy selfe, thou fondling with belief," 22 lines (4, 4, 4, 4, 6).
2. "My first borne loue vnhappyly conceiued," 24 lines in rhymed Sapphic stanzas
3. "The brainsick race that wanton youth ensues," 18 lines (6, 6, 6).
4. "Those eies which set my fancie on a fire," a sonnet (4, 4, 4, 2); lines 10-12 indicate that it is addressed to the Queen.
5. "Praised be Dianas faire and harmles light," 18 lines (4, 4, 4, 6).
6. "Like to a Hermite poore in place obscure," a sonnet (4, 4, 6).
7. "Like truthles dreames, so are my ioyes expired," a sonnet (4, 4, 4, 2).
8. "A secret murder hath bene done of late," a sonnet (4, 4, 4, 2).
9. "Sought by the world, and hath the world disdain'd," 18 lines (6, 6, 6).
10. "Hir face, Hir tong, Hir wit," 16 divided lines.
11. "Calling to minde mine eie long went about," 18 lines (6, 6, 6).
12. "What else is hell, but losse of blisfull heauen?" a sonnet (4, 4, 4, 2).

Of this list, Nos. 6, 7, 10, and 11 are well authenticated as Raleigh's; No. 5 is usually accepted as his, though printed by Miss Latham among the doubtful poems. None of the twelve has been ascribed to any other author except No. 8, which in *Rawl. Poet. Ms.* 85 is given to an inexplicable "Goss." Juxtaposition, taken with similarities in form and sentiment, points to the conclusion that if five of these poems are Raleigh's then all of them (and perhaps two or three which follow these) are his. I would call special attention to No. 9; a reading of it in full will suggest Raleigh's authorship to anyone familiar with his biography and his writings.

Other comments must be brief. Miss Latham's bibliography of editions should have included all issues of Hannah's later work, noting its change of title; and her bibliography of selections should have included F. C. Hersey's *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1909, enlarged 1916) which reprints a generous amount of his poetry. "F. A. White's" on p. 154 should read "W. A. White's." In view of her statement that in Raleigh's handwriting "initial *r* is so like a modern *v* that it appears as *v* more than once in the transcript printed by Hannah," the editor is bold in reading (*Cynthia*, 11, 473),

cold care hath bitten both the root, and vinde,

for Hannah's

Cold care hath bitten both the root and rind.

In the sense of "vine," her "vinde" satisfies, and perhaps betters, the meaning; but it is surely questionable. On the other hand, her "rent" for Hannah's "vent" in l. 451 is certainly an improvement; as is also her "lymes" (limbs) for his "lines" in l. 116.

HOTT H. HUDSON

Princeton University

New Light on 'Piers Plowman.' By ALLAN H. BRIGHT, with a preface by Professor R. W. CHAMBERS. Oxford, 1928. 89 pp.

Mr. Bright's book offers a series of slightly supported hypotheses rather than theories confirmed by facts. The first assumption is that Crowley's assignment of "Cleybirie" as "Langelande's" birthplace is an error for Ledbury. As Ledbury is eight miles from the Malvern Hills and Cleobury is twenty-three, this suggestion may be correct. The second assumption is that of all the statements as to the authorship found in the manuscripts and early books the one in the Dublin manuscript ascribing it to William de Langland, son of Stacy de Rokayle, is right in every respect. Though no evidence connects any de Rokayle with Ledbury or its neighborhood, Mr. Bright says: "It is not unlikely that Eustace de Rokayle held some position under the Despensers, either at Hanley Castle or in the Chase" (p. 36). The inconsistency in the author's bearing the surname Langland and his father's name being Rokayle, Mr. Bright settles with another hypothesis, stated as a fact: "William, Eustace de Rokayle's son, was illegitimate" (*ibid.*). Mr. Bright sees no objection to this theory, in the fact that the author of the C text "attacks the church for its slackness about illegitimacy" and complains that "bastard children have been made archdeacons" (pp. 38-9). One of the most violent of Mr. Bright's assumptions soon follows: "On 20th December, 1348, he (Langland) was ordained an acolyte under the name of 'Willelmus de Colewell'" (p. 42). Mr. Bright supposes that he used this name because it was the name of the parish in which Langland lived. But apparently he never used the name again! The name Langland itself is that of a particular field in Colwall parish, Longlands, though the author admits that another field in this parish and one in the neighboring parish of Coddington bear the same name. As the name has an obvious descriptive value, it is probably common enough in England. The earliest known use of it for this particular field is in 1681.

Next, Mr. Bright suggests that Piers was possibly one of

William's maternal relatives, though "to some extent William identifies himself with Piers." Then, "At this time William had dropped his clerical attire and profession, and was working on the land, assisting Piers." Mr. Bright supports this assumption with the line, A, Prologue, 2: "I schop me into a schroud . a sheep as I were" (pp. 47-8), overlooking the next lines: "In habite of an hermite . unholy of werkes, Wende I wydene in this world . wondres to here." Does "went wide in this world wonders to hear" mean that he tended sheep on the Malvern Hills? Perhaps none of Mr. Bright's methods is more astonishing than his habit of identifying Langland with any character in the poem whom Mr. Bright chooses to designate. He is now "Haukyn the actyf man," now Piers, later Study, and finally Actif.

Mr. Bright's suggestion that the scenery at Pewtress Spring suggested to the poet the "field full of folk" is interesting and plausible. The author of a certainty knew the Malvern Hills, and therefore a spot there which closely resembles his famous scene may have suggested his description.

J. R. HULBERT

University of Chicago

John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance. By VIOLET M. JEFFREY.
Paris, Champion, 1929. Pp. vii + 147.

The skepticism of almost all the Italian influences upon Lyly which has been expressed by two of his twentieth-century editors makes Miss Jeffrey seem more of a revolutionary than she is in the present thesis. As she herself points out, work like that of T. F. Crane has prepared us to realize the extent and variety of the Italian elements in Lyly's fiction and drama. It is possible to doubt many of her parallels between *Euphues* and its counterparts among the dialogues of which the *Filocolo*, the *Asolani* and *Il Cortegiano* are familiar examples, but it is no longer possible to doubt her belief that the more familiar the literature of the *seicento* becomes, especially as it is represented by minor writers, the more positive will become our certainty that *Euphues* is "in reality an English counterpart of the Italian love-treatise."

In the Italian pastoral drama which culminated in *Il Pastor fido* and in the *Aminta* Miss Jeffrey's industry has amassed ample evidence for challenging the theory of Bond and Greg that in his pastoral plays Lyly was fundamentally English and altogether independent of Italian experiment in the genre. She is even more successful with two of the mythological plays, *Endymion* and *Midas*. In the *Mida* of H. Zoppio she has undoubtedly found an important partial source for the latter play. Her plea for a greater Italian than Roman influence in *Mother Bombie* is not

convincing, and she falls back upon a challenge of Lyly's authorship in this instance.

The only disappointing section in the thesis is the chapter on "Social Customs," which adds little to the discussion in the three preceding chapters. The monograph closes with an admirable treatment of Euphuism as a fashion derived from the English and Italian imitators of the more obvious artificialities of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* in both prose and verse. Miss Jeffrey does not overstate her case. In seeming ignorance of Whipple's criticism of the theory, she acknowledges that Euphuism displays the "Gorgianic figures" which have seemed to Norden, Wendelstein, and Feuillerat to determine its character, but her proofs of the evolution of Euphuism from Italian origins make the views of the continental scholars seem like pre-evolutionary notions of the origin of species.

University of California

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

The Reule of Crysten Religioun, by Reginald Pecock; now first edited from Pierpont Morgan MS. 519. By WILLIAM CABELL GREET. Oxford University Press, 1927 (E. E. T. S. Original Series, No. 171). 35 s.

The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon, two Middle-English Alliterative Fragments *Alexander A* and *Alexander B*, edited with the Latin Sources parallel, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Index. By FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN. Harvard University Press, 1929. \$3.50.

By printing *The Reule of Crysten Religioun* from the unique (though incomplete) manuscript in the Morgan Library, Dr. Greet has made accessible the last of Bishop Pecock's significant works known to have escaped the zeal of his enemies. *The Represser of ouer myche blamyng the Clergie* was published in 1860, *The Book of Feith* in 1909, and Dr. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock has recently brought out admirable editions of *The Donet* (1921) and *The Folewer to the Donet* (1924) in the same series as this edition of *The Reule*. *The Poore Mennis Myrroure* remains unpublished, but Dr. Hitchcock has shown that it is only an abridgement of the first part of *The Donet*. *The Reule* is in many ways the most important of the six, for it contains the full and reasoned statement of Pecock's theological position, and was regarded by him as central to his whole system. To judge from the facsimile frontispiece, Dr. Greet has discharged admirably his principal obligation of giving a reliable text, a task which called for no small amount of care and patience, for the manuscript runs to something over 200,000 words. He has not expended so much

care on the editorial apparatus, which strikes one as being rather perfunctory. We are not told whether this is the "lasse" or the "more" edition of *The Reule* (Pecock in *The Donet* refers constantly to both), and I cannot determine from his description of the manuscript whether it is a fragment of a larger work or was always incomplete. There are no notes and the glossary is meagre and uncritical, which is more to be regretted because *The Reule* was not read for the *N. E. D.* It contains a good many downright mistakes: e. g. *aroume* does not mean "around" but "at a distance"; *creyme* is not "cream" but "chrism"; and *dadelar*, whatever it means, is not well glossed by "dawdler."

In Dr. Greet's book the text is the main thing; in Professor Magoun's the text, though excellent, is eclipsed by the Introduction and Notes. Skeat prepared good texts of the Alexander fragments for the Early English Text Society as long ago as 1867 and 1878. Professor Magoun has found only minor errors in his transcriptions, but has been more conservative in the matter of emendations. He provides excellent notes, but no glossary, on the ground that the *N. E. D.* specifically cites and explains all the hard words, and that therefore a glossary "would seem at least as superfluous as a vocabulary to a Latin text for University students." The implied compliment is pleasant, but, I fear, unwarranted. The *N. E. D.* is not too common a possession even among professors, and many small college libraries still lack it. It is perhaps more to the point that Skeat does give full glossaries and ought not to be too hard to obtain.

Skeat's studies of the language and sources are completely superseded by Professor Magoun's. His investigation of the dialectal peculiarities confirms the previous assignment of the fragments to the SW Midlands ("not far from Hereford"). Both were written ca. 1340-1370, but he concludes "very definitely" that they are by different authors. The most curious and valuable portion of the book is the elaborate investigation (pp. 15-77) of the sources, which amounts to a condensed bibliographical outline of the origins and geographical spread of the Alexander legend. That the material "is so great in volume and so diverse in substance as to prove a veritable source of amazement" seems not overstated when we learn that the Ethiopic version is based on a lost Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a lost Persian (Pahlavi) redaction of a Greek manuscript "of the type designated as δ." Professor Magoun's reputation for linguistic erudition is already great, but this book will enhance it. He refers to documents in twenty-one distinct languages, though he modestly admits that he had help with the Hebrew.

Both these books were begun as doctoral dissertations in English: Dr. Greet's at Columbia in 1926, Professor Magoun's at Harvard in 1923.

BRIEF MENTION

Répertoire des Métaphores et Mots français, tirés des noms de villes et de pays étrangers. Par FÉLIX BOILLOT. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires [1929]. 122 pp. M. Boillot (b. 1880—) is professor of French at the University of Bristol, England. He is the author of ten published books and monographs, upon critical, pedagogical, and French dialect topics, which are not as well known in America as they merit; this is partly because a number of them have been issued for private circulation. In the present work M. B. has collected from 11 well-known French dictionaries and histories of the language metaphors, metonymies, and symbolical usages of some 325 place names, from outside of France. French place names will be treated in a future study of a similar nature. M. B. has included current slang, archaic expressions, and metaphors that have long since lost their metaphorical sense and become common nouns. He does not take account of the date of entry or degree of popularity of each term; his words have been culled mechanically. In the Introduction he stresses the importance of such a list for the philosopher, the economist, and the psychologist. The arrangement of the material is surprising: the applied meanings are classified according to the Dewey decimal system. To be sure, there is an alphabetical Index at the close, but, unless one is a librarian, the sequence is somewhat complicated. "Drunkeness" is in the one thirty-seven's; "cannibalism" would be with "undertaking" (if it occurred) in three ninety-three. I searched at once for *Caroline* and found our state used for a species of rice once grown here. *Maryland* suggests tobacco or a game of cards to a Frenchman. It is apparent that the dictionary sources date from before the War. *America* means "flirtation, democracy, feminism, transportation, shrewdness, and cooking." *Rome* is the commonest place name to have metaphorical usage, with *China*, *England*, and *Turkey* following in the order named.

This study is a contribution of the new school that is seeking, through studies in style, to unite the interests of the critic and the linguist. The permanent value of such studies is still to be weighed in the balance; but M. B.'s little book deserves attention, whether one is seeking for entertainment or for evidence of popular judgment and xenophobia in France. The author is a very able critic. To seek for omissions would be to check upon France's best-known dictionaries; their material has been handled very faithfully.

URBAN T. HOLMES

University of North Carolina

Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde, VI. Erste Hälfte, mit fortlaufenden indogermanischen Parallelen. Von Dr. h. c. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. Lucern, E. Haag, 1929; pp. 31. In this pamphlet the author continues his long series of interesting and valuable monographs on Indonesian or Malay-Polynesian language and literature, which date back to the beginning of this century. It is the first half of the sixth of the series "*Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde*" begun in 1921, in which he endeavors to portray the spiritual life of the Indonesian, and to show by the study of words and word formations that the Indonesian mind is not inferior to the Indo-European ("Indo-Germanic") mind. The first two monographs of this series dealt with the general features of the spiritual make-up of the Indonesian; the third, with his intellect; the fourth, with his aesthetic capacity; the fifth, with his emotional equipment. The present monograph treats the Indonesian's most primitive linguistic creations. The greater part of the work is devoted to the discussion of the form and meaning of Indonesian interjections, tho a few pages (26-29) deal with the most primitive forms of poetry, song, prayer and law. The second half of this sixth monograph, which is announced for 1931, will contrast with these primitive linguistic creations the abstract formations, which may be regarded as the Indonesian's highest linguistic accomplishment.

FRANK E. BLAKE

Much Ado About Nothing. Parallel Passage Edition. By ALPHONSE G. NEWCOMER and HENRY D. GRAY. Stanford University Publications, Vol. I, No. 2, 1929. Pp. 327. Professor Newcomer designed this edition as an exemplar of a method for elucidation of the whole of Shakespeare by citation of all parallel passages in his works bearing upon a single given word or phrase. It is an obvious method practised more or less by all editors, but not exclusively nor so thoroughly elsewhere as in this instance. A concordance, one may think, renders most of Professor Newcomer's effort superfluous. But, if we can afford the luxury, such an edition saves much time and turning of leaves, and displays relevant passages at greater length than a concordance. Furthermore the concordance cannot remind the reader of passages which have the idea, but no word, in common with the passage before him. A case in point is the "trout that must be caught with tickling" in the trap laid for Malvolio (*Twelfth Night* II. v. 25), *à propos* of the very similar garden trick on Beatrice (*Much Ado*, III. i. 26 ff.), who is the fish that will "greedily devour the treacherous bait." This instance is overlooked by the editors.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

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WORDSWORTH'S PLAN FOR HIS IMITATION OF JUVENAL¹

When Wordsworth settled at Racedown in the fall of 1795 he had recently met Coleridge, still busy in Bristol with Pantisocracy; in August he had been in Bristol, and the previous months in London, living at least part of the time with Basil Montagu who with Wrangham² had started a school for boys. On November 20, 1795, Wordsworth wrote to Wrangham regarding their contemplated satire in imitation of Juvenal, enclosing 28 lines of heroic couplets for his criticism. Another letter to his friend, attributed to the same year but undated, enclosed 130 more lines, and a third letter, dated March 12, 1796, indicates that he has not yet abandoned the subject. The fragments printed by Knight³ in 1907, but never afterwards published, have been almost completely ignored by critics. Professor Harper alone discusses them with any detail,⁴ though the satires were written in an important but

¹ This note contains a development of some of the material presented in 1929 to George Washington University in a thesis for the M.A. degree. I am indebted to Professor R. D. Havens for assistance and suggestions in the arrangement of this material.

² It is interesting to note, in connection with the material to follow, the personal reasons which Wordsworth may have had for choosing Marvell, Cook, and Drake, because of their associations with his friends. Wrangham who, like Marvell and Cook, was a native of Yorkshire, was brought up on a farm in the vicinity of Marton, the birthplace of Cook; Basil Montagu, whose mother was the singer Martha Ray, was the natural son of the Earl of Sandwich, Cook's patron; Coleridge, who had been in correspondence with Wrangham in the winter of 1794, was, like Drake, a native of Devonshire.

³ William Knight, *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, 1907, I, 92-98.

⁴ G. McLean Harper, *William Wordsworth, His Life, Works, and Influence*, 1916, I, 249-289.

obscure period of the poet's life and are the only extant literary work produced during the early months at Racedown which he neither published nor later revised. Professor de Selincourt, who does not mention the satires, though discussing in detail the moral crisis of the poet which he places early in that year, evidently considered these fragments unimportant. Yet they give specific and plain-spoken opinions about politics, religion, war, and prominent people, past and present—matters in which Wordsworth had been engrossed for years but about which he has given little definite information in *The Prelude*. The undated letter of 1795 [?] implies that Wordsworth and Wrangham were continuing a line of reading in history and travel started during the summer,⁵ and that the poet had the *Eighth Satire* of Juvenal almost by heart.

It seems clear that Wordsworth planned to do in his imitation somewhat as Johnson had done in *London*, or more probably, in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*,⁶ making use of the lives of Englishmen as Juvenal had of the lives of Romans, for in the undated letter he says (Knight, I, 95):

I have either lost, or mislaid, my Juvenal; therefore I cannot quote his words. What follows about Cicero might be parallelized by some lines about Andrew Marvel and Arpinas Alias i. e. another Yorkshireman, by Captain Cooke, but most successfully by Drake. This you will at once perceive The Decu may perhaps do as follows.

Evidently he intended to follow rather closely the parts of Juvenal's

⁵ Professor Lane Cooper, in *A Glance at Wordsworth's Reading* (MLN., xxii, 83-89, 110-117) states that Wordsworth had commenced borrowing books of travel as early as 1793. It will be seen from what follows that not only was he familiar with Cook's life and voyages as early as 1795, but that he had read a number of other books related to his interest in Juvenal as early as the summer of this year, thus fixing the beginning of his 'indoor study' as definitely before the time usually set for the poet's moral crisis. I will give the lot number of such books as appear in the catalogue of sale of Wordsworth's library, 1859, whenever these are mentioned.

⁶ From R. C. Whitford's "Juvenal in England 1750-1802" (*Philological Quarterly*, vii, 1928, 9-16) it is evident that Wordsworth was adapting Juvenal in much the same way that many eighteenth-century satirists had done. He was probably familiar with current satire, for in a letter of March 21, 1796, he speaks jocosely of the 'redoubted Peter' Pindar, whose satires on George III and quarrels with Gifford were familiar topics of the day.

*Eighth Satire*⁷ which deal with the superiority of humble worth over degenerate nobility, in order to express his opinions on current politics; that is, where Juvenal speaks of Cicero⁸ [*Hic novus Arpinas*] Wordsworth intends to speak of Marvell, and when he speaks of Marius [*Arpinus Alias* should be *alius*], who like Cicero was born at Arpinum, Wordsworth intends to speak of Cook, another Yorkshireman, or of Drake, though the latter was not from Yorkshire, but from a remote part of Devonshire. Obviously the lines of poetry beginning 'When Calais heard (while Famine and Disease)'⁹—which follow the passage given above—are Wordsworth's adaptation to the burghers of Calais of Juvenal's passage about the Decii (VIII, 254-260).⁹

Andrew Marvell's¹⁰ life parallels that of Cicero as interpreted

⁷ Juvenal, VIII, 231-253. An edition of Juvenal, 1683, said to have been given Wordsworth by his friend Matthews before 1801, is in the Cynthia Morgan St. John Collection of Wordsworthiana at Cornell University library. Of the sources which deal with the periods satirised by Juvenal, there were listed in the catalogue of 1859, among others, the following authors: Tacitus (Cat. 75, 1670), Martialis (Cat. 591, 1528), Valerius Maximus (Cat. 410, 1650, and 445, 1540), Herodianus (Cat. 40, 1678), Lucanus (Cat. 531, 1785), Echard (Cat. 26, 1702), and Gibbon (Cat. 29, 1788).

⁸ A lifelong interest in Cicero is indicated by the many books in Wordsworth's library which deal directly with the subject: Andrew Thevet's *Plutarch* (Cat. 77, 1676); also Cat. 383, 1575; 350, 1664; 347, 1681; 348, 1745; 564, 1803; 346, 1825 and 579, 1829, all contain texts of Cicero's work.

⁹ Additional material for the lives of Cicero and Marius, from which he drew for comparisons with Marvell, Cook, and Drake were to be found in the text and copious notes of Barten Holiday's line-for-line translation of *The Satires of Juvenal and Persius* (Cat. 561, 1673); there were also many suggestive passages, particularly in the prefixed essay on satire, in the translation of Juvenal and Persius by John Dryden (Cat. 417, 1702). The *Eighth Satire* is translated by George Stepney, who in milder periphrastics carried on Holiday's work as translator of Juvenal. Dryden's earlier defense of the succession of the Duke of York which culminated in his attack on Shaftesbury in *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) would suggest to Wordsworth analogies to his study of political events in England previous to 1795. It is interesting to speculate whether Wordsworth knew of the recent (1790?) suppression of Kippis's life of Shaftesbury.

¹⁰ Edward Thompson, *Life and Works of Andrew Marvell*, 1776. This, the only edition of Marvell's life extant in 1795, shows close similarity of subject-matter to events contemporary to Wordsworth's satires. Liene-mann's *Belesenheit* (1908), 46, indicates an early familiarity with the poetry

by Juvenal and Holiday to a remarkable degree. Both Cicero, 'the upstart-country-knight', and Marvell were born of middle class parents at towns which, though remote from the seat of government, were distinguished in that their citizens were privileged to hold office at the capitol. There both ceaselessly toiled for the public good as representatives of the people over a long period of years,¹¹ accomplishing their ends by wit and invective. Without bloodshed they saved their countries from internal treachery at the hands of high-born citizens. For this they were called saviors of their country; but both were finally put to death¹² because of their brilliant and daring attacks on tyranny.

Marvell's life and works contained abundant suggestions for effective satire on political events of Wordsworth's time. The bold attacks on the court of Charles II, culminating in *Instructions to a Painter*, are in interesting contrast to Dryden's diplomacy; his ridicule of the priesthood is typified in *The Rehearsal Transformed*, a prose burlesque of a pamphlet by Samuel Parker, later Bishop of Oxford (Cat. 279); his *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government*, uncovering the Popish Plot, led to his death.

Similarly the life of Captain James Cook as related by Andrew Kippis in 1788,¹³ parallels that of Marius as presented by Holiday. Both were the sons of plowmen. They rose steadily from menial service to distinguished rank, one in the army, the other in the Royal Navy. Here the parallel weakens. Although, according to Kippis, Cook's discovery of the cure for scurvy made him a savior of his country, the honors showered on Cook (among them the granting of a coat of arms to his family by George III) were in

of this life-long favorite. Notebook W (de Selincourt, *The Prelude*, xxiii) 'opens with a copy of Marvell's *Horatian Ode*' written to celebrate Cromwell's return from Ireland in 1650; thus possibly in 1802, certainly in the spring of 1804, Wordsworth was still interested in Marvell.

¹¹ Marvell's services in parliament were interrupted only in 1663-4 when he was in the retinue of the embassy to Muscovy, Sweden and Denmark, accompanying the Earl of Carlisle, whose travels are recorded by Guy Miege (Cat. 78).

¹² Basil Montagu's *Opinions of Different Authors upon the Punishment of Death* (Cat. 53, 1809), indicates a similar interest on the part of Wordsworth's radical friend.

¹³ There is little question that Wordsworth's parallels for the life of Cook were suggested by material in Kippis who, in characteristic fashion, uses his hero as an excuse for republican propaganda.

recognition of peaceful services to humanity through research, surveys, and explorations which incidentally added to England's maritime power. These achievements bear little resemblance to the victories of Marius against the invading Cimbrians.

When Wordsworth came to choose between two mariners, Cook, whom he admired as a man of intellectual and moral stature, and Drake, essentially a fighter, he evidently hesitated as to his choice. He found parallels to the early life of each in the life of Marius; but Wordsworth's associative powers in seeing fundamental resemblances through 'deep analogies by thought supplied' led him to reject Cook who, as a Yorkshireman, carried out the narrow idea of *Arpinus alius*, for the better parallel, Drake of Devonshire.

Drake¹⁴ is described as born of 'mean parentage', a plowman's son. Camden contemptuously calls him 'this Drake.' From common seaman he rose through privateering to high rank in the Royal Navy; when knighted by Elizabeth on the *Golden Hind*, he, like Marius, incurred the envy of the nobility; and, like him, this upstart saved his country from invasion (the Armada), and, though the colleague who shared his triumph was nobly-born, Drake was the popular idol (Howes, p. 807). The parallel of Drake was well fitted to bring out Wordsworth's feeling that resistance to armed invasion was admirable,¹⁵ a belief not inconsistent with condemnation of aggressive warfare so strongly felt by the poet.

From Wordsworth's expression, "This you will at once perceive," it is fair to conclude that Wrangham, like Wordsworth, had been reading intensively on Cicero, Marius, Marvell, Cook, and Drake. The exploration of historical characters which the two friends¹⁶ had made during that summer must have been fairly wide and thorough,¹⁷ or Wordsworth could hardly have expected Wrangham's instant recognition of these parallels.

¹⁴ William Camden, *History of Elizabeth*, 1615, John Stow, *Annales*, 1592, continued by E. Howes, 1615 (Cat. 74, 1611), contain contemporary accounts: John Campbell, *Life of Sir Francis Drake*, reprint of 1828 (Cat. 114), William Davenant, *Works*, 1673, containing the *History of Sir Francis Drake* (Cat. 513, 1675), and many other related books are listed in the catalogue of Wordsworth's library.

¹⁵ Compare with Wordsworth's "Lines on the Expected Invasion of England," 1803.

¹⁶ Wrangham's *British Plutarch*, 1816, indicates that he, like Montagu, had continued his interest in historical characters.

¹⁷ I shall hope to show later that an analysis of Wordsworth's satires

Although this study of the *Arpinas alius* passage shows that Wordsworth had in mind detailed and close parallels to parts of Juvenal's satire, examination of the letters and the extant fragments which Wordsworth sent to Wrangham makes it clear that he did not intend to be limited by rigid adherence to the Latin text. Wordsworth's plan was to follow Juvenal, sometimes in close, at other times in 'extremely periphrastic' parallels, giving modern instances. In the couplets on George III, his consort, and his advisers, he is clearly attempting a very loose paraphrase of parts of Juvenal (VIII, 29-86) for of this passage he said, not quite accurately: "There is not a syllable correspondent to them in Juvenal." The combination of freedom and closeness of treatment is well illustrated in his handling of Damasippus. Although Wordsworth closely parallels many of Juvenal's specific comments on this character, he divides them between the Duke of York and the Prince of Wales. For the Duke of York he selects the milder criticism, partly condoning (in almost literal translation of Juvenal) his youthful excesses, and ascribing his failure at Dunkirk to other causes; to the Prince of Wales he applies the harsher invectives, condemning him for his association with low company, for treason 'en famille', and for disgraceful behavior in boxing, horse racing, gambling, and acting on the public stage. Although there was some idea of following Juvenal's order, this freedom in the handling of material in the extant fragments makes it impossible to give any definite order to the passages, for in some Wordsworth has closely knit together parts which are disjointed in Juvenal (for example, the themes of low sports, vulgar company, and shameful contrast with ancestors—Juvenal, VIII, 193-5, 173-5 and 227-230—are inextricably woven together in a single passage of sixteen lines); and intermediate passages (for example, the theme of suffrage, Juvenal, VIII, 211-213) are used in other connections. The satire as it stands stops with the theme of the bond-servant (Juvenal, VIII, 259-260)—a savage attack on 'sovereigns deep in pedigree entrenched' whose boasted ancestry is traced back eight hundred years to the bastard son of a robber baron.

There is ample evidence in the material extant to show that reveals evidences of thorough study of his material, and that over a considerable period of time his efforts had been directed to relating his readings to current events.

Wordsworth had outlined a trenchant satire which was to express some phases of his already well-developed interest in man as man, which had recently been stimulated by his experiences and reading while in London.¹⁶ To the careful reader it will be evident that underlying the satires is the conception of the 'unity of man' to which Wordsworth was to devote so much thought in *The Prelude*. Particularly applicable to the theme of the satires is the passage (*The Prelude*, XIII, 206-220) which ends with the lines condemning certain types of books which, misleading us with words,

While they ambitiously set forth
Extrinsic differences, the outward marks
Whereby society has parted man
From man, neglect the human heart

UNA VENABLE TUCKERMAN

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A LETTER FROM WORDSWORTH TO THOMAS POWELL

The Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York City kindly permit the publication in *Modern Language Notes* of a hitherto unpublished letter from Wordsworth to Thomas Powell about Chaucer. From this letter we gain an understanding of the traits of Chaucer's art admired by Wordsworth and of the principles followed by Wordsworth in his modernizations of Chaucer's poetry; and we are reminded by the mention of poor eyesight of a difficulty constantly besetting Wordsworth's scholarship, especially in the minutiae of reference and annotation. Above all, the precision, rigor, and generosity of his remarks on Chaucer, and on Dryden, illustrate his critical power. Thus variously Wordsworth himself seems to take part in the discussion renewed by Professor Stuart Robertson in *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1928, concerning Chaucer and Wordsworth.¹

¹⁶ *The Prelude*, VIII, 340-686.

¹ On May 3, 1882, Dowden discussed before the Wordsworth Society (*Wordsworthiana*, ed. by Knight, 1889, pp. 24-28) the line "Sweet is the holiness of youth," interpolated by Wordsworth in his modernization of the *Prooress's Tale*; and in my edition of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, 1922, I noted (p. 268) that sonnet XXXI of Part II quotes this line in reference

My dear Mr. Powell

Excuse my not writing earlier as I wished to do—From a letter of mine to Dr. Smith, which I enclose you will learn every thing respecting the Sanatorium to which your last letter referred,—so that I need not here dwell upon the subject—I am glad that you enter so warmly into the Chaucerian project, & that Mr L. Hunt is disposed to give his valuable aid to it. For myself I cannot do more than I offered, to place at your disposal the Prioresses Tale, already published, the Cuckoo & and the Nightingale, the Manciples Tale, & I rather think, but I cannot just now find it, a small portion of the Troilus & Cressida—you ask my opinion about that Poem—speaking from a *remembr*² recollection only of many years past, I should say that it would be found too long—& probably tedious. The Knights Tale is also very long, but tho' Dryden has executed it, in his own way observe, with great spirit & harmony, he *he* has suffered so much of the simplicity, & with that of the beauty, & occasional pathos of the original to escape, that I should be pleased to hear that a new version should be attempted upon my principle by some competent Person. It would delight me to read every part of Chaucer over again, for I reverence & admire him above measure, with a view to your work, but my eyes will not permit me to do so—who will undertake the Prologue, to the C. Tales? For your publication that is indispensable, & I fear it will

prove very difficult. It is written, as you know, in the couplet measure, & therefore I have nothing to say upon its metre—but in respect to the Poems in stanza, neither in the Prioresses Tale, nor in the Cuckoo & Nightingale have I kept to the *precise form* rule

of the original as to the form & number & position of the *rhymes*,³ thinking it enough if I kept the same number of lines in each stanza, & this is I think is all that is necessary—and all that can be done without sacrificing the substance of sense, too often, to the mere form of sound—

to Chaucer. Professor Robertson seems to question Wordsworth's scholarship and good taste. Wordsworth, however, skilfully avoids any claim on Chaucer's diction, but says that Chaucer "so felt . . . speaking *through* that Lay." From 1822 until 1845 the sonnet read "so felt Time-honoured Chaucer when he framed the (that) Lay."

* Words crossed out in Mary Wordsworth's script are here italicized.

³ This word is underlined in the original.

I feel much obliged by yr offer of the 1st Ed: of the *Paradise Lost*,⁴ & I apprehend from what you say that you are already aware of my possessing a Copy—otherwise I should not have felt justified in accepting the one you so kindly intend for me—The copy I possess was given me by Mr. Rogers—& your's shall take its place on my shelves by its side. Mr. Moxon is about to send down a parcel of books in which your valuable present might be included, with a certainty that it would arrive safe.

's Portrait

It is thought by every one that Mrs. W. (who appears, as now engaged writing for me)⁵ *dictating* [?] is an excellent likeness—The chalk drawing has yet a good deal to do at it. Dora has been *attempted*,⁶ but not yet, as we think, with much suc-

Picture

cess. I think you will be delighted, with a profile *drawing* on ivory of me, with which Miss G. is at this moment engaged, Mrs. W. seems to prefer it as a likeness to any thing she has yet done. We all rejoice as you & Mrs P. will in her general success in this neighbourhood. Thanks for your kind enquiries after Mr[s] Ws health—she is I am glad to say quite well again, & joins with Miss G. my Daughter, & myself in affec regards to you & Mrs P.—& believe me

Ever faithfully & affly yours

Wm Wordsworth

Remembering the letters of Wordsworth about Powell and the Chaucerian project in the collections of Morley and Knight,⁷ dated January 23 and February 24, 1840, respectively, I infer that this letter to Powell, undated in the manuscript, is slightly earlier. Miss Gillies had been for an appreciable time with the Wordsworths; and of her arrival Mr. Gordon Wordsworth writes me as follows: "I went into the dates of Miss Gillies's portraits some years ago, and completely satisfied myself that she arrived at Rydal Mount in the autumn of 1839 for a visit of some months' duration, and

⁴ The copy given by Powell to Wordsworth is now in the New York Public Library.

⁵ The letters above the line and the parentheses are a revision.

⁶ This word is underlined in the original.

⁷ *The Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle*, I, 397; *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, III, 193.

that some of the portraits—and certainly Dora's—were finished by the end of December of that year." The letter here printed, then, may be dated late in 1839 or—less likely—early in January, 1840.

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THOMAS COOPER AND PANTISOCRACY

Recent research has shown that Thomas Cooper's *Some Information Respecting America* undoubtedly influenced Coleridge and Southey in their selection of the Susquehanna as the site of their Pantisocracy,¹ and has suggested that the germ of Pantisocracy scheme was probably derived from a similar project of Cooper and Joseph Priestley.² The plan of their project has not been available to the previous writers and consequently the extent and nature of this influence has remained an open question and the similarity between Pantisocracy and the community on the Susquehanna that Cooper and Priestley attempted to promote, has been a matter of conjecture.

The present writer, however, has recently unearthed in the Bibliothèque Nationale a rare contemporary pamphlet that apparently outlines the details of Cooper's and Priestley's project.³ Printed

¹ William Haller, *The Early Life of Robert Southey*, New York, 1917, p. 139 ff.; J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, Boston, 1927, pp. 554-555.

² H. M. Ellis, "Thomas Cooper—A Survey of His Life," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, xix (1920), 42.

³ *Plan de Vente de Trois Cent Mille Acres de Terres Situées dans les Comtés de Northumberland et de Huntingdon dans L'Etat de Pensylvanie, Divisés en Sept Cent Cinquante Lots de Quatre Cents Acres, et Formant Sept Cent Cinquante Actions Proposées par Souscription par une Société de Citoyens des Etats-Unis de L'Amérique*, a Philadelphie, 1794. 64 pp. At the bottom of the title page of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, someone has written, "Par Mr. Cooper pour Sa Compagnie avec le Dr. Priestley." I am unable to say whether Cooper wrote this pamphlet. During the French Revolution, he had only a poor speaking knowledge of French (E. A. Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, New York, 1866, II, 332). Later in life, however, he reviewed French Literature (*Southern Review*, III, 417; and V, 179). That the pamphlet refers to him in the third person does not argue against his authorship, as he does this in his own work (*Memoirs of Joseph Priestley*, London, 1806, appendix III).

in French, and evidently intended for circulation on the Continent, it sketches their proposals in four parts: the first, serving as an introduction, urges the suitability of Pennsylvania for the European emigrant⁴; the second outlines the plan of sale of the land, and describes the proposed settlement⁵; the third argues the advantages of this particular project in reference to the organization of the community and to price of land⁶; and the fourth instructs the emigrant about the voyage to America, methods of farming, and procuring of servants.⁷

Conceived on a grand scale, this plan involved the establishment of thirty sales-offices in central Europe, and sought to found a town in Pennsylvania and to sell three hundred thousand acres of adjoining land.⁸ To hasten the sale, the promoters offered valuable cash premiums. The purchaser could either come to America, or by a system of coupons attached to his deed could send as many as four tenants to till his land.⁹ Thus absentee proprietorship was made possible—a thing that Southey and Coleridge would surely not have tolerated. The organization of the town was worked out in detail, and coöperation between landowners and the village was assured by giving the rural proprietors pieces of urban real estate.¹⁰ The promoters furnished funds for necessary industries, and sought to attract certain artisans and professional men by cash subsidies and by generous grants of land.¹¹ Carefully phrased in legal terminology, the pamphlet lucidly outlines an ambitious financial venture.

That the promoters sought to sell land rather than to reform

⁴ *Plan de Vente*, 2-15. The pamphlet utilizes many of the arguments used by Cooper in *Some Information Respecting America*, London, 1794.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 50-64.

⁸ This is one of many such schemes proposed during the late eighteenth century (J. C. Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Emiles in the United States*, London, 1907, pp. 106-121 and 125-150). It sought to attract people who wished to escape the political and economic conditions of central Europe. In the *Pennsylvania Archives*, I have been unable to find record of Cooper or Priestley having title to such a tract of land.

⁹ *Plan de Vente*, 22-23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 29-39.

society and establish Utopia is evident throughout this pamphlet. Such a scheme, therefore, could hardly have influenced the Pantisocracy of Coleridge and Southey; and, although *Some Information Respecting America* probably caused Coleridge to choose the Susquehanna as a site, and doubtless informed him about land prices in America, the actual project of Cooper and Priestley, as expressed in the *Plan de Vente*, seems to have had no influence on the social structure of Pantisocracy.

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UDOLPHO AND CHILDE HAROLD

Byron, it is well known, cherished for Ann Radcliffe a somewhat exaggerated admiration nurtured by a youthful passion for her novels, but no one, I believe, has yet noted that she is responsible for the description in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold* which is one of the most satisfactory pictures of Venice in English literature. This oversight is the more curious since it is in the same canto, only a few stanzas later (18), that Byron expresses his admiration for the novelist in no uncertain terms:

I loved her [Venice] from my boyhood, she to me
Was as a fairy city of the heart,
Rising like water-columns from the sea,
Of joy the sojourn, and of wealth the mart;
And Otway, Radcliffe, Schiller, Shakespeare's art
Had stamp'd her image in me . . .

But of them all it was Mrs. Radcliffe, though she had never seen Venice herself, who gave Byron his point of view and even the phrases in which to praise the city when he visited it in the flesh. Either he had just re-read *The Mysteries of Udolpho* or he had much of it by heart:

Nothing could exceed Emily's admiration on her first view of Venice, with its islets, palaces, and *towers rising out of the sea*, whose clear surface reflected the tremulous picture in all its colors, . . . As they glided on, the grander features of this city appeared more distinctly; its terraces, crowned with *airy yet majestic* fabrics, touched, as they now were, with the splendour of the setting sun, appeared as if they had been called up from the ocean by *the wand of an enchanter*, rather than reared by mortal hands.

Byron's whole picture is very like but it is perhaps worth while to remark especially three notable phrases from the first two stanzas:

I saw from out the wave her structures rise
As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand: . . .
Rising with her train of proud towers
At any distance, with majestic motion.

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A NOTE ON SHARAWADGI

In his "Gardens of Epicurus," Sir William Temple wrote:

What I have said, of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extra-ordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chinese; a people, whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees arranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The Chinese scorn this way of planting, and say a boy, that can tell a hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed. And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet have they a particular word to express it: and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the Sharawadgi is fine or admirable, or any such expression of esteem.¹

The editors of the New English Dictionary doubted this, and said "Chinese scholars agree that it cannot belong to that language."

¹ Sir William Temple: "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, Of Gardening. In the Year 1685" (*Collected Works*, II, ii. p. 58, 1690). The word became somewhat familiar to connoisseurs in the eighteenth century, and is frequently used by Horace Walpole. Alexander Pope used it in his

"Temple," it is pointed out, "speaks as if he had himself heard it from travellers."

It seems to me possible to suggest the probable Chinese derivation of this word. The Chinese scholars consulted by the editors of *NED*. were perhaps led to reject the Chinese origin of "sharawadgi" by the fact that all words or characters in Chinese are monosyllabic. But this difficulty is a trivial one. A single monosyllabic word in Chinese is not convenient for use when pronounced by itself. Hence an extensive system of pure and incremental repetitions has come into use. Thus "tsu" 子 stands for son; "erh" 兒 also stands for son. But the general practice is to say "Ehr-tsu" 兒子, meaning son. It is not monosyllabic, but it is still good Chinese. Doubtless when Temple said that "sharawadgi" was a Chinese word, he meant a Chinese term, which may consist of more than one word or character. Without some positive evidence to the contrary, we must regard it as probable that "sharawadgi"—which neither he nor his informant can be supposed to have invented—is a more or less altered form of a Chinese expression. The doubt suggested by the editors of *NED*. regarding the Chinese origin of "sharawadgi" is, moreover, diminished by the fact that the effect which Temple maintained was by the Chinese called "sharawadgi" was precisely the effect actually aimed at by the Chinese engaged in landscape gardening.

It is of course to be expected that the form of the term as reported by Temple should differ slightly from its Chinese original, as English words often amusingly do when adopted, informally, into Chinese. Thus, "Damn you, fool!" is known in China among those who know no other word in English, as "Dam'-you-foolo," and is often further changed into "Damiofulu." Many as are the changes suffered by this epithet, in sound as in form, still we cannot deny its English ancestry.

letter to Digby, Aug. 12, 1724. Professor Lovejoy has pointed out, in an unpublished paper, "On the Chinese Origin of a Romanticism," that Temple's definition of "sharawadgi," and his general account of the principles of Chinese gardening, is the first influential expression of the new ideal of garden-design which later was carried out in the "English garden," and an important early formulation of the general aesthetic conception of a beauty consisting especially in irregularity; and that, in particular, much of Addison's essay in *Spectator*, 414 (June 25, 1712) is a paraphrase, without acknowledgement, of this passage of Temple's.

If we consider the four syllables of "sharawadgi" separately, the last two immediately reveal their identity and family connections. 瑰琦 or 瓊奇, Kwai-chi, also widely mis-pronounced "wai-dgi," is equivalent to "impressive and surprising."² 偉奇, "wai-chi," also equivalent of impressive and surprising, though less eminent in literary associations, and consequently not listed in the "Tzu Yuan," is as widely used as the former group.

"Shara" presents some difficulty. The best suggestion would be 灑落, "sa-lo" or "sa-ro," signifying "careless grace, or unorderly grace." We may again suggest an alternative in 雜亂, "tsa-luan," opposite to orderliness or regularity. But "Sa-ro" and "(k)wai-chi" are to be preferred, because both are of long literary association.³ Landscape gardening is, and has ever been, the pursuit of literary men, or men of culture and taste in China; and for a descriptive epithet "Sa-ro-wai-dgi (the South and Central China form of "chi" is "dgi") is a possible and suitable compound. The combination will then have the meaning of "the quality of being impressive or surprising through careless or unorderly grace." The term thus conveys the idea of the type of beauty described in the quotation from Temple, a beauty whose design can hardly be detected.

No question can be raised regarding its "parts of speech," the special nature of the Chinese language rendering such a question needless. The difference between "sha" and "sa" is again no obstacle. "San" for instance, becomes "sha" in certain sections of China like Shan-si; not only is the sound aspirated, but the final nasal also disappears. Only one objection may be raised. Primarily the phrase "sa-ro" 灑落 applies to a human being. But the transfer of a descriptive epithet from a human object, to which it originally applies, to the product of the person, is again not an unknown practice. In a good garden, the personality of the designer is supposed to be embodied. At least it is so in China. Under such circumstances, the term may be taken from the "careless grace" of the architect, to indicate the "careless grace" of the beautiful garden.

² The English renderings of these words are based upon the "Tzu Yuan" (24th ed., 1928).

³ According to "Tzu Yuan," "sa-ro," was first used by Kiang Yen before A. D. 921; "kwai-chi" by Sung Yue before B. C. 233; "kwai-chi" by Chu Shih before A. D. 400. They were frequently used after those dates.

There are, to sum up, two questions in connection with Temple's "sharawadgi." Did the term come from the Chinese language? And if so, with what word or words is it to be identified? The editors of the New English Dictionary cannot be blamed for inability to solve these problems. But it is an indication of the deplorable state of Sinology in Europe that, when help was called for as in this case, no one was competent to give it. The antecedent probabilities would of themselves justify an affirmative answer to the first question. For the original of the term, 灑落瑣奇, "sa-ro-wai-dgi," seems to be the strongest candidate.

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HALLAM'S REVIEW OF TENNYSON

Both Lounsbury's *Life and Times of Tennyson* and Nicolson's English Men of Letters *Tennyson*¹ give August, 1830, as the date of Arthur Hallam's review in the *Englishman's Magazine* of Tennyson's 1830 volume, a review which, in fact, appeared in August, 1831. Neither develop explicitly the implications of the earlier date, but Lounsbury, in his mention (p. 227) of the indirect, as well as the direct, influence of the zeal of personal friendship upon the commendation of Tennyson's work, drops a misleading hint.

If Hallam's review had appeared in 1830, it would have introduced the entire paean of praise which greeted the 1830 volume, and the *Blackwood's* article in which Wilson, in the spring of 1832, called Tennyson's works "drivel, more dismal drivel, and yet more dismal drivel" could by any clever manipulator be interpreted as a reaction resulting entirely from the well-meaning, but misguided efforts of Tennyson's friend. Hallam's review, however, followed rather than preceded the reviews in the *Westminster* of January, 1831 and the *New Monthly Magazine* of March, 1831, for the *Englishman's Magazine* containing Hallam's review bears on its cover not August, 1830, but August, 1831. Nor is this a misprint, for the short story of the *Englishman's Magazine*, which lasted only until October of the year in which it was begun in April, falls

¹ Lounsbury, *Life and Times of Tennyson*, New Haven, 1915, pp. 221, 222. Nicolson, *Tennyson*, Boston and New York, 1923, p. 100.

entirely within the year 1831. As both Lounsbury and Nicolson point out, Hallam's article appeared in the first number under the management of Moxon, and this, as may be verified in a letter of that month from Charles Lamb to Moxon, was August, 1831.

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SHELLEY'S "BIRTHDAY"

None of Shelley's biographers or editors appear to have seen the significance of an entry in the poet's journal for August 4, 1814, "Mary told me that this was my birthday; I thought it had been the 27th June" (Dowden's *Life*, I, 445). Now Shelley's birthday was August 4 as he must have known—how else could his wife have learned it? By the entry in his journal he meant that his real life began when she confessed her love for him. This she did in June 1814 as we know from his poem to her of that date; and, in view of the lines "To Harriett, May, 1814," imploring his wife to love him, his love for Mary could hardly have reached the declaration point before the latter part of June. Presumably, then, it was on June 27th that Shelley first learned of Mary's regard for him and on one of the three remaining days of the month that he wrote the stanzas which tell of their first embrace.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

THE TEXTS OF "EDWARD" IN PERCY'S *RELIQUES* AND MOTHERWELL'S *MINSTRELSY*

More than fifteen years ago T. F. Henderson asserted that Motherwell's traditional text of "Edward" was "merely a debased form of the Percy version, gradually debased since the ballad appeared in the *Reliques*."¹ This unequivocal assertion must rest either upon facts that are obvious to any reader or upon evidence to be collected and presented. Apparently Henderson esteemed the relation of the two texts so obvious that proof was unnecessary. The

¹ *The Ballad in Literature* (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), Cambridge, 1912, p. 25.

artistic superiority of Percy's version convinced him that Motherwell's text must be a debasement. But the comparative literary merit of the texts does not determine their relationship. Even the most casual comparison of these texts with other versions of the ballad fails to disclose any basis for Henderson's assertion. He is entirely unaware of the fact that Motherwell's text and all the English, American, Scandinavian, and Finnish ballads possess certain traits which are not found in Percy's *Reliques*. According to Percy's version the father is murdered and according to Motherwell's, the brother. No text except Percy's names the father. Motherwell's text agrees with the stream of oral tradition and is an independent version. Percy's text represents, as any ballad text may, an individual variation in detail.

The existence of a stream of oral tradition is proved by the fact that a traditional text was in circulation in Sweden in 1640.² Unfortunately this text can no longer be found, but the fact that it contained parodistic elements shows that other texts must have existed. In 1776 Herd recovered a version of "Edward" contaminated with "Lizie Wan" (Child No. 51). Percy's version of "Edward" could, to be sure, have entangled itself with "Lizie Wan" in the few years that elapsed between the publication of the *Reliques* (1765) and of the *Scotish Songs* (1776). Yet the similarity between Percy's and Herd's versions is not particularly striking, while the similarity between Herd's version and Motherwell's is obvious at a glance. If Motherwell's version is a vulgar debasement of Percy's text, we must believe that this declension in the ballad's fortunes occurred in the brief space of eleven years, so that the corrupted form could join "Lizie Wan" and then find place in the *Scotish Songs*. Such an explanation is scarcely probable. It cannot have been in Henderson's mind when he characterized the debasement as gradual.

Henderson's unfortunate assertion is open to the interpretation that Motherwell's version alone depends on the *Reliques*. In view of the striking similarity between Herd's and Motherwell's versions this interpretation is impossible. Henderson quotes no passage as an example of the corruption of Percy's text. It is possible but extremely unlikely that the stream of tradition named

² See Olrik in Grundtvig *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, VI (1895), 143.

the brother as the victim, that Percy's informant changed this figure to the father, and that Motherwell's informant returned to the original when corrupting the text. So complicated an explanation of the facts is unnecessary.

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A LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTE

So far as I am aware, only brief mention has been made of the anonymous Elizabethan sonnet sequence, *Zepheria*.¹ In most of the histories it is spoken of as 'another' sequence with slight literary value, written by a poetaster who was probably a law student. That the sequence has slight literary value is apparent; that it was written by a law student is mere guess-work. It has a positive interest, however, for the student of Elizabethan literature. That interest is in the language; for the attentive reader of these sonnets becomes aware at once that this is not just 'another' sequence. The conventional themes of the sonneteers are repeated, to be sure; but the language, with its aureate phrases and its many striking words, is distinctly different.

The unusual words in these sonnets may be classified as below. Although the *OED* drew largely upon *Zepheria* for many citations, it will be seen by the following lists that quite a number of omissions occur; these I have attempted to supply. My classification is as follows:

1. Words not cited in the *OED* (I include my gloss):

Englory ('Faith only these *englories*') to exalt, make glorious, add value to.

Foyalty ('Needs must I wish though 'gainst my *foyalty*') faith, inclination.

Respective (sb.) ('Lovely *Respective!* equal thou this care') attention, heedfulness. The use is probably the same as the now obs. *respectiveness*.

Revere (sb) ('Mine heart inherited with thy love's *revere*') reverence.

¹ It appeared in 1594 and has since been reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*, v, 61 ff., and in Sir Sidney Lee's *Elizabethan Sonnets*, II, 153-178. A short criticism is given in Lee's introduction, I, ci.

2. Words for which no adequate meaning is given in *OED*:

Attire ('The modest blush that did my cheeks *attire*') suffuse, cover, clothe (fig.).

Quest (v.) ('All while my pen *quests* on Zepheria's name') centre, concentrate, elaborate.

Row ('When through the raging Hellespont he *rowed*') swim. Of human beings the *OED* gives no citation other than *Beowulf*.

Tuller (sb. used as a) ('The arrow strake through mine heart' sent from thy *tuller* eyes') having the properties of a cross bow; i. e., being capable of shooting shafts (of love).

3. Words occurring in *Zepheria* earlier than the first *OED* citation (dates in parentheses are of the first *OED* citation):

A-start (adv. phr.) suddenly, with a start (1721).

Discolour—to make of a duller, dingy, or unnatural colour (fig.) (1599).

Dispurple—to deprive of sovereignty (1877).

Enregistered—to enter in a register (1596).

Fray—disperse, drive away (1635).

Hyperbolize—extol or praise extravagantly (1609).

Immured—shut off, exclude, seclude from (1616).

Lawny—made of lawn (1598).

Pencil—to depict, sketch, delineate (fig.) (1610)

Recite (sb.)—a recital (1685),

Respire—to breathe a word against something (1621).

Serene (v.)—to make serene (1613).

Sty (v.)—to pen up (1610).

Tasselled—furnished or adorned with a tassel or tassels (1611).

Type (v.)—to symbolize (1836).

Undeify—to deprive of the character or qualities of a deity (1637).

4. Words from *Zepheria* cited first in *OED*:

Canton—a song.

Extensure—condition of being extended

Ingeminate—repeat, utter twice or oftener.

Thesaurize—to hoard, as treasure (fig.).

Trajection—an impression, a mental image.

Unnight ('The sum of life that chaos did *unnight*')—Florio glosses the word 'to wax day' but the sense here requires 'to bring order out of chaos.'

Vatival—prophetic.

5. Words which the *OED* cites as occurring in *Zepheria* alone:

Architure—architecture.

Booth (v.)—to provide or shelter with a booth.

Depaint—a painting, pictorial representation

Ensuckete—to sweeten.

Excordiate—deprived of heart or courage.

Exordiate—to begin, to utter an exordium

Irrotulate—enrolled.

Partialize—to concern oneself with a part and not the whole.

Portionize—to express or describe only in part.

Storize—to represent in imagery.

The many neologisms may suggest that the sequence was a conscious attempt to increase the fund of Elizabethan words, an experiment in language, following the practice of the best literary men of the age in the effort to give such richness and variety to the English tongue as would enable it to keep pace with the expanding national thought and with the assumed standard of foreign literature.

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FROM HULLE TO CARTAGE

In l. 404 of the General Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer speaks of the Shipman in the following terms:

Ther nas noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.

Hulle is no problem for the philologist, but Cartage is. Was Chaucer referring to Carthago in Africa or to Carthago in Spain? Skeat in his note on the passage cites the *Roman de la Rose*, l. 5394 (*sic*; in Langlois' edition the line is 5378), but *Cartage* is here used very vaguely, in the sense 'a place a long way off,' and the parallel, interesting though it is, does not help us to decide whether Chaucer's Cartage was in Africa or Spain. Manly in his recent edition of the *Tales* comments on the Chaucerian line as follows (p. 524):

Not the ancient Carthage in Africa, but probably Cartagena, or New Carthage, in southeastern Spain. . . .

Manly does not give his reasons for so thinking, but evidently he looked upon it as unlikely that ancient Carthage, destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century, should have maritime connections with England in the fourteenth. Nevertheless, a serious difficulty

remains. The ancients often attached the descriptive adjective *magna* to the Carthago of Africa, but the name could undoubtedly stand alone. In the case of the Spanish Carthago, however, the ancients regularly felt it needful to qualify the name by a descriptive adjective, usually *nova* but sometimes *spartana* (from the plain north of the city). As examples of the latter usage, I may cite Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxi, 8 (43) and, for the earlier Middle Ages, Isidore, *Etym.*, xv, 1, 66, 67. Was it possible to refer to Cartagena simply as *Carthago*, without any descriptive adjective? If so, we are justified in taking Chaucer's *Cartage* as such a reference. If not, the identification remains highly dubious. What we need, then, is a passage, in some early writer, in which *Carthago* is used alone with unmistakable reference to the Spanish city. I have found such a passage in the *Historiae adversum Paganos* of the Spanish historian Orosius. The passage reads as follows (I, 2, 73):

Hispaniam citeriorem ab oriente incipientem Pyrenaei saltus a parte septentrionis usque ad Cantabrios Asturesque deducit, atque inde per Vaccaeos et Oretanos, quos ab occasu habet, posita in Nostrae maris litore Carthago determinat.

If Orosius could use a simple *Carthago* with reference to Cartagena, it seems reasonable to believe that Chaucer could do the same thing.

KEMP MALONE

THE O. H. G. IMPERATIVE FORMS *LÂZ-LÂ*

Professor H. Collitz has discussed these forms in *MLN.*, xxxii, 449 ff., and has shown that the short form *lâ* occurs first in Notker and is used preferably in weakly-stressed positions, such as when an infinitive is dependent upon it and when it occurs in connection with a separable prefix.¹ The long form *lâz* remains when followed by an enclitic pronominal form and when used as an independent verb. The loss of the *z* he attributes to the influence of the imperative form *tuo*.² The short preterite form *lie* lost its *z* thru analogy: *lâ-lâz* = *lie-liez*, and then was used in accordance with definite rules.³

¹ *MLN.*, xxxii, 450.

² *Ibid.*, p. 453.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Behaghel in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*⁵, § 453, thinks that the loss of the final consonant is due to dissimilation in the expression: *lâz iz*, *liez iz*, as in O.H.G. *deiz* thru *·da iz* from *daz iz*. The form *deiz* Michels in his *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*,⁸⁻¹ § 156, explains as a contradiction of **du* (with the primitive Germanic loss of the dental) *ist*. However this may be, it is at any rate fairly certain that *lâ* and *lie* did not come into existence simultaneously as Behaghel's explanation would imply. Notker has but one instance of *lie* and thirty-three of *lâ*. Besides, as Michels points out in his *Mhd. Elementarbuch*, *lâ* is the only short form of *lâzan* used in the Ripuarian dialect.

I believe that the real solution is at once apparent when we consider the time when the form appeared. As Collitz has already stated, Notker is the first to use it. But there must be a very potent reason for the isolated instance of the dropping of a final consonant in a particular word-form at a definite period of its use. Why did *lâ* not come into existence earlier than Notker? Were not the same conditions present, for example, at the beginning of the ninth century or earlier as at the end of the tenth for *lâz* to change to *lâ*? There are very few cases indeed in which we can say that a change of one form to another is possible at *any* period. To be sure it is often difficult to get at the underlying causes and it is frequently mere chance that leads us to those causes, especially since it is in popular speech that changes first manifest themselves and they do not always appear straightway in the written language. In our case, however, I think we have sufficient evidence for believing that *lâ* could not have appeared earlier than Notker's time (952-1022).

Of all the forms of *lâzan* the imperative is perhaps used more or at least as much as any other in the popular speech. For this reason I believe Collitz' contention that the short form of the verb (*lâ*, *lie*) originated with the imperative is correct. The imperative is particularly frequent with a dependent infinitive, above all with the infinitive of the verb *to be* (For O.H.G. examples see Graff's *Sprachschatz* s. v. *lâzan*, and for M. H. G. see Benecke-Müller-Zarncke's *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*). Now we know that not until Notker does the form of the infinitive *sîn* begin to be used as often as *wesen*. The statement found in all O. H. G. grammars that in Notker *sîn* is preponderant is perhaps misleading.

In the translation of the five books of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* the figures for the relative frequency of *sîn* and *wesen* are as follows: Book I, *wesen* 14—*sîn* 9; Bk. 2, *wesen* 20—*sîn* 14; Bk. 3, *wesen* 41—*sîn* 38; Bk. 4, *wesen* 26—*sîn* 37; Bk. 5, *wesen* 21—*sîn* 26. Total: *wesen* 122—*sîn* 124. To be sure there is a slight numerical superiority of *sîn* over *wesen* in the Boethius, but to speak of preponderance without a qualifying word is exaggeration to say the least. In the part of the *Psalms* I have examined occur 6 *wesen* to 4 *sîn*. But more important than these figures is the fact that in Notker *sîn* is both inflected (*ze sînne*) and used as an abstract noun. This shows that it was firmly fixed in the consciousness as an equivalent of *wesen*. That this was not the case in Otfrid, where *sîn* occurs 52 times to *wesan* 41 times, is proved first by the fact that *sîn* owes its high frequency to the rime—it rarely occurring in the body of the verse, and secondly by the fact that nominal forms have not yet put in their appearance. In Isidor *siin* is used but once over against 12 *wesan*; in the Tatian *sîn* is rare (3, 6; 4, 11; 108, 1; Behaghel in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*⁵, page 476, makes the amazing statement that *sîn* does not occur in the Tatian). As a real equivalent of *wesen* it could therefore not until Notker replace *wesen* in such an expression as *lâz wesen*—*lâz sîn*.

The phonetic side of the problem is simple. *Lâz sîn* became *lâs sîn* and then *lâ sîn* i. e. assimilation, then simplification after a long vowel. Of course, I do not deny that the imperative *tuo*⁴ had something to do with the establishment of *lâ* as a proper imperative form by the side of *lâz*, but I look upon its influence not as fundamental but merely as ancillary, and I believe that had not the form *tuo*, which also is functionally similar, existed, it may have been short-lived, for we must remember that *lâz* was still used abundantly and later suppressed *lâ* entirely.

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⁴ The imperative is unaccented with a dependent infinitive or adverb and therefore more easily exposed to change; cf. the imperative of *gân* in Tristan 2820: *gâ her*.

KLOPSTOCKS *ODEN*, 1771

Die erste Ausgabe von Klopstocks *Oden*, in Hamburg bei Bode erschienen, besteht aus 4 Bl., 290 S. und 1 Bl. Druckfehler. Unter dem Druckfehlerverzeichnis steht eine vierzeilige Nachricht: "An den Buchbinder. Die beyden Blätter, Seite 221 und 222, und Seite 245 und 246, müssen herausgeschnitten und dafür die beyden Cortons eingebunden werden." Dieser Anordnung muß allgemein gefolgt worden sein; erst nach langjährigem Suchen gelang es mir kürzlich ein Exemplar zu erwerben, in welchem der Originaltext S. 221/222 und 245/246 zusammen mit den Kartons enthalten ist. Diese stehen am Schluß des Textes, vor dem Druckfehlerverzeichnis. Jedes Blatt weist nur eine einzige Abweichung von dem Originaltext auf, der also lautet (S. 222, 4):

Wenn unsre Fürsten Herrmanns sind!

Hier hat das Kartonblatt *Herrmanns* (mit einem *r*). Auf S. 245, 16 f. lautet der Originaldruck:

Das Wölkchen Laune

Donnert schon auf ihrer Stirn.

Im Karton steht *Dammert* anstatt *Donnert*. Ferner ist zu bemerken, daß das Kartonblatt S. 245/246 von dem stehen gebliebenen Satze des Originaldrucks abgezogen ist, während das Kartonblatt S. 221/222 neuen Satz aufweist.

Weshalb gerade Bl. 221/222 nur der Schreibweise *Herrmanns* wegen neu gesetzt werden mußte, während das Druckfehlerverzeichnis noch eine ganze Reihe von sinnstörenden Fehlern enthält, die also nur angezeigt, und nicht durch Kartons berichtigt wurden, ist nicht einwandfrei zu erklären: möglich ist die Annahme daß der Dichter selbst die beiden Stellen auf S. 222 und 245 bemerkt, und den Druck der Kartons angeordnet habe, während die im Druckfehlerverzeichnis notierten Stellen in der Druckerei entdeckt wurden. Dabei ist noch zu beachten, daß einige von diesen Fehlern nach S. 246 stehen (S. 255; 257; 272), und also eben so leicht durch Kartons ersetzt werden konnten als jene Stelle.

W. KURRELMAYER

DANTE NOTES, XII

THE SECOND "WIND" OF SWABIA (*Par.*, III, 119)

Quest' è la luce della gran Costanza
 che del secondo *vento* di Soave
 generò il terzo e l'ultima possanza

In this passage the word *vento* has caused much discussion—except among the earliest commentators; which exception may perhaps be of some significance. In its normal meaning of "wind" it strikes the modern reader rather disconcertingly, and hardly seems to have an effectiveness sufficient to justify its abruptness; yet the manuscript authority indicates that it must be accepted. What then led Dante to apply it as a metaphor to the second and third of the Swabian emperors?

Commentators¹ explain it variously as meaning: "worldly fame and glory," which is like a passing gust of wind²; "proud" or "haughty"³; "destroyer of the public weal"; "power" or "powerful emperor"; and so on. Blanc's phrase, "the impetuous and transitory power of the princes of the house of Swabia," has been quoted as satisfactory by several of the leading commentators.⁴ As to Dante's reason, or precedents, for choosing this metaphor, instances of its use in the Bible have been cited as probable models, Scartazzini classified them⁵ as coming under three types: (1) to signify the vanity and instability of earthly things; (2) to refer to the powerful, who like blasts or storms overturn and destroy everything; and (3) as meaning the agents of the punishments of God.

An entirely different explanation, which has met with some favor on the part of a few modern commentators, is that *vento* here is

¹ For those up to 1882 see Scartazzini, Leipzig ed of *D. C.*, III, 79 f

² Cf. *Purg.*, XI, 100 f. "Non è il mondan romore altro ch'un fiato/di vento . . ."

³ Cf. *Inf.*, IX, 67 ff.: ". . . un *vento* / impetuoso per li avversi ardori, / che fier la selva e sanz' alcun rattento / li rami schianta, abbatte e porta fori; / dinanzi polveroso va *superbo*, / e fa fuggir le fiere e li pastori"

⁴ Especially: Scartazzini (and Scartazzini-Vandelli) and Casini (and Casini-S. A. Barbi); while Torraca hesitates between this and the *vento* = *venulo* explanation, to be discussed presently.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

intended for a form of the past participle of *venire*, by a sort of Latinism such as seems to have been used by Dante himself in writing *contento* for *contentuto* in *Inf.*, II, 77, and by other early Italian writers in whose works we find *convento* for *convenuto*, *avvento* for *arvenuto*, *provento* for *provenuto*, and the like.⁶ This interpretation may perhaps have more to recommend it to serious consideration than its comparative neglect by scholars would indicate; for both as to form and as to meaning it can, I think, be fairly successfully defended.

The corresponding Latin participle, *ventus*, could of course not be used personally in the active voice ("having come") in Classical Latin, as all such participles were and are capable of being used in Italian; but it evidently was a thoroughly living usage both in Vulgar Latin and in late "literary" Latin. For example, Fontanini in his *Antiquitates Hortue* (1719) quotes the following from the *Acta S. Cassiani*:

Alter enim Cassianus cum Caesare *ventus*
Ex Asia, aequivocum sacravit honore patonium⁷

The need of a past active participle was so constant that its use in verbs outside of the accepted list of the so-called "deponents" was doubtless wide-spread, much more so than the number of examples easily quotable from extant Late Latin texts might indicate.⁸

As regards the meaning, one of the standard senses in which the Latin verb *venire* occurs is, as is well known, that of "being des-

⁶ Scart, *loc. cit.* indicates that this interpretation was first suggested by Strocchi in his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, Fiato, 1847-52. Of the commentators since Scartazzini most do not mention this alternative; Torraca, as stated in n. 4, is undecided; and Mestica (1922) disapproves of it as not thoroughly accurate historically.

⁷ Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, VI, Paris, 1846, s. v. *Ventus*. The following, also cited by Du Cange, is of the same kind—though here used with an auxiliary to form a compound tense on the type of those of the Romance languages: *Vetus Notitia apud Perardum in Burgundicis*, p. 33: "Ad ipsum placitum Venutus erat."

⁸ The following variant reading, illiterate both in grammatical construction and in prosody, from Bede's hymn (V.) *De Natali Innocentium*, shows the same tendency to expand the "deponent" scope, using the passive termination with the active meaning: "O quam beata civitas/in qua redemptor *venitur*." The text (vss 49-50) in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, xciv, col. 624, has *nascitur*.

cended," "being a scion of the house of." ⁹ Thus both form and meaning would fit our passage from Dante very well, if one wished to consider *vento* there to be a substitution for *venuto*, put in a (Late-) Latinized form to suggest that special Latin sense just mentioned.

While I have no particular brief for that interpretation, I do wish to call attention to an odd passage in *IV Esdras*, which, if taken at its face value in the current Latin texts, would seem to use *ventus* in a way that could be taken as meaning either "wind" as a metaphor applied to a man, or as participle of Latin *venire* in the sense of "having come (forth)"—and even specifically as *filus*.

The Latin *IV Esdras*—which has been so well known from early Christian times that it is regularly appended, along with *III Esdras*, to the Vulgate Bible, though not accepted into the Canon ¹⁰—contains numerous errors and corruptions in the text. The passage which I am about to cite acquires its cryptic wording from a lacuna in which an entire clause has been lost.¹¹

The general context is as follows: during Ezra's vision of the Eagle, which represents the Roman Empire, a roaring Lion, representing the coming Messiah, rushes out of the forest and roundly upbraids the Eagle; whereat the rebuked Eagle, after a short show of feebly renewed life, takes fire and burns up, to the terror of

⁹ E. g. in *Aen.*, V, 373: "[Butes] Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente . . ." indicating not only his lineage, but with also a connotation of the *place* from which he came.

¹⁰ Its vogue was astonishingly wide; the *Catholic Encyclopedia* says that it "may be said to have framed the popular belief of the Middle Ages concerning the last things" Its statement (VI, 42; repeated in 47, 50, and 52) that on the third day of creation by God's command the waters were gathered together upon a seventh part of the globe, leaving six-sevenths dry, was probably the deciding factor which persuaded Columbus, and helped him persuade his patrons, that it could not be far from Europe westward to the Far East; see, e. g., E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, III, 138 n. Cf., however, discussion and references in L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, II, 645 f.

¹¹ The critical text, restored and corrected by means of versions in various languages, is Englished in Charles' *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, II, 542 ff

This same lacuna persists also in uncritical English versions, where the book is called *II Esdras*.

Ezra who is abruptly wakened from his vision.¹² Then the Angel begins his interpretation thereof by saying of the Lion (XII, 32): "Hic est *ventus*, quem servavit Altissimus in finem ad eos, & impietates ipsorum; & arguet illos, & incutiet coram ipsis discerptiones eorum." The curious impression produced by this unexpected word *ventus* is heightened at the beginning of the next chapter (XIII) by the enigmatic reading which results from the lacuna in the Latin text: 1 "Et factum est post dies septem, & somnivi somnium nocte." 2 "Et ecce de mari *ventus* exurgebat. ut conturbaret omnes fluctus ejus"—evidently *ventus* here means "wind." But there follows immediately: 3 "Et vidi, & ecce" (here the hiatus) "convalescebat ille homo cum millibus coeli: & ubi vultum suum vertebat, ut consideraret, tremebant omnia. quae sub eo videbantur." That "man who had risen from the sea" (5 "hominem, qui ascenderat de mari"; 25 and 51 "virum ascendentem de corde maris"; 32 "virum ascendentem") is then explained, by the Heavenly One who suddenly assumes the role of God Himself, to be "filius meus"—the Messiah who is to deliver creation by destroying his enemies with wind, fire and storm.

So that, like the *vento* of our Dante passage, this *ventus* comes

¹² The general parallel with the termination of Dante's vision of the Eagle, in *Purg.* IX. 31-33, is rather striking.

It seems quite unlikely, from general considerations, that Dante could have been unacquainted with this famous and vivid apocalyptic book; and definite echoes of it in his works have been suspected by a few commentators. Professor Grandgent, for example, annotates *Purg.* XXXII, 37, "Io senti' moimorare a tutti 'Adamo,'" by comparing *IV Esdras*, VII, 48, "O tu quid fecisti Adam?"—which is apt enough; and as a matter of record, at least, I should like to add possible parallels, viz.: (1) With *Conv.* II, XIV, 13, glossed with *Conv.* IV, XXVIII, 1, compare *IV Esdras*, XIV, 10, ". . . saeculum perdidit juventutem suam. & tempora appropinquant senescere" (2) If *Par.*, XXX, 132, "poca gente più ci si disia," is to be explained (as, e. g., by Torraca and Steiner) by *Par.* IX, 131 (i. e., that it is as a result of the going astray in the paths of evil that the heavenly quota is so near completed), the concept of the degeneracy of the latter ages will correspond, on that side, with the judgments revealed to Ezra. (3) To the possible parallels to *Vita Nuova*, XV, 5 ("Le pietre par che gridin: 'Moia, moia.'") which I have observed (namely: *Habac.* II, 11; *Luc.* XIX, 40; and *Sidrach*, ed. Bartoli, Bologna, 1868. p. 510. "Che se allora le pietre e l'erbe avessero lingue, si griderebbono. uccidete i miscredenti . . .") may be added *IV Esdras*, V, 5: ". . . lapis dabit vocem suam."

swiftly, strikingly; and directly coupled with the person meant, in a way that savors of metaphor quite as much as it does of allegory. At the same time it represents the Messiah who, in the vision, *has come up from the sea*. is "come"; the Messiah whom a medieval reader familiar with Italian and with Late Latin would likely have been little or not at all surprised to find written down as "*ventus*"—as distinguished from the Messiah *venturus*, "to come," that the vision foretold as a future reality.

In view of the foregoing facts, if there were no other evidence to be had one need not be too unwilling to see in our *vento* a Latinizing nonce-form for *venuto*.

But there is other evidence. The commentators apparently have overlooked the following passage in Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, Part I, Chapter XIII: ". . . d'un home perceus je dirai: Ce est une tortue . . . et d'un isnel je dirai ce est uns *vens*,"¹³ or, in the Italian version: "D'un uomo pigro io dirò, questo è una testuggine . . . E d'un isnello io dirò, questo è un *vento*."¹⁴

Brunetto may have got this metaphor from some standard authority, such as Aristotle or Cicero, or other predecessor who wrote on rhetoric; but I have not been able to locate it in any such source. It may have been a common expression in thirteenth-century Tuscany, used as freely as we apply the term "whirlwind" to a swift worker. The silence of early commentators with regard to its use in our passage is probably an evidence of that very fact.

Brunetto mentions only *swiftness* in this connection; but there were likely also connotations of violence, and his failure to mention this feature, in view of the brevity and incidental nature of his reference, hardly lessens that likelihood.

Most probably, then, the "wind" metaphor was intended, in Dante's "*secondo vento di Soave*." At the same time, the other meaning may also have been in his mind; this study would seem to have recommended that as more than a mere possibility, and, finally, it is becoming more and more evident to me every day that Dante (and his contemporaries) very often purposely played with double senses. This seems unfortunate, from the standpoint of our modern taste, for it is an aesthetic flaw, to us. But a

¹³ Chabaille ed., Paris, 1863, p. 487.

¹⁴ *Tesoro*, VIII, 14 (Carrer ed., Venice, 1839, p. 272).

recognition of it as a fact, if it be a fact, would put a stop to many commentators' quarrels; and most of them are centuries old.¹⁵

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NOTES ON THE *BURLADOR*

Despite the efforts of scholars in recent years to clarify the text of Tirso's *Burlador*, this work is still marred by a number of passages which can hardly be satisfactorily explained. Some of these, however, are knotty only in appearance. A careful study of the text may clarify more than one of them; and an interpretation of the character of Don Juan free from puritanic prejudices may make others quite understandable. It is probable that editors have been too prone to make Don Juan much more satanic than Tirso meant him to be. The much discussed "fuego, fuego" scene appears to fall into this category. Don Juan has seduced Tisbea and galloped away with Catalinón. The broken-hearted fisher girl comes to the door of her cabin and speaks the troublesome lines:

¡ Fuego, fuego, que me quemo,
que mi cabafia se abrasa!
Repicad a fuego, amigos,
que ya dan mis ojos agua.
Mi pobre edificio queda
hecho otra Troya en las llamas,
que después que faltan Troyas
quiere amor quemar cabafias.¹

As commentary on this passage, Edouard Barry says:

Par ces vers 'quiere amor quemar cabafias' (absent dans le *Tan Largo*) nous apprenons que c'est Don Juan qui, pour couvrir sa fuite, a mis le feu à la cabane de la pêcheuse. Si elle l'avait incendiée elle-même, elle la laisserait brûler sans demander du secours.²

¹⁵ Professor Crespi's explanation of our *vento*, in his edition of the *Acerba* (Ascoli Piceno, 1927, p. 451), as equivalent to the *spiritus* into which the paternal seed resolves, in the act of impregnation (according to a passage in Albertus Magnus' *De natura et origine animae*), is interesting; and if it were also convincing there might be yet a third possible bearing of *vento* in *Par.*, III, 119.

¹ *Jor.* I, vv. 985 ff. *Tirso de Molina*, ed. Américo Castro, Madrid, 1922.

² *El Burlador de Sevilla*, Paris, 1910, p. 134, n. 996.

True she asks that a fire be put out, and in the following passage she asks specifically for water:

¡ Fuego, zagales, fuego, agua, agua!
¡ Amor, clemencia, que se abrasa el alma!,³

but she does so only in this refrain, which easily lends itself to an interpretation other than literal. Certainly she makes no effort herself to extinguish a fire, and not one of her peasant and literal-minded neighbors calls for water or even mentions a blaze.

Castro, who so often denies Barry's interpretations, follows him exactly in this instance: "Como se ve también por los vv. 342-347 del acto III, Don Juan pegó fuego a la choza para asegurarse la fuga, o por simple crueldad."⁴ But he concludes his note with the statement that "Era usual asociar el fuego con las inquietudes del alma." This last suggests the interpretation which probably should be given to the speech. Castro gives several examples of this association, but he does not take into consideration the possibility that the entire speech (as well as the verses cited from act III) may be figurative and that 'fuego' may mean in each case some disturbance of the soul: in this incident, love. As Castro says, the word is so used in Spain at this time,⁵ but he fails to notice that we find at least one obvious use of it in this sense only a few lines before the passage in dispute:

Ven, y será la cabaña
del amor que me acompaña
tálamo de nuestro fuego⁶

Furthermore, in every scene in which Tisbea's troubles are recounted: when Tisbea meets Isabella,⁷ when the crimes of Don Juan are told to the king and to Don Diego Tenorio,⁸ no mention is made of the burning of her cabin. Finally, when Tisbea herself

³ *Jor.* I, vv. 997 f.

⁴ *Jor.* I, note to vv. 990-998.

⁵ *La serrana* in *La Serrana de la Vera* of Vélez de Guevara cries "¡ huego, huego!" when she is deceived. Commenting on this, Menéndez Pidal in his edition of Guevara's play cites several *romances* in which this cry appears in the same sense; see *Teatro Antiguo Español*, I, 148.

⁶ *Jor.* I, vv. 940-952.

⁷ *Jor.* III, vv. 342-408.

⁸ *Jor.* III, pp. 328-334.

appears before the king, she does not mention the fire. This is all her complaint:

Derrotado le echó el mar;
dile vida y hospedaje,
y pagóme esta amistad
con mentirme y engañarme
con nombre de mi marido.⁹

Moreover, Catalinón, who is far more than the usual *gracioso* of the period, and who even assumes at times the interpretative function of the Greek chorus, often speaks of the crimes of Don Juan; but never does he mention house-burning as one of them. Possibly Barry and Castro were too cognizant of Don Juan's obvious guilt in his other escapades to take this inference any way but literally.

Along with arson, Don Juan has been accused of swearing false oaths in order to deceive unwitting women. Twice he is supposed to have been especially tricky, the first time when he promised to marry Tisbea:

Juro, ojos bellos,
que mirando me matáis,
de ser vuestro esposo.¹⁰

Of this Castro says, "Nótase que Don Juan promete ser esposo de 'los ojos' de Tisbea."¹¹ The second of these oaths concerns the seduction of Aminta:

Pues jura que cumplirás
la palabra prometida

Juro a esta mano, señora,
infierno de nieve fría,
de cumplirte la palabra.¹²

Castro notices this, too, and he refers the reader to the "otro juramento ambiguo."¹³ The supposition is, it seems, that Don Juan was begging the question so that he might not be impeached at the final reckoning. But this is presumptuous hair-splitting; for Don Juan until the very last moment of the play has no interest in heavenly judgments. His only answer to those who warn him of the inescapable retribution is the staccato refrain, almost the

⁹ *Jor.* III, vv. 1001-1005.

¹³ *Jor.* III, vv. 270-275

¹⁰ *Jor.* I, vv. 940-942.

¹² *Jor.* III, p. 306, note to v. 273.

¹¹ *Jor.* I, p. 247, note to v. 942.

leitmotif of the drama, "¿Tan largo me lo fiáis?" Once more it must be protested that Don Juan was no trifling villain. Pointless misdemeanors would have obfuscated Tirso's purpose, the painting of a great moral picture. Aside from this, however, there is ample evidence in the text that Don Juan only wished to express himself prettily, confronted as he was with two sentimental women. In the case of the promise to Tisbea he makes his meaning clear enough only a few lines before the "ojos bellos" incident. Here he says:

Si vivo, mi bien, en ti
a cualquier cosa me obligo.
Aunque yo sepa perder
en tu servicio la vida,
la diera por bien perdida,
y te prometo de ser
tu esposo ¹⁴

and in the second case we find him fifteen lines before the hand speech, expressing his intentions in this fashion:

Y aunque lo mormure el reino
y aunque el rey lo contradiga,
y aunque mi padre enojado
con amenazas lo impida,
tu esposo tengo de ser.¹⁵

If it is to be argued, then, that Don Juan had some ulterior motive in swearing to eyes and hands, the more definite oaths which directly precede the ambiguous ones must be somehow explained away.

Finally, a closer study of the text may determine whether or not Don Juan seduced Doña Ana. Gendarme de Béville, in his first mention of this incident, says: "Il [Don Juan] pénètre dans l'appartement de Doña Ana; mais il en ressort presque aussitôt, poursuivi par la jeune fille qui a découvert la trahison. Le commandeur accourt aux cris de sa fille et tente en vain d'arrêter le ravisseur."¹⁶ The first sentence of this passage would seem to indicate that the attempted seduction was unsuccessful, while the second might very well mean just the contrary. That the second is the position which Béville took seems clear from all his sub-

¹⁴ *Jor.* I, vv. 923-928.

¹⁵ *Jor.* III, vv. 251-255.

¹⁶ *La Légende de Don Juan*, Paris, 1911, I, 12.

sequent references to the incident: "Il [Don Juan] tue de nuit le commandeur d'Ulloa dont il a enlevé la fille, . . ." ¹⁷ Comparing Tirso's play with Cueva's *Infamador*, Bévotte points out this difference: "dans le drame de Cueva, Leucino est châtié non point par la statue d'un mort vengeant le déshonneur de sa fille . . ." ¹⁸ Again, we find that Don Juan "outrage la statue d'un vieillard qu'il a tué après avoir déshonoré sa fille." ¹⁹ Despite the somewhat paradoxical construction of the first quotation, it seems fair to believe that Bévotte understood a real seduction to have taken place.

Castro may have signified his disagreement in this particular when he states categorically of Bévotte's work, "La parte relativa a España necesitaria ser reformada." ²⁰ Whatever his interpretation of the incident, Castro does juggle the speeches a bit at this point. Barry provides in no way for the entrance of Don Juan into the house, and he gives him no time beyond the singing of a single couplet by Mota's musicians to succeed or be foiled in his rash act. ²¹ Castro gives to the musicians the last three speeches before the singing of the couplet in order to agree with the early editions of the play. Some extra time is thus given to Don Juan before the outcry from within the house. Castro notes this: "Esta escena es, además, lógica: da tiempo a que Don Juan intente realizar su engaño." ²² But he says nothing further, and he makes no comment on Barry's note: "La situation est ici la même qu'à la première scène du premier acte entre D. Juan et Doña Isabella." ²³ There was certainly a seduction in the first scene of the play, and if he felt that there was none in this later scene he certainly should have denied Barry's interpretation.

Unless there is a considerable lacuna in the text at this point, there is no possibility of a seduction, if only for lack of time. Bévotte and Barry have little grounds for their assumption to the contrary, and Castro's laconism at this highly disputed point is not easily explained if he disagreed with his predecessors. Other than this time element we have the statement of Don Juan, doomed and repentant, to Don Gonzalo:

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 29.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. lxi, note 1.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

²² P. 280, note to vv. 507-510.

²³ P. 176, note to v. 1562.

¡ Que me abraso, no me aprietes!
 Con la daga he de matarte.
 Mas ¡ ay! que me canso en vano
 de tirar golpes al aire.
 A tu hija no ofendí
 que vió mis engaños antes ²⁴

It is hardly conceivable that Don Juan would be telling a lie in this last scene of a moral lesson, and it is less likely that the shade of Don Gonzalo would let it pass unchallenged. His answer is pertinent to this point and significant to the understanding of Tirso's ethical scheme:

No importa, que ya pusiste
 tu intento.

It is also noteworthy that Doña Ana is the only one of the group of wronged men and women who does not appear before the king to complain of Don Juan; and while the other men feel it necessary to offer some excuse for marrying dishonoured women, Mota, who marries Doña Ana, merely says that he is satisfied to marry his cousin.²⁵ It need not be assumed, however, that the failure of the seduction of Doña Ana in any way affects the chain of analogous crimes. Don Juan does kill the father of the girl in making his escape; and besides, the intent must have appeared quite as criminal to Tirso as it did to Don Gonzalo. Such was the teaching of the church and Tirso was a priest writing a moral epic.

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ALFRED DE VIGNY AND THE BOOK OF JOB

M. Citoleux in *Persistances Classiques et Affinités Étrangères* (Paris, 1924) denies the influence of the *Book of Job* upon Alfred de Vigny (p. 356), and also states that the desire for oblivion found in *Moïse* was inspired by Voltaire and not by the Bible (p. 322). A closer examination of the question shows that Vigny knew *Job*, that the pessimism of the book possibly had an effect upon his philosophy, and that the desire for oblivion found in it had

²⁴ *Jor.* III, vv. 959-962.

²⁵ *Jor.* III, v. 1063.

probably, through Chateaubriand, an indirect influence upon his poem.

In the *Journal d'un poète* (Scholartis Press, London, 1928) Vigny made the entry (1823-25, p. 1) "La Mort de l'Ame—Les âmes blessées poussent leurs cris vers le ciel" (*Job*, xxiv, 12). To have gleaned an idea for a poem there, he must have read the book carefully. Now the idea of a God who afflicts the just with the wicked, a dominant idea in Vigny, is, although found in *Ecclesiastes*, an outstanding characteristic of the *Book of Job*. "Tout ce que j'ai dit se réduit à ce principe. Dieu afflige le juste aussi bien que l'impie" (*Job*, ix, 22. trad. de Sacy). Also it may be interesting to note that the ideas expressed in *Moïse* (ll. 92, 95),

Les hommes se sont dit, il nous est étranger. . . .
J'ai vu l'amour s'éteindre et l'amitié tarir,

are found, not in the *Pentateuch*, but in *Job*, xix, 13:

Il a écarté mes frères loin de moi et mes amis m'ont fui comme étrangers.

Chateaubriand in the *Génie* has affirmed that the history of mankind was resumed in Bible, that the history of the Israelites was a symbol of all history. M. Citoleux cites this passage (p. 335) and sees there the inspiration of Vigny's biblical poems. Curiously enough he makes no mention of the text immediately following this citation:

C'est dans Job que le style historique de la Bible prend . . . le ton de l'épique. . . . Il est vrai que les images empruntées de la nature du Midi, les sables brûlantes du désert, le palmier solitaire, la montagne stérile conviendrait singulièrement au langage et au sentiment d'un cœur malheureux. . . . Job est la figure de l'humanité souffrante et l'écrivain inspiré a trouvé assez de plaintes pour la multitude des maux partagés par la race humaine. . . . Puisse périr le jour où je suis né, et la nuit en laquelle il a été dit 'un homme a été conçu' (*Job*, iii, 3). Étrange manière de gémir. Il n'y a que l'Écriture qui ait jamais parlé ainsi Je dormirais dans le silence, et je reposerais dans mon sommeil (*Job*, iii, 13). Cette expression, je reposerais dans mon sommeil, est une chose frappante, mettez le sommeil, tout disparaît. Bossuet a dit: Dormez votre sommeil, riches de la terre, et demeurez dans votre poussière (*Génie du Christianisme*, Part II, v, 2).

These last sentences resemble closely "Laissez moi m'endormir du sommeil de la terre" (*Moïse*, l. 50), while in "Du stérile Nébo

gravissant la montagne" (l. 6) the word *stérile*, which does not occur in the biblical account of Moses' ascent of the mountain, seems to echo Chateaubriand's phrase. If Vigny had read the passage which M. Citoleux cites, he undoubtedly would have read what follows. And there Chateaubriand points out the pessimism of *Job*, which recurs like a refrain throughout the book.

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OLD FRENCH DOUBLER L'ESKIEKIER

In two passages of the *Roman de la Violette*:

- | | | |
|-----|------|---|
| (a) | 1499 | Mais de chou fu molt esbahis
Que il ne set en quel pais
S'amie querre ne cerkier.
<i>Molt bien poroit de l'eskiekier</i> |
| | 1503 | <i>Les poins de sa dolour doubler.</i> |
| (b) | 5485 | Certes, ja ne vous en faurrai,
Dist Melhatirs, de bataille;
Et qui porra valoir, si vaille;
Que, par mon chief, miex ne requier.
<i>Qui me doubleroit l'eskiekier</i>
<i>D'estrelins, nes prendroie mie,</i>
Par si que fausist l'escremie; |
| | 5492 | Ains combattrai ja devant tous; |

we find the expression: *doubler les poins de l'eskiekier de—; doubler l'eskiekier de—*. D. L. Buffum, editor of the excellent edition of the *Roman de la Violette* in the series of the *Société des Anciens Textes Français* (1928), does not explain it adequately. He has no comment to make on its first occurrence. In the glossary under *doubler* (p. 322 col. 2) with reference to the second passage, he says: *mettre un estrelin sur chaque case de l'échiquier*, which would amount to 64 estrelins.¹ Editors of other O. F. texts have also

¹ Du Cange, s. v. *soacci* 1, quotes this second passage from MS. B. (Bib. Nat. fonds fr. 1374):

Car par mon chief miaux ne requier
Qui mil mars sur un Eschaquier
Ne metroit, ne prendroit mie
Par si que fausist l'escremie.

been puzzled by this expression or have failed to explain it. In a chanson of Guiot de Provins² we read:

II, 36 A dolerous mestie
 M'ont atoiné amors,
 C'ainz de mon desirier
 Ne poi avoir secois.
 Bien puis, hor est li jois,
 Les poins de l'eschaquier
 42 *Doubler de mes dolors.*

The editor passes over the expression without comment.

Wackernagel^{2a} prints a poem in which our locution occurs, but, as he gives us no commentary, it remains unexplained:

Se tiestuit cil qui sont en paradis
Et en enfer et a naistre et en vie
Erent present, et fust chascuns garniz
Com Salemons de sens et de clergie,
Vostre valor ne retrairoient mie,
Qu'on puet des biens qu'aïert en vous loer
Mil fois les poins de l'eschiquier doubler.

Again in the *Roman de Joufrois*, we find a long, involved figure, difficult to follow and based on this locution, which was badly misinterpreted by the editors.³ Speaking of his lady's love for honor, the author of the *Joufrois*, in one of the personal passages for which the romance is noted, says:

772 Tant (ele) la (honor) fait creistre et monter
 O'or en puet l'eschaquier dobler,
775 Et ge d'amor, si ge voloie.

He adds a very bizarre explanation. The scribe of MS. B. which is the oldest of the MSS. of the *Violette*, evidently did not understand his original and altered it as above, for his MS. differs in this passage from all the others.

² J. Orr, *Les Oeuvres de Guiot de Provins*, Manchester-Paris, 1915, page 4, chanson II, 36-42.

^{2a} W. Wackernagel, *Altfrancoesische Lieder und Leiche*, Basel, 1846, p. 65, third strophe of poem XLI. This is the only example cited by the editor of the *Violette* (p. 297). The passage is printed here according to the critical text of Edw. Järnström, *Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIIIe siècle* (*Ann. Acad. Sci. Fennicae*, ser. B, t. III [1910], p. 34), which is not cited by Professor Buffum.

³ Hofmann and Muncker, *Le Roman de Joufrois*, Halle, 1880 (vv. 768-784).

Gaston Paris in his masterly review ⁴ of this edition translates the passage, bringing out all of its subtlety and simply says of the expression *dobler l'eschaquier*, that it is an "*allusion à une histoire bien connue.*"

The story was not well enough known, however, to keep Fritz Strohmeyer, in his interesting article *Das Schachspiel im Altfranzösischen*,⁵ from placing a wrong interpretation on the expression. Of verses 1502-1503 of the *Violette* he says (p. 394): "*Molt bien poroit de l'eskequier Les pouns de sa dolour doubler*—wohl bedeuten soll, sein Schmerz sei mindestens $2 \times 64 = 128$ mal grosser als ein gewöhnlicher Schmerz." He extends this interpretation also to include an extract from a poem of Raoul de Soissons which gives us a witty variant of the locution:

Ha tant m'est douz vielliers,
Quant iecort sa douce chiere
Et sa tres bele maniere!
Lors puis de deux echekiers
Doubler les pounz touz entiers
*De fine biauté entiere.*⁶

A propos of a passage in Peire Vidal,⁷ where he speaks of the beauties of his lady: *Mils tans es doblatz sos bes Qu'el compte de l'escaquier*, J. Anglade, in his edition of the works of that author⁸ simply explains: *Sans doute la progression géométrique par 2 suivant les cases de l'échiquier*. That is indeed the correct explanation of the locution in all these passages.

It seems worth while to summarize the *histoire bien connue* à propos of these texts. It is one of the legends explaining the origin

⁴ *Romania*, X, 411 ff.

⁵ *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler* . . . dargebracht, Halle, 1895, pp. 381 ff. Cf. Gaston Paris' note on this work in *Romania*, xxiv, 460.

⁶ Strohmeyer's reference is: "Thierry de Soissons, nach Cl. Fauchet. *Origine de la langue et poésie française*, Paris, 1581, S. 133." The text is here given according to *Die Lieder Raouls von Soissons*, ed. E. Winkler (Halle, 1914), pp. 41-2, ll. 19-24.

⁷ First quoted by Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, III, 143, col. 1; also cited by Strohmeyer, p. 395, who quotes as well the passages from the *Roman de la Violette* and from Guiot de Provins mentioned above.

⁸ *Les Poésies de Peire Vidal. Classiques français du moyen âge*, 1913, page 110, xxv, 42, and in the glossary under *escaquier*, p. 186.

of the game of chess.⁹ An Indian monarch, impressed by his own importance, neglected the government of his people and tributary states. Brahmins and rajahs tried to bring him to reason, but he put them all to death for their insolence. Following the advice of flatterers he then indulged in the worst excesses. A Brahmin Sissa, son of Daher, moved by patriotism, undertook to teach him a subtle lesson and invented the game of chess where the king, the most important of all the pieces, is powerless to attack and even to defend himself against his enemies without the aid of his subjects and soldiers. The game became celebrated and Sissa was called upon to teach it to the king. The result was that the king learned his lesson and reformed his conduct. He invited Sissa to name his own reward. The latter asked that he be given the number of grains of wheat which would result from placing one on the first square of the chess board, two on the second, four on the third, eight on the fourth, and so on, multiplying by 2 up to the 64th. The king was amazed at the modesty of the request and granted it without reflection, but when his treasurers calculated the result, they found that the king had obligated himself for an amount which all his treasure could not pay.¹⁰ Sissa then impressed upon the king the necessity of being on his guard against all about him.

⁹ Given very briefly in Raynouard, *Lexique*, III, 143, referring to a *mémoire* of Fréret in *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, v, p. 252-4, which I have summarized here.

[Professor W. Norman Brown, of the University of Pennsylvania, states that Fréret's "story of the invention of chess with its sequel narrating the inventor's reward, is essentially the best known of the Arabic versions, yet disagreeing in a few minor points from every version that I have seen. The various versions are conveniently collected by H. J. R. Murray in his *History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 207-219. A few references to "doubling the squares" in European literature, beginning with Leonardo Pisano (1202), appear in the same work, p. 755; these are in large part those given by Strohmeyer (see above, n. 5). As far as I know, no Indian source has yet been found for either the story or progression, although most authorities concede that the Persians and Arabs were correct in ascribing both, as well as the origin of chess itself, to India."]

¹⁰ MS. Bib. Nat. fr. 2000 (ff. 51r-55r) contains a treatise written at Tours in 1493 by Robert de Herlin, entitled: *Le Compte des LXVIII pions de l'eschequier doublé, par lequel compte on peut savoir combien il faudra de grains de fourment pour icellui remplir . . . lequel traité a translaté de latin en français. . . . Robert de Herlin*. The evaluation of the number of grains,

This then is the *histoire* which explains our passages. To be understood in the compressed form in which we find it, this expression must have had considerable currency in the Middle Ages. This would seem to be inferred from its occurrence in a more general sense in the following two passages, both from Provençal texts, the first from a cryptic poem of Marcabru:

Quand son la nueg jostal foguier
N'Esteves, en Constans, en Ucs

.

Mais que Berartz de Monleydier;
Tota nueg joston a doblher,
El jorn a l'ombra del saucs
Auzir(i)atz nausas e bauducx
E doblar entr'els l'escaquier(s)

The last four verses have been translated: *Toute la nuit ils font assaut (de fanfaronnades), et le jour, à l'ombre des sureaux, vous les entendriez mener noise et dispute et doubler entre eux l'échiquier (surenchérir en fait de vantardises).*¹¹

The second passage is from the *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*¹²:

v. 7041 En auta voz escridan · “ Sa Robi, sa Gautier!
 A la mort! a la mort Frances e bordoner!
 Que nos avem doblatz los pungs de l'esquaquer;
 Que Dieus nos a redut lo cap e l'hereter
7945 Lo valent comte jove qui aportal brazer!

Paul Meyer has simply translated our expression in this passage¹³: *nous avons doublé les points de l'échiquier*, but I think the sense is clear: we have succeeded beyond our expectations, we have

noted in this MS. is: 16384 towns each containing 1024 granaries in each of which there are 174762 measures, each measure holding 32768 grains. It is cited by Fréret, *ubi supra*, p. 254, n. a., without precise indication of source; Fréret knew the MS. (cf. p. 255, n. a.) [Professor Brown notes that de Herlin's calculation is identical with and probably derived from that given by Ibn Khallikan (1211-82); see *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, tr. de Slane, III (Paris, 1868), p. 70-1.]

¹¹ Text and translation from Dejeanne. *Poésies Complètes du Troubadour Marcabru*, III, vv. 25-32.

¹² Edition Paul Meyer, Paris 1875-79, I, 323.

¹³ *Ibid.* II, 397.

realized the impossible (since God has restored to us the head, the legitimate heir, the valiant young count).

In these last two citations, then, *doblar l'esquaquier* has taken on a general sense and its interpretation in each case depends on the context. Levy in his Dictionary notes these passages as difficult and attempts no explanation.¹⁴ They would have been clearer to him, doubtless, if he had compared them with the others. Stroh-meyer advances the idea that this locution was first employed in Provençal poetry. We cannot prove this, but there is a possibility that such was the case. I have not found it in the earlier O. F. texts. Was its use purely literary? It does not seem to occur in the collections of proverbial expressions that were, presumably, in frequent use.¹⁵

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¹⁴ *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, II, 259, col. 2; III, 149, col. 2; 150, col. 1.

¹⁵ [For a similar expression in Old Spanish cf. the *al gallarin doblado* of the *Poema de Fernán González*, 572 d. ed. Marden (Baltimore-Madrid, 1904). Professor Marden refers, p. 201, to an interesting note by C. Pitoulet in the *Bulletin hispanique*, IV (1902), 157-160. Is it possible that *gallarin* properly means 'chess-board'? The remarks of the *Diccionario de autoridades*, s. v. *galanín*, cited by Pitoulet, would lend some support to such an idea. Professor Marden kindly informs me that the expression has been discussed by R. Menéndez Pidal in the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, I (Madrid, 1899), p. 483 n., and in *Bausteine z. rom. Phil., Festgabe für A. Mussafia* (Halle, 1905), p. 399.—D. S. Blondheim.]

REVIEWS

Henry James's Criticism. By MORRIS ROBERTS. Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. x + 131. \$3.00.

Dr. Morris Roberts has here provided the long-desiderated survey of the critical work of Henry James. This book, which was offered as a thesis for the doctorate, is the matured fruit of many years' study and thought, and never did such a work appear with less blowing of trumpets and waving of banners. It is indeed a rather remarkable phenomenon: a doctor's thesis that does not claim to have proved anything, or demolished anything, and that is chiefly marked by the judicious spirit in approaching the facts, and by extreme simplicity, discretion, and brevity in the stating of them. It is almost sufficient indication of its unusual character that it comprises but 131 pages, including bibliography, index, and blank pages between the chapters. This means that the author has resisted every temptation to parade erudition, to split hairs and pile up instances. He seems to think that the chief service he can render his reader is to give him, in the briefest possible compass, a rounded and summary view of the subject. He traces the dominant preoccupations of James as a critic and the general course of his evolution, with illustration by the most significant instances, and a brief indication of his qualities and limitations and the relation of his critical faculty to the general character of the man as an artist. He knows that more than this would be a burden to the cultivated reader who is not a specialist, and that the only salvation of the specialist is to read the critical work of James.

He has divided the criticism of James into four periods. The first is that of the early reviews, from 1864 to 1873. Dr. Roberts shows us here the youthful martinet of criticism, dominated by a naïve, idealistic faith in the discipline of mind and conscience, judging stiffly by *à priori* standards, suspicious of Sainte-Beuve because of his want of "ultimate views," condemning Whitman and Trollope for their want of "ideas," but already much concerned with form and with a "truth" that tries to transcend the judgments of a narrow morality. The second period is that of the essays, most of which were republished in *French Poets and Novelists* (1878), but including work up to 1883. James has here arrived at an appreciation of Sainte-Beuve as "the very genius of observation, discretion, and taste," thereby showing that he has graduated from the stage of formal, pedantic judgments into that of enlightened interpretation. "James becomes a better critic of Sainte-Beuve by becoming more like his subject, more of an inquirer, observer, and interpreter, whose constant aim is to arrive

at justness of characterization." This period is coincident with his definite settling in England after finding that the atmosphere of Paris was not congenial to his spirit. He now thinks of himself as "a spokesman of the English consciousness," as appears, for one thing, in his shrinking from the grossness and moral aridity of the great French naturalists. The third period is that of *Partial Portraits* (1888) and *Essays in London* (1893). Judgment by standards has now quite given way to a delicately personal art of esthetic evaluation. "The art of criticism becomes in James's hands more and more an art of insinuating reserves, of subtly and delicately enmeshing the subject in a multitude of fine perceptions." In fiction he insists on complete freedom of choice of subject-matter by the author, since fiction represents a "personal impression of life"; but opens the way for moral or moral-esthetic judgments by pointing out that not all subjects are equally "remunerative" to the artist. Outstanding features of this period are his surprising want of sympathy with Flaubert—of all persons—and his solving of the critical problem of Maupassant: his subjects are repellent, his vision painfully limited, but he triumphs through form. James has become a kind of middle term between the French and English: he is thoroughly in sympathy with the French esthetic ideals but he shares the English "soundness of feeling." The fourth period is that of *Notes on Novelists* (1916) and the remarkable Prefaces to his own novels and tales (the "New York" edition, 1907). The text of all his criticism in this period is his statement in one of his letters that "art makes life." His objection to the then "modern" English novelists was that their "slice of life" was a denial of this principle: it lacked that idealization which gives significance to the material presented. His prefaces are one long revelation of his own efforts to let the idea give form and so significance, life, to the crude materials of experience.

Very brief is Mr. Robert's summary of James's tendencies and qualities as a critic, and very discreet and sparing his indication of his really monumental shortcomings in that line. Much too discreet and sparing. Only the attentive reader will realize the prodigious sum to which all these items, taken together, actually amount. Mr. Roberts has faithfully set forth the items. He thinks the "figure in the carpet" can be discerned even more readily in the criticism than in the stories. "James is everywhere in character, and we find in the criticism not merely an aspect but pretty much the whole man." He lets us know that James was not, like his French contemporaries, a man of the world, and that he had a minimum of personal "immersion" in life. He lived so much in the world of books, and yet he did not read widely! His fastidiousness was so much more active than his curiosity. There were so many subjects that he shrank from, and he had such limited ideas of "form" and the possible variety of its mani-

festations. There were so many great novelists whose form he could not understand: Dostoieffsky, Tolstoi, Hardy; so many great artists whose intention he simply missed: Baudelaire, Maupassant, Whitman. Mr. Roberts is aware of all this, and once or twice he stops a moment to comment. Speaking of *Partial Portraits* he says: "Here as in *French Poets and Novelists* his morality strikes one as lacking in seriousness and candor, as emanating from a polite English drawing-room and having about it the taint of Pharisaism. In his own fiction his care was not to eschew adultery but to keep it out of sight, to keep it above all from seeming gross. His attitude [was] . . . already out of touch with the most advanced taste in England when James wrote, and perhaps more in accord with the literary partialities of Boston than with those of London." Whether it was Pharisaism, provincialism, or simple congenital blindness, James was incapable of *seeing the point* of many of the most distinguished literary performances of his time, and that is a considerable disqualification for a critic. He was behind the times, and that is too bad in a critic, who surely is the one to point the way to less enterprising spirits.

"His opinions are often derivative," says Mr. Roberts; "he was not likely to recognize genius in a strange guise or to make discoveries, for his taste was not adaptive. . . . Yet if his taste was narrow, a high degree of self-consciousness and an extraordinary analytical power enabled him always to discover the grounds of it; and for the rest, where his taste operated at all, it was sure and beautifully revealing." That is no doubt a good way to conclude the study of a critic who is, after all, among the finest we have produced. The final emphasis should be on his qualities. But somewhere, I think, a marked emphasis should be laid on his defects, his limitations. Mr. Roberts's mildness is one of the finest things about him, but sometimes it is excessive. For once in a way I should have liked to see him show a bit of irritation with his subject. Lord knows, I'm fond enough of Henry James! But just once I could have admitted his calling James an insufferable old maid!

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

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The Literary Career of James Boswell, Esq. Being the Bibliographical Materials for a Life of Boswell. By FREDERICK ALBERT POTTLE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. 379. \$15.

Mr. Pottle has put together a monument to Boswell which will be the permanent marker testifying to the culmination of the first era in the development of the Yale Bibliographical school. While other

American universities have been half-heartedly feeling their way, forced into recognizing this subject by the gratuitous offerings of courses by teachers whose belief in its importance led them to do this in addition to their regular work, Yale long ago saw that the bibliographical road is the one along which students of English literature are likely to go furthest in the immediate future. It appointed a Professor of Bibliography, and chose for this chair a librarian of sterling worth, giving him the maximum college salary. Aggressively supported by members of the English department and by the University's Master Printer, Yale set up a very high standard, deeply bedded in the solidest of academic requirements. About this have gathered a group of enthusiastic students who have, as a body, advanced nearer to what appears to be the next goal of English studies than any of their American rivals. Mr. Pottle's volume shows what they have been doing. His text may be taken to represent the present ideals of the Yale school, and his Introduction reveals its aspirations.

Mr. Pottle's aim has been "to make a thorough-going application of the principles of scientific bibliography to the whole of a literary career." His method has been to expand that of Luther Livingston, who left out very little that is pertinent, and to dilute this heavily with that of Thomas J. Wise. The professional bibliographer is likely to give the volume an especial welcome for one particular feature. It demonstrates most convincingly that what Mr. Wise proved for the nineteenth century holds equally true for the eighteenth—that many details which are essential for the identification of Incunabula and for the Elizabethans are practically meaningless for the books of two hundred years later.

These meaningless details seem to have fascinated Mr. Pottle, for he dwells upon them to an extent that must have helped materially to make the book cost \$15 a copy. There is a facsimile of the title of each important edition, which is what one expects; there are also full titles in the text, with line endings, which serve no possible purpose,—they do not even prove the compiler's ability to transcribe without error, for the Oxford proof-readers could verify every word from the facsimiles. That the reader may not miss his alertness, however, he inserts a " [sic] " on p. 28, directly opposite the facsimile which shows that he has not made a mistake; showing also that he did not know that in 1767 it was a commonplace matter for a printer to divide a word so as to leave a single letter at the end of a line. To make the uselessness of all this more obvious, he does not print full titles, nor give the line-endings, for those entries which are not duplicated by a facsimile. Another detail which did not escape the thorough-going, scientific observer trained in the Wise method, is that when, in the "Letters between Erskine and Boswell," the printer began each letter at the top of a new page, a portion of the preceeding page was left blank if the previous

letter did not completely fill it. Neither did he fail to record the far from astonishing fact that, in "The Cub at Newmarket," the preliminary matter is paged in roman, and the text in arabic figures; information which is stated twice in three lines.

There is one other statement which the compiler of this work finds occasion to repeat even oftener. This is, in effect, that in doubtful cases of ascription, if an article can be read at the present day with interest, Boswell did not write it. No one who turns the pages of this record of his literary career is likely to doubt another statement, that Boswell was the most prolific English writer of his century. Both facts give this work a very great value to all who wish to understand the development of English literature. Its pages are packed with data which could have been brought together in no other way and which leave on the mind a picture, ultra modernistic in many respects, but, as one looks back at it, vivid, and probably true, in its representation of the background of literary England a hundred and fifty years ago.

G. P. WINSHIP

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England. By MATTHIAS A. SHAABER. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. Pp. xi + 368.

This book gives an interesting account of the various kinds of printed news from 1476 to 1622 (the word *news* being interpreted with considerable liberality), as well as of the writers, printers, and publishers of news. Not many of the facts, or of the sheets, pamphlets, and books that are dealt with, will be unfamiliar to the specialist; but, taken as a whole, they give a coherent and an entertaining history of sub-literary, journalistic reading in Tudor and Jacobean times. In effect, some three hundred pages are devoted to matters that are but casually mentioned in ten pages of Mr. J. G. Muddiman's *History of English Journalism* (1908). Incidentally, seven single-sheet corantos of 1621 are described for the first time.

Perhaps more attention might have been paid to the incredulity with which many Elizabethans read sensational "news." Dorcas and Mopsa believed everything they saw in print, but various persons tried, as do some newspaper readers to-day, to discriminate between false and true. Eve Fliegen (p. 147) is only one of a dozen fasting damsels who achieved news-book fame, but her like has been reported in modern American papers. A few of the author's statements need qualifying. Elderton's "A New Merry News" (p. 12) is not a ballad but an effort at a pretentious poem.

To the discussion of so-called sporting news should be added A. N.'s book on "the travels" of Master Bush, who in 1601 "with his own hands without any other man's help made a pinnacle in which he passed by air, land, and water" from Berkshire to London. Bush's exploit is called by John Chamberlain (Statham, *A Jacobean Letter-writer*, 1921, p. 70) "the greatest news of this countrie." The ordinaries of London prisons were, *ex officio*, expected to write about condemned prisoners, and Goodcole (p. 252) was an ordinary. The comments on John Wolf's alleged monopoly for publishing the history of the Armada (p. 285) are dubious. "Rejuvenated news" (pp. 290 ff.) is a matter of salesmanship rather than of journalistic activity, and unscrupulous printers likewise "rejuvenated" plays, novels, ballads, poems. Works entered by title in the Stationers' Register before the date of the events they describe were not necessarily composed in advance. The pamphlet on Courtney and Slie (p. 295), although registered by title on March 13, 1612, was probably written, or at least finished, after these criminals had been executed on March 14—as is suggested by its details about the disposition of their corpses.

Somewhat disconcerting is Mr. Shaaber's habit of inserting detailed lists of news-publications, on events like the defeat of the Armada, with almost no indication of where the works listed, if they are extant, can now be found. It is disappointing to see entries followed only by "broadside" or by a reference to Arber's *Transcript*, when with equal brevity *A Short-title Catalogue of Books* or *The Roxburghe Ballads* might have been particularized. But this lively study of early journalism ought to interest even that mysterious person known as the general reader, and certainly no student of the Elizabethan period or of the newspaper can afford to neglect it.

HYDER E. ROLLINS

Harvard University

Witchcraft in Old and New England. By GEORGE LYMAN KIT-TREDGE. Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. 641. \$6.

In this well printed volume a distinguished American scholar records the results of his life-long study of the occult. The book is hardly to be regarded as a by-product of the author's literary work; for witchcraft has been a major interest in his long and active intellectual life. Some of his notes were made as far back as forty years ago, and the collection of data has been an absorbing occupation with him ever since. Consequently he speaks with an authority that commands the utmost respect.

His treatment of witchcraft is remarkable for remembering steadily what so many have forgotten: that the numerous treatises

on the subject, the imposing theological and legal systems, are but secondary products of the broadspread human belief in *maleficium*—"the working of harm to the bodies and goods of one's neighbors by means of evil spirits or of strange powers derived from intercourse with such spirits." This belief in *maleficium*, he writes, "was once universal; it was rooted and grounded in the minds of all European peoples before they became Christian; it is still the creed of most savages and of millions of so-called civilized men. Throughout the history of witchcraft (in whatever sense we understand that word) it remained the ineradicable thing—the solid foundation, unshakably established in popular belief, for whatever superstructure might be reared by the ingenuity of jurisconsults, philosophers, theologians, and inquisitors." It is these fundamental aspects of English witchcraft that the book chiefly records, with the eye directed most often at the Elizabethan period.

The book is admirably planned for the clear presentation of its diverse material. Its center—Chapters III to XV—classifies the phenomena topically—from image magic, through such uses of witchcraft as to produce love and hate, wind and weather, to spoil dairy processes, to locate treasure trove, down to the test of cold water. Professor Kittredge also has some theses to support, and for these he argues energetically at the beginning and end of the book—probably its most valuable portions, in that they demolish, by a staggering array of evidence, modern delusions on the subject. In Chapter I, by an analysis of a "typical case," he demonstrates that witchcraft was present, in all its essentials, prior to the appearance of the supposedly sinister figure of James I; that in such a typical case there were no political or theological complications; and that English witchcraft was not a theological importation from the Continent. Chapter II further supports the last contention by a review of English witchcraft from Anglo-Saxon times to the accession of Elizabeth, proving that Englishmen inherited their ideas and practises from their forefathers in an unbroken line of tradition. Near the end of the book, in Chapter XVII, the author takes up more actively the cudgels in behalf of King James, showing that he was not the bigoted witchfinder of tradition, but a highly canny and suspicious investigator, much more intelligent than the Englishmen who put through the celebrated statute against witchcraft which bears his name. The last chapter, "Witchcraft and the Puritans," will doubtless be of greatest interest to American readers. It would free from blame the prosecutors of the Salem witches of 1692, showing that judge and jury were merely reflecting the views of their contemporaries, and that responsibility for the prosecution rests upon the community as a whole. It further draws the comforting conclusions that the number of executions in New England is inconsiderable,

especially in view of what was going on in Europe; that its record, indeed, is "highly creditable, when considered as a whole and from the comparative point of view." It is to be hoped that the fine tolerance and broad humanity of this book—a tolerance and humanity born of thorough understanding—will eventually reach the histories and the public.

Few books have been so well documented. The text, for easy reading unencumbered with apparatus, occupies 373 pages. The notes, grouped for the scholar at the back of the book, run to 224 pages. For a single statement of the author's are frequently adduced as many as a hundred references. Yet the text is not ostentatiously learned, and even a reader with only a casual interest will find it entertaining.

Within the limits which it proposes to itself, this book has an air of finality. Its main conclusions are not likely to be shaken, nor, one feels, will much that is vital be added to its laboriously collected and well digested body of facts.

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Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, Vol. 4). By ERNEST ALFRED PHILIPPSON. Pp. 239. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1929. M. 15.

This *Habilitationsschrift* is a worthy addition to Professor Schöfler's new but already important monograph series. The task which Dr. Philippson set himself was an ambitious one. He tried to bring together the relics of English heathendom which have come down to us, and to determine what heathen beliefs and customs the English brought with them from the Continent and what changes in these beliefs and customs took place from that day to this. He is chiefly concerned, of course, to reconstruct the outlines of English religion before it was driven underground by Christianity, but he does not fail to trace down to the present day such survivals as can plausibly be called Germanic. The material available for such an investigation is notoriously thin and, in great part, untrustworthy. The author has handled it cautiously and skilfully. His survey strikes me as sound and valuable, taken as a whole. I find myself at odds with the author, however, on not a few points. I regret to see him using the term *Altsachsen* (p. 29) for the Saxons of classical times, in defiance of the medieval usage. Alfred, when he spoke of the Old Saxons, meant the *Niedersachsen*, whose language, down to the present day, is known as 'Old Saxon.' It is bad practice for a modern writer to twist this old term to so new a meaning. Ohthere sailed, not through the Sound but

through the Great Belt, and the Charudes did not live on the island of Sjælland (p. 32). The etymology which the author gives for "Seeland" is certainly wrong, and I am highly skeptical about Fyn as the home of Ptolemy's Phundusioi (p. 32). I have elsewhere shown (*MLR*, xx, 1 ff.) that the English did not confuse Geats with Jutes (p. 37), but the author has himself confused them at least once (p. 150, l. 12). I should fear to use any part of the Old English *Salomon and Saturn* for material on Germanic heathendom (pp. 69, 87, 88). Freyr and Ing are no doubt identical, but I do not believe that either is a hypostasis of Tew (pp. 114, 131, 132, 176). Certainly we have not a scrap of evidence that Yngvi-Freyr was the husband of Nerthus. On the contrary, Tew was her husband, and Yngvi-Freyr was presumably their son, inasmuch as he is recorded in Snorri as son of Njörðr, and Njörðr is nothing more than Nerthus turned male. Ing was not a hypostasis of Tew but rather his ouster from the cult of the Vanir. Tew was easily ousted, for when Nerthus became a male deity Tew could no longer function as her husband, and had to withdraw from the scene. This left two fertility gods, Nerthus (father) and Ing (son), who naturally did not lack mates. Ing rather than Nerthus seems to have taken over Tew's part in the Vanir cult, but this means only that he superseded Tew, not that he was Tew's hypostasis. In origin, Ing was nobody's hypostasis, but an independent figure, the eponymous ancestor of the Ingvaeones. The writer of the Old English Runic poem surely did not interpret *tir* as the ON "*tyr* = *taurus*, Name eines nicht untergehenden Gestirns" (p. 116). See my comments, *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, I, 29 f. It is hardly sound to say that the Reudigni are "wahrscheinlich" the Saxons (p. 129; cf. p. 30), since evidence is wholly wanting. When the *Olafssaga* tells us that Thor is the god of the English, it refers rather to the more or less Anglicized Norwegians settled in England than to the English proper, unless I am mistaken (pp. 138, 140). I cannot subscribe to Dr. Philipppson's interpretation of the first Heremod passage in *Beowulf* (p. 172); see E. A. Kock, *Anglia*, XLV, 117. I have elsewhere pointed out (*MLN*, XLIV, 129 f.) some serious objections to Vogt's theory that OE *þyle* originally meant "Kultredner" (p. 182).

KEMP MALONE

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The Cycle of Modern Poetry. By G. R. ELLIOTT. Princeton University Press, 1929. Pp. 194.

Doubt may be felt about Mr. Elliott's critical sure-footedness in these essays on nine poets as remote in all dimensions as, for

example, Byron, Milton, and Robert Frost, but there can be no doubt of his insight and acumen. The keystone of his arch is his long, closing discussion of "Milton and the Present State of Poetry," which precipitates the entire book in the proposition that "Our poetry cannot have a second real renaissance, a forward movement taking with it the social consciousness of the English race, until Milton shall have for us as full a significance, relatively, as Homer had for the Greeks on the eve of the Periclean Age." Mr. Elliott's open sesame to the arcana of poetry is the dualism of Paul Elmer More and Irving Babbitt, apprehended as a lost dramatic principle in literature. "The powers primordial are two opposed natures . . . meeting terribly or beautifully in personality." Hence the tragedy of Keats was "his utter need of Milton" because he omitted from his "system of spirit-creation" the "creative battle of Satan with the Son of God in the human spirit." Hence also the judgments that "Hardy is Shelley reversed; he retains the Shelleyan monism in all its naiveté": that from Browning to O'Neill there has been a progressive encroachment of desire upon bounded passion which etiolated drama; and that Whitman was "a freeman of democratic Christianity"; Longfellow a pagan, "a citizen of a civilized world older than Christianity." *The Cycle of Modern Poetry* is a plea for the recognition of an ideal of Personality like that which runs through the literature of the Renaissance from Spenser to Milton—finding symbolic expression in *Macbeth*—as the only right ferment of great poetry. Guided by this master thought, Mr. Elliott writes a trenchant criticism of Shelley, Keats, Arnold, and Hardy, and of the modern imagists; and he works out a definition of the creative experience as a mood which "demands that all *personal* interests and powers that the artist may have as a man among men, shall be submitted to it, and rejected in so far as they cannot serve its purpose. It burns quietly above the apex of all excitements," and its mark is "a certain mysterious serenity, quite distinct from all other serenities," moral or philosophic.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

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Charles Reece Pemberton, *The Autobiography of Pel. Verjuice*.

Together with an introduction on his life and work by ERIC PARTRIDGE. London: The Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. xxiv + 313. 8s. 6d.

Charles Reece Pemberton (1790-1840) was a provincial English actor in the late twenties and early thirties; a lecturer and giver of "social readings"; a writer of reviews, of poems, of blank-verse

tragedies, and of an autobiographical novel. He was a friend of Sergeant Talfourd, the dramatic critic and editor; of W. J. Fox, the editor and reformer; of George Holyoake, the agitator; and of Elliot, the Corn-Law Rhymers. Pemberton was always conscious of his obscure birth; at seven he ran away from home and was seized by a press gang at Liverpool. He served seven years in ships of war, was an actor-manager in the West Indies; in general he had an aptitude for romantic situations. The most important of his writings is *The Autobiography of Pel. Verjuice*, which first appeared in the *Monthly Repository* in 1833-4, was reprinted, in his *Remains*, in 1843, and again, in abridged form, in 1853, and is now handsomely set forth by the Scholartis Press. It is written in the most extravagantly florid style of romantic prose. The material is very interesting, and the book would be readable if the author could ever have brought himself to say what he meant in plain terms. Most interesting of all is the authorative picture, by one who knew it from the inside, of the unutterable misery and degradation of the life of the impressed British fighting sailor. There are other very fine romantic episodes, or what would be such if it were not for the verbiage in which they are smothered. They are as hard to come at in this disorderly narrative as Maya remains in the jungles of Yucatan. One cannot but admire the force and largeness of Pemberton's character and the hatred of cruelty and oppression that animates him. But the toughness and pretentiousness of his style will prevent him from being read by any but the literary antiquarian.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

University of Minnesota

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Vol. XIV. Collected by H. W. GARROD. Oxford, 1929. Pp. 128.

The six essays in the current volume of *Essays and Studies* will appeal to readers of diverse tastes. In the first paper of the collection, "The Poet's Dictionary," Professor Oliver Elton appraises for their poetical value the various kinds of words that make up a writer's vocabulary. The results are not at all surprising although the author modestly underestimates their value in admitting that "every reader may know all this without being told." There is a real value in such an analysis, especially if it betrays everywhere a close and sympathetic familiarity with the poet's thought.

- "Marlowe's Tragical History of Dr. Faustus" by Percy Simpson gives first a remarkably acute analysis of the play. This leads to a discussion of the alterations made by Bird and Rowley, chiefly in the closing scene. There the traces of the censor's scruples in

tempering some of Marlowe's passionate utterance are interestingly revealed. But one of the additions, I suspect, merely shows that the reviser had read, and been impressed by, the gory details of the hero's death as told in the *Faust-Book*, and the citation from Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote* indicates, it seems to me, not that Marlowe took with common audiences, but that they sometimes clamored for cheaper plays even when the company sponsored the *Jew of Malta* or *Tamburlaine*.

Professor Nichol Smith's equally interesting study of Johnson's *Irene* is more factual. No reader who would fix clearly the poet's ideals and limitations can afford to disregard the changes made in the story that Johnson derived from Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*. The paper offers some interesting information on Peele's lost play, and describes briefly three other plays between Peele's and Johnson's. Some mention might have been made of Barksted's narrative poem, *Hiren, or the Faire Greeke*. Lastly, the history of the composition and production of *Irene* is briefly given, as readers of Boswell in general know it.

The essays "Charlotte Bronte" by Miss Janet Spens and "Tennyson and Wales" by Mr. Herbert Wright are more purely literary studies. The latter gives some indication of the amount of biographical material, unsuspected by the general reader, that lies imbedded in Tennyson's verse. In the "Ancrène Wisse and Hal Meidhad" Mr. Tolkien deals with a linguistic problem. The three papers deserve more than this bare mention.

E. N. S. THOMPSON

University of Iowa

Censorship under Louis XIV, 1661-1715. By HARRIET DOROTHEA MACPHERSON. New York, Institute of French Studies, 1929. Pp. xvi, 174.

Censorship under Louis XIV is a conscientious investigation of certain important matters indirectly connected with literature. An introductory chapter briefly surveys the periods before Louis XIV. It is followed by a history of conditions under that ruler, especially of matters relating to the influence of Mme de Maintenon and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as well as the theological issues centering about the publication of Fénelon's *Explication des maximes des saints*. Special chapters are devoted to stage-censorship, *gazettes à la main*, and pamphlet literature, French writers in exile, fictitious imprints, and other evasions of the press laws. Of particular interest is the discussion of the famous imprint of "Pierre Marteau." The author adheres to the opinion that no such person existed.

The study obviously covers a vast field, one that merges into those of governmental administration, theology, philosophy, and the analysis of the motives of noted individuals. It is a work to be carried out with profit to students only by a mature scholar. It is not surprising, nor is it discreditable, except perhaps to the venturesomeness of the author in publishing it, that this little work is tantalizingly inadequate. It appears to be an academic dissertation of some sort, well planned as a whole, but the individual chapters of which might in several instances be with profit recast. Desire to emphasize the *inédit* leads to detailed quotation from insignificant manuscript hand-leaflets, while inevitably sketchy material is introduced concerning men such as Bayle and Saint-Evremond. One would wish to see the relations of Molière and Louis XIV, or the influence of Mme de Maintenon studied in detail, instead of treated in such a brief way as to leave readers as undecided as before. The book gives evidence of intelligent industry as proved by a knowledge of many minute matters and by the elaborate bibliography. But in some places the author is ill at ease and does not even escape annoying misprints. Consequently the novice will get little help from a survey of a topic outside the scope of his ordinary studies, and the advanced scholar will have to reach his own conclusions.

The preceding criticism is quite as much against the forcing into publicity in this country of immature scholarship as it is against the author of *Censorship under Louis XIV*. She shows qualities that would enable her after further prolonged investigation to give valuable aid in the study of checks upon intellectual liberty in France of the the seventeenth century.

C. H. C. WRIGHT

Harvard University

Alzirette, an unpublished parody of Voltaire's *Alzire*. Pp. 75.

L'Empurique, an unpublished parody of Voltaire's *Mahomet*. Pp.

77. By GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK. New York: Institute of French Studies, 1929.

Professor van Roosbroeck has added two interesting items to the increasing Voltaire collection. Panard, Pontau, and Parmentier, the authors of *Alzirette*, profited by the success of *Alzire* to display their own wit on two much-abused subjects, "la gourmandise" and "le cocuage." *Alzire*, with its Drydenesque heroics and its manifold and patent improbabilities, laid itself wide open to the attacks of parodists. *Alzirette* touches very little on these improbabilities and hardly attacks Voltaire as distinct from other eighteenth-cen-

tury tragedians. Van R. has included in his introductory pages a valuable list of parodies (pp. 2-5) on Voltaire's plays and some excellent remarks on his technique (pp. 24-26).

Favart, author of *L'Empuique*, devotes only half of his attention to the play he is parodying. He is at the same time satirizing the doctors, whose craft, for the early eighteenth century, presented such a striking analogy to priestcraft that many deists treated the two in the same breath. He therefore adopts rather than criticizes Voltaire's habit of choosing first a religious or social theory as a nucleus for his plays. On the other hand, in following his model carefully scene by scene he has not failed to note numerous improbabilities, due to Voltaire's straining for the new, as well as many weak or bombastic lines. Van R.'s conclusion (p. 22) that Voltaire is threatened in the parody on account of the impieties of his *Mahomet* seems erroneous to the reviewer. The invitation by "le Grand Prévôt" to cross the sea is addressed not to Voltaire but to Marmouset-Mahomet, the impostor.

The two parodies attack not at all Voltaire's important "idea-nucleus" and only half-heartedly his technique. They have thus a more important place in the history of the parody than in the history of Voltaire's dramatic art.

NORMAN L. TORREY

Yale University

The Illuminated Tree in Two Arthurian Romances. By E. BRUGGER. New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1929. Pp. 93.

The illuminated tree, which appears three times in Wauchier's part of the *Perceval* and once in Manessier's part, came from a Celtic story about a tree full of fairies who show themselves as lights. The illuminated tree is one of a series of delusions that mislead or tease the Grail quester. The child in the tree who speaks to Perceval is originally a diminutive, mocking fairy like Auberon. The apple which according to one place in Wauchier the child holds in his hand is not of Celtic origin but is a borrowing from the legend of Terrestrial Paradise, with which legend the Irish other-world tree had early been associated. The illuminated tree appears also in a second Arthurian romance, *Durmart li Gallois*, where it is to be explained as derived from the *Perceval*.

This is the view set forth by Dr. Brugger and is diametrically opposed to that of the late Miss Weston as expounded in her papers "The Apple Mystery in Arthurian Romance" (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 9, No. 2, July, 1925). Miss Weston believed in a partly Christianized cult for the fertilization of apple

trees, from which cult rose a mystery play, which in turn gave rise to the illuminated tree episodes mentioned above. She thought that each of these episodes sprang independently from a mystery play which she supposed once existed, and she tried to show that each version preserved different original features from this lost play, among which she attached great importance to the apple. The sole evidence for the existence of the apple cult and the mystery play, she found in a passage in Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'Âme* which was written as late as 1355.

Miss Weston's theory seems an air castle, but Dr. Brugger's view appears probable to me because of the existence of diminutive fairies in ancient Irish story (see Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, pp. 490, 540). Dr. Brugger writes with increasing cogency and clearness, and this paper on the illuminated tree deserves a high place among numerous Arthurian articles from his pen.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

Northwestern University

Georges de Scudéry, le Prince déguisé, republished with an introduction by BARBARA MATULKA. New York, Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1929. Pp. 102. \$1.00.

Miss Matulka gives us Scudéry's text, without notes, and an introduction in which the play is analyzed, parallels with earlier publications are pointed out, and the staging is discussed. She does not claim to have established the source, though she thinks it probable that the dramatist used the *Amadis*, Juan de Flores or the *Orlando*, and *Francion*. Of these de Flores had already been suggested. It seems to me unnecessary to speak of the *Orlando* since it lacks the important and unusual element, common to de Flores and Scudéry, that the lover who can be proved to have first shown his love is the one to be put to death. As I have already proposed the *Amadis* as a possible source of the play, I am not inclined to disagree on this point, but Miss Matulka has not considered the *Astrée*, which not only contains more elements in common with the *Prince déguisé* than any of the works she mentions, but was, at the time the play was written, Scudéry's favorite book of sources.¹ The suggestion of *Francion* is new and interesting, though influence is not proved.

¹ For this and other additions and corrections to Miss Matulka's work cf. my *History of French dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part I, Baltimore, 1929, pp. 481-3. To the evidence there submitted of the play's debt to the *Astrée* may be added the facts that a woman's living

The play should be dated 1634, not 1634-5. Miss Matulka quotes the preface to Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens* in this connection, but leaves out the essential words "ou celle de Didon," which show that "que ie traite" applies to that play only and not, as she supposes, to the *Prince déguisé*. Since Scudéry gives a list of his plays in chronological order and places the *Prince déguisé* before the *Mort des Césars*, it must have been completed before 1635. As for the staging, she states just what compartment appeared on the back of the stage and is so sure of the setting that she publishes a frontispiece, drawn by J. Matulka to represent the original *mise en scène*, "reconstructed from the indications of the text." The reader may be surprised to learn that we do not know whether the play was ever given at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, that if, as is more probable, it was given at the Marais, the decorations may have been quite different from those drawn by Mahelot, and that, while compartments were probably used, there is no way to tell which one was at the back. The artist has imitated the drawings given by Mahelot for *Clorise*, *Chryseide*, and *Pyrrandre*, taking a prison here, a temple there, but, while the undertaking is ingenious, this is surely not the setting of the original performance, for it leaves out the palace and the place of combat, while giving two prisons on the ground-floor, though that of the heroine should be in the second story (cf. p. 89, ll. 8-11). Moreover, the garden is much too small for the digging that takes place in it and no attempt is made to account for Scudéry's own statement that, in the performance of this play, "la face du theatre change cinq ou six fois entierement."²

The text is reproduced with considerable care. I find only about a dozen errors, all but three too unimportant for comment, *en* for *et* (p. 42, l. 27), *Faytes* for *Fay tes* (p. 88, l. 27), and *quand è* for *quand et* (p. 75, last line). This last seems to be not a misprint or a careless reading, but a correction of the text, although

"en l'object aimé" (Matulka ed, p. 82) is expressed by Silvandre in the novel and that Policandre, who is Clearque under another name, must die while Cleandre must live seems to be a direct imitation of a passage at the end of the *Astrée*. It may be added that, as her book and mine were in press at the same time, neither of us was able to make use of the other's work.

² While I am unable to arrive at anything like certainty, I would propose quite a different solution. As there was no general curtain concealing the stage, the *face* seems to mean the rear of the stage, decorated at the beginning of the play by a drop representing a palace. In I, 4, this fell, disclosing a temple (*le temple . . . s'ouvre*), but was put back into place for the three acts that followed. In the fifth it gave way to the two-story prison, then was restored to its original position until the last scene, when it fell and disclosed the scene of combat. This would give us enough changes to justify Scudéry's expression, while the two sides of the stage could easily represent, respectively, the garden and the heroine's room in the palace, which, like her prison, is on the second floor (cf. p. 45, ll. 1, 2).

quand et in the sense of *avec* was occasionally used in the seventeenth century³ and is undoubtedly the correct reading here. I regret that the lines are not numbered and that there are no notes, which would have been useful both to the linguist and to the historian of literature. We should, however, thank the author for having rendered easily accessible a play of which probably not more than a score of copies were extant. Scudéry was an abominable poet, one of the worst of his century, yet he sometimes hit upon a good story which he had enough dramatic sense to endow, as d'Aubignac said of this play, with a "belle intrigue."

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

The Johns Hopkins University

Max Kretzer, A Study in German Naturalism. By GUNTHER KEIL.
New York, Columbia University Press, 1928.

Diese Monographie, phrasenlos und sachlich, ruht gewiß in keinem Betracht auf den Grundlagen der neueren literarhistorischen Forschungs- und Darstellungsmethode, sondern knüpft an frühere Vorbilder an, wie schon die Einteilung des Stoffes dartut. I. The Background of Naturalism; II. A Brief Survey of Max Kretzer's Life and Works; III. A Novel of Social Democracy, *Die Beiden Genossen*; IV. A Novel of Prostitution, *Die Betrogenen*; V. A Novel of the Industrial Proletariat, *Die Verkommenen*; VI. A Novel of Elite Society, *Drei Weiber*; VII. A Novel of the New Economy, *Meister Timpe*.—Aber die Auswahl der besprochenen Romane und die Gesichtspunkte der Behandlung und Gliederung, sowie die im Text gegebenen Proben sind außerordentlich geschickt und machen Keils Buch zu einer überaus brauchbaren, praktischen Einführung in das Wesen des Naturalismus. Daß Kretzer, trotz mancherlei Lobes und selbstherrlicher Eigenbewunderung, im ganzen doch ein nur mittelmäßiger Künstler ist, tut der Monographie Keils keinen Abbruch. Denn gerade die Schwächen Kretzers, von Keil mit feinem Takt nur vornehm angedeutet, zeigen die Schwächen des Naturalismus im allgemeinen. Die sehr charakteristische Abhandlung von Kretzer selbst, *Meine Stellung zum Naturalismus*, die Keil im Anhang abdruckt, vervollständigt das Bild der naturalistischen Kunstauffassung auch von theoretischer Seite.

Die von Keil mühsam zusammengestellten Statistiken über die unglaublich hohen Auflagezahlen der Kretzerschen Werke und die

³ Littré, s. v. *quand*, 8°, gives examples from Malherbe and P.-L. Courier, to which may be added one from Bazire, *Arlotte* (1638), II, 2, and Chapoton, *Coriolan* (1638), II, 2; in the last two cases it is written *quant et*.

vollständige Bibliographie geben auch dem ideengeschichtlich gerichteten Literaturhistoriker wertvolles Material. Das nach der Revolution in Deutschland neu auflebende Interesse an naturalistischen Motiven und Erzählungsformen, das Soergel mit "neuem Naturalismus" bezeichnet, und das sich in der Rückkehr Hauptmanns auf früher beschrittene Wege offenbart, spiegelt sich in den Kurven der Kretzerschen Auflageziffern.

Keils Monographie, für den Literaturforscher wie für den Kulturhistoriker interessant, bietet gerade dem Universitäts- und Collegelehrer viel wesentliches und praktisches Material zur konkreten Erklärung des Naturalismus und verdient schon darum besondere Beachtung.

OTTO KOISCHWITZ

Hunter College

Réflexions sur Stendhal. Par René Boylesve. Paris, le Divan, 1929. Pp. 96.

Opinions sur le roman. Par René Boylesve. Paris, Plon, 1929. Pp. iii + 244.

With the publication of these two volumes, M. Gérard-Gailly, the literary executor of René Boylesve, continues his task of making public the material left in manuscript at the death of the novelist.¹ The *Réflexions sur Stendhal* is a collection of jottings found in Boylesve's *fichier* and written, for the most part, late in 1914 and early in 1915 "à propos du livre de Léon Blum: *Stendhal et le Beylisme*, qui parut chez Ollendorff à la veille de la guerre."² It includes numerous citations from the works of Stendhal and from Blum's book and critical comments by Boylesve on Stendhal's literary qualities as well as on the function of the novelist and the novel in general. The *Opinions sur le roman* is composed of "les divers morceaux où René Boylesve s'est exprimé sur le roman: réponses, méditées avec quel soin à des enquêtes, articles ou fragments publiés dans des périodiques, notes de son fichier, lettres personnelles."³ It includes some dozen pages previously printed in *Feuilles tombées*, but excludes Boylesve's prefaces to several of his novels as well as manuscript notes, "qui traitent bien du roman, mais à propos de certains romanciers."⁴

The *Opinions sur le roman* reveals Boylesve as a sound literary

¹ For a discussion of volumes by and about Boylesve published in 1926 and 1927, vide the present writer's article in *MLN.*, XLIII (Jan., 1928).

² M. Gérard-Gailly: "Avant-Propos" to *Réflexions sur Stendhal*, p. 7.

³ M. Gérard-Gailly: "Avant-Propos" to *Opinions sur le roman*, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3. It is M. Gérard-Gailly's avowed intention to publish these notes in a later volume.

critic (the novel and drama, more especially comedy, are the only *genres* treated in the volume), a fearless advocate of honesty in literature, a stout champion of the realistic psychological "roman de mœurs," "le roman balzacien dont le type le plus achevé pourrait être *Madame Bovary*,"⁵ a man of wide cultural background and of unwavering attachment to the rationalistic *esprit gaulois* of the France of the Renaissance and the succeeding centuries. He has little sympathy for the excesses of the Romanticists and the Naturalists, although, interestingly enough, he styles himself "un modeste disciple de Claude Bernard."⁶ When he speaks of liberty, Boylesve is thinking of that precious possession as employed by a Molière, a Racine, a Flaubert, and a Maupassant. The point which is, perhaps, most strongly hammered home is that literature must be primarily aesthetic and never consciously "useful"; the notion is most succinctly stated in the picturesque words: "Un roman à thèse est un peu un crime de lèse-littérature."⁷ Boylesve had no use for the "thrillers" so eagerly gobbled up by the masses of indiscriminating readers, and because his novels were of the type "où rien ne se passe," he never expected, nor did he even desire, to be a popular writer. His preference for the psychological "roman de mœurs" is due to his conviction that man, not nature, must be the prime study of the novelist; as a twentieth-century humanist, he declares: "Supprimez l'âme de l'homme, et le monde n'est qu'un désert."⁸

M. Gérard-Gailly has performed a real service in publishing these two volumes, as he has made it possible for us to consult Boylesve the critic without having to turn the pages of widely-scattered periodicals; we are given here much concrete evidence of Boylesve's ambition to prove himself a worthy successor to the three giants of French fiction, Balzac, Stendhal, and Flaubert.

AARON SCHAFER

The University of Texas

Studies in English Philology. A Miscellany in honor of Frederick Klaeber. Edited by KEMP MALONE and MARTIN B. RUUD. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1929. Pp. x + 486. \$7.50.

This set of studies is dedicated "to Frederick Klaeber on his sixty-fifth birthday, which marks also the completion of thirty-five years of service in the University of Minnesota." All told, there are thirty-nine articles, including the highly serviceable biblio-

⁵ *Opinions sur le roman*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118. Cf. Zola's declaration of indebtedness to Claude Bernard.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

graphy of Professor Klaeber's writings prepared by Stéfán Einarsson. Of the remaining papers, 26 have 10 do with Old English or the early field; 4 with Middle English or the later medieval period; and 8 with Modern English. Of the 26 Old English papers, 10 are devoted to *Beowulf*. With the usual unavoidable cross-lapping, these 26 may be further classified as follows: literary criticism, 11; lexical studies, 3; style, 2; manuscript and handwriting, 2; morphology, 2; phonology, 1; and versification, 1. So much for cataloguing.

It was well for the Editors to begin with so colorful a scholar as William Ellery Leonard. His article, "Four Footnotes to Papers on Germanic Metrics," is in revolt against the widely-accepted views of Sievers. He cites cases where, in his opinion, the scop could not have sung the verse as ordinarily scanned unless he had "first consulted the diagrams." Leonard's plea is for the use of the rest and the rest-beat of later Germanic poetry, as well as the regular speech-beat in the scansion of Old English poetry, by which he feels it can be demonstrated that the metrics of Old English verse did not differ essentially from that of the later periods. Many who do not go the full distance with Leonard will probably agree with him that the whole matter of Old English metrics needs to be reconsidered.

The whole group of lexical studies is praiseworthy. Teachers of language-history will stand deeply in debt to Samuel Kroesch for his "Semantic Borrowing in Old English." Kroesch is concerned mainly with a more subtle matter than were earlier students of the Old English vocabulary, like McGillivray; namely, the transfer of semantic coloring from Latin to Old English. He divides his cases into two classes: "words formed principally through the process of translation"; and those of "a purer type of synonymic analogy, in which the analogical process affects the meaning only." E. A. Kock's clear and lucid interpretations of Old Germanic texts are always helpful, and he has not disappointed us in the set of sixteen short studies in comparative semantics entitled "Old West Germanic and Old Norse." In "Epithetic Compound Folk-Names in *Beowulf*," W. F. Bryan holds that characterizing folk-name compounds were selected by the poet because of the implicit fitness of each in its context. His careful analysis of the epithets (except in the case of a few, where he throws up his hands) makes a good case for his thesis. Closely allied to this group is R. E. Zachrisson's study in phonology: "The Early English Loan-Words in Welsh and the Chronology of the English Sound-Shift." The author makes good use of Welsh loan-words from English to show sound-shiftings that would otherwise be obscured by the ambiguity of English orthography.

In syntactical matters, the origin of the gerund in Old English is masterfully handled by Morgan Callaway, Jr. While giving

due credit to van Langenhove's studies in the phonological history of the gerund. Callaway feels that the question resolves itself into one of syntax rather than of phonology. Leonard Bloomfield in "Notes on the Pre-verb 'ge' in Alfredian English" refines the syntactical variations considerably and succeeds in establishing well-defined categories. Francis A. Wood contributes five morphological notes, among them two on the application of Verner's Law to Old English. Eilert Ekwall shows the "Loss of a Nasal Before Labial Consonants" in place-names like Stowford (< Stanford).

By way of his "Recurring First Elements in *Beowulf* and in the Elder Edda," a careful and well-documented study, F. P. Magoun, Jr., discovers much less repetition, proportionately, in the *Edda* than in *Beowulf*, and concludes that the Eddic poetry is stylistically superior. Helen Buckhurst's "Terms and Phrases for the Sea in Old English Poetry" does very ably what the title suggests, and is besides delightfully well written.

Under manuscript and handwriting come G. T. Flom's article (happily illustrated by cuts¹) entitled "Anglo-Norman Script and the Script of Twelfth Century MSS in Northwestern Norway" and E. Prokosch's "Two Types of Scribal Errors in the *Beowulf*." By way of interpretation and translation, Samuel Moore reconsiders four passages from *Beowulf*, and H. C. Wyld gives us a daring but very successful rendering of several *Beowulf* portions into various modern meters.

The largest group is that of literary criticism, headed by Kemp Malone's "The Daughter of Healfdene," a restoration and interpretation of the defective line 62 of *Beowulf*. By a minute comparison of the Old English classic with its Icelandic analogues, the author shows that *Yrse*, wife of Halga and later of Onela, is the woman the poet had in mind and that he was not aware that she was the daughter-in-law, not the daughter of Healfdene. Most of the statements in this article appear incontrovertible, and where the ground is less firm, the reader is fairly carried away by an ingenuity and resourcefulness that make for plausibility. A. G. Van Hamel in "Hengist and his Namesake" throws doubt on the view of Chadwick and others that Hengist of the English Conquest and Hengist of Finnsburg are one and the same person; W. W. Lawrence discovers in the saga of "Samson the Fair" an episode having clear resemblances to that of the fight between *Beowulf* and Grendel's dam and likewise to the analogues of that incident appearing elsewhere; and R. J. Menner explains the "Vasa Mortis" passage of *Salomon and Saturn* "Caedmon's Dream Song" by Louise Pound ranges from Pharaoh to Freud, and is an argument for the historicity of the dream story told of our first English poet. Aloise Brandl, tacking to *Beowulf* 2920, traces the connection of the Merovingians with the various English kingdoms, and from his findings derives support for the view that

the Old English epic originated in Mercia; C. S. Northup compares the apotheosizing of Arthur to that of Jesus and other legendary figures; J. R. Hulbert, in "A Note on the Psychology of the *Beowulf* Poet," attributes the vagueness of Beowulfian visual description to the poet's "individual mental make-up"; and Max Forster discusses Old English lucky and unlucky days. L. L. Schücking opposes Professor Klaeber (who follows the lead of Hohlweg in the matter) on the priority of *Beowulf* to *Exodus*; and a posthumous article by the late A. S. Cook is a word and phrase test of the introduction to one of the Malmesbury charters, to shed light on Aldhelm's supposed authorship of the document.

On the middle period, Aage Brusendorff, explaining Chaucer's "He knew nat Catoun for his wit was rude," shows the popularity of the *Dicta Catonis* in early educational circles and discusses the various versions known to the Middle English period; Carleton Brown re-edits the poem *Somer Soneday* found in the Laud MS next to *King Horn*; and Lorenz Morsbach edits a bill of indenture dated 1470. Of this group perhaps the most outstanding piece is Alexander H. Krappe's "Le Rire du Prophète," an exhaustive search for the sources and analogues of Merlin's derisive laugh as related in *Vita Merlini*.

In the modern field, Hardin Craig, in "Shakespeare and Formal Logic," proves by well-chosen quotations that Shakespeare was conversant with the formal logic of his day, at times using its terminology soberly, less often burlesquing it. H. M. Ayres presents "A Specimen of Vulgar English of the Mid-Sixteenth Century," a broadside of the year 1552; Henning Larsen finds the *eisel* (*eysil*) of Hamlet in an Old Icelandic medical manuscript going back to the thirteenth century; H. Logeman wrestles with the invincible etymology of *Yankee*; S. B. Liljegren, in "Harrington and Leibnitz," lays stress on the probable influence of Harrington on the great German philosopher; and Morris W. Croll analyzes for us the baroque, or anti-Ciceronian, prose of Wotton, Burton, Browne, and others.

Less easy to classify are the two remaining papers. In a joint article R. W. Chambers and F. Norman recommend Alexander Hamilton, F. R. S. (1762-1824)—not, as carefully explained by the authors, the greatest secretary of the United States Treasury before Andrew Mellon—for a place in the linguistic hall of fame as a forerunner of Rask, Bopp, and Grimm. Arthur G. Kennedy's paper, "Progress in the Teaching of Early English," contains toward the end an appeal for the use of the term *Anglo-Saxon* in preference to *Old English*, the author having swung back, as he says, to his original practice. On this point he is not at all convincing, and, if the present reviewer has any notion of logic, defeats his own purpose by the figures he cites! If the frequency of the term *Anglo-Saxon* fell from 35 to 26 in the period 1800-1922,

while that of *Old English* rose from 0 to 45 in the same period, it would appear that Kennedy fails to apply to his own case the very thing he urges upon his readers: "a frank recognition of things as they are." But one can overlook this lapse in the light of the rest of the article, an appeal to teachers of early English to make the first year course in Old English one in which the student shall be equipped with a fluent reading knowledge of the literature in the original, rather than be made to flounder in the depths of Germanic and Indo-European philology.

The Editors are deserving of highest praise. When one considers the limitations of space and subject in such a volume, the wide area over which scholars are scattered, with the resulting difficulty of editorial suggestion and criticism, and the general inertia of scholarly writers in the face of teaching duties, the editing of a *Festschrift* must be indeed a troublous matter. Professors Malone and Ruud have done excellently. They have selected wisely, and have given us a set of papers entertainingly written and solid in quality. In addition, the printing and the typographical arrangement of the book approach artistry. Altogether, it is a fitting tribute to the great scholar whose anniversary it celebrates.

ESTON EVERETT ERICSON

University of Pittsburgh

Sir Lancelot of the Lake. Translated by LUOY ALLEN PATON.
Broadway Medieval Library. New York: Harcourt, Brace &
Co., 1929. Pp. xx + 420. \$5.00.

The importance of the *Lancelot-Graal* in the history of medieval literature makes Miss Paton's book a welcome addition to the steadily growing body of English translations of medieval classics. Much of this huge corpus of romance had to be summarized, and Miss Paton has wisely given comparatively little of the *Queste* and the *Mort Artu*, already represented in English by Malory's classic versions, and has concentrated on the *Lancelot* proper: and of this she has given us the essential scenes in a close translation. She is admirably equipped for the task, avoiding on the one hand the occasional inaccuracy of Miss Schlauch's *Medieval Narrative* and on the other the graceless modernity of President Comfort's translations from Crestien. Her version based, not on Sommer's printed text, but on B. N. fr. 344, is an addition to our textual knowledge as well as a work of literary charm. Only a captious critic might wonder why she used the word *wend* on p. 127, and French *renommée* instead of English *renown* on p. 139.

The introduction contains little to quarrel with. It consists

for the most part of a sober analysis of Ulrich's *Lanzelet*, Crestien's *Charrette*, and the *Lancelot-Graal* itself. As Miss Paton adds nothing new, and takes no cognizance of recent discoveries regarding Lancelot himself and various episodes, her account of the Celtic tradition which underlies much of the romance is superficial. In calling Meleagant an infernal deity (p. 23), she is surely mistaken. Nothing in the insular traditions of Maelwas or Melwas makes him out a demon,¹ while Crestien's own testimony in *Erec* points clearly to the nature of his realm.²

Vint Maheloas, uns hauz ber,
 La sire de l'isle de voirie.
 An cele isle n'ot l'an tonoirre,
 Ne n'i chiet foudre ne tanpeste,
 Ne boz ne serpanz n'i areste;
 N'il n'i fet trop chaut, ne n'iverne

Obviously the realm of Meleagant, "dont nul estranges ne retorne," was no inferno, no land of the dead,³ but was in origin an isle like those to which Bran and Oisín attained and whence they could return only by special dispensation. The name Melwas is most plausibly derived by Zimmer and Rhys from Welsh *mael-gwas*, "prince youth."⁴ In treating the *Charrette* Miss Paton reveals with unsparing clarity the gross incoherence of the narrative. But instead of drawing the inevitable conclusion that either the author of *Cligès* had grown feeble-minded or that he did not compose the narrative plot at all, she merely remarks that Crestien "was writing more negligently than he was wont." If ever there was a story that had all the earmarks of cumulative tradition, the successive bungling of generations of *conteurs*, it is the *Charrette*. No wonder Crestien expressly disclaims credit for the *matiere*, and I believe Miss Paton would earn his thanks if she expressly relieved him of all responsibility.

The bibliography makes some curious omissions: Miss Paton's own *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*; Miss Schoepperle's treatment of the abduction story in *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 528 ff.; Miss Hibbard's article on the *Sword-Bridge*, *RR.*, IV, 166 ff.; Mme Lot-Borodine's article in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, 21 ff.; and my *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*. The illuminations which copiously illustrate the handsome volume are charming when they come from the thirteenth

¹ J. Rhys, *Studies in Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 52, 65-7.

² *Erec*, 1946 ff.

³ In *Folklore*, XVIII, 121 ff., Miss Hull has answered effectively the idea, promulgated by d'Arbois de Jubainville, Ferdinand Lot, and Rhys, that the Otherworld of the Celts is the abode of the dead.

⁴ Rhys, *op. cit.*, 51. W. Foerster, *Karrenritter und Wilhelmsleben* (1899), xxxviii.

century or the fourteenth, but when they come from the fifteenth, they are fit illustrations only for *Sir Thopas*. For the best illustrations of the *Lancelot* one must still turn to Mr. H. Yates Thompson's *Hundred Illuminated MSS.*, vol. VI, or to the smaller reproductions in Mme Lot-Borodine's *Lancelot et Galaad*.

ROGER SHEERMAN LOOMIS

Columbia University

BRIEF MENTION

Lactantius and Milton. By KATHLEEN ELLEN HARTWELL. Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. x + 220. Miss Hartwell's work, done under the direction of Professor Lowes, is a genuine contribution to an important phase of Milton's intellectual life. Much of the material she presents has a value in itself or in connection with previously known facts about Milton's reading. Her work is especially interesting in showing what may be found by examining in detail an author Milton is known to have read. Starting with Leach's suggestions of twenty years ago, Miss Hartwell discovers a number of new influences of Lactantius upon the poet. She sees in Lactantius the patristic source from which Milton very early tasted Arianism. In presenting this point, she suggests that Milton may have known and used the Jewish *Pesikta Rabbati*, or possibly the *Yalkut Shime'oni*,—works which cannot be connected with Milton. It will never be possible, I am certain, by means of a bare appearance of a parallel in a Jewish work to assume that Milton knew that work in original or translation. Such an assumption would be dubious in connection with a Latin or English work; why invoke it for Hebrew? The idea cited may well have come from the rabbis; but not, I think, from the rabbinical works mentioned unless further proof is forthcoming. In many respects, Appendix D is as valuable and noteworthy as anything in Miss Hartwell's whole book. By showing that not Saurat in 1920 but Callander in 1750 first pointed out the connection between Milton and the Enoch fragment in Syncellos for the poet's treatment of Azazel, she has rendered Milton scholarship a real service. It is remarkable that all modern commentators have overlooked this eighteenth century scholar, not only on this point, but likewise in connection with Lactantius in general. Another still earlier commentator, Hume, with his explanation of Titan in *Paradise Lost*, 1: 510, has also been unduly neglected by Milton editors. In this connection, one envies Miss Hartwell her access to the remarkable collection of texts and editions of Milton assembled in the Harvard College Library. The appendices

of her work are very uneven, but contain material of interest, if somewhat remotely connected with her main theme. I deplore the separation of the notes from the body of the text in a work of this kind. The bibliography is brief, but adequate for its purpose. It is to be hoped that other investigations of Milton's reading will be encouraged by the printing of this one.

HARRIS FLETCHER

University of Illinois

John Hamilton Reynolds, friend of Keats and admirer and critic of Wordsworth, had both the fortune and the misfortune of living among intellectual giants. One of the misfortunes was that he imitated now one and now another of them—Byron, Scott, Wordsworth, Keats,—and failed to achieve a style distinctively his own. Another misfortune was that as a lesser light among greater he has been unduly neglected. This neglect has been rectified by a volume of selections (*John Hamilton Reynolds, Poetry and Prose*, Edited by GEORGE L. MARSH; New York, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 196). The book, neatly made up, with an excellent introduction, disinters for us some delectable pieces like "The Eden of Imagination," shows us a minor author of intrinsic charm and worth, and reveals various interesting relations between him and his great compeers.

S. F. GINGERICH

Pixerécourt and the French Romantic Drama. By ALEXANDER LACEY. University of Toronto Press, 1928. Pp. 88. By making a detailed study of Pixerécourt's principal plays and comparing them with those of the leading Romantic dramatists, Dr. L. demonstrates how much the latter genre owes to melodrama and in what respects it differs from it. He finds that the two groups of authors are alike in their fondness for physical conflict, the complexity of their plots, their lack of logic, indifference to what is essentially tragic, preference for the sensational and the pathetic, etc.; while they differ in their philosophy of life, their morals, and their style. As the latter elements formed part of the general heritage of the times and consequently are not to be traced to a particular source, he concludes that the chief models of the Romanticists were not foreign plays, but native melodramas. Dr. L. writes clearly and convincingly. I would suggest only that *Hernani* is not so devoid of tragic guilt as he implies (p. 48), for he violates the law of hospitality that his host so courageously respects and consequently suffers from his own error as well as from the vagaries of Fortune and the cruelty of the duke.

H. C. L.

The Batchelars Banquet, An Elizabethan Translation of Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage, edited by F. P. Wilson (Oxford, 1929, pp. xlvii + 124) adds another important book to the slowly growing list of Elizabethan reprints. In his introduction the editor sketches briefly the history of misogyny in literature antecedent to Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* and the *Quinze Joyes* itself. He suggests, also, the possible connection between this translation and the earlier English version that was burned in Stationers' Hall, on court order, in 1599. Finally, he rejects the common attribution of the translation to Dekker and assigns it modestly, but on seemingly good ground, to Robert Tofte, who had already published *Of Mariage and Wiving*. *The Batchelars Banquet* richly deserves this careful and appreciative editing. Published when the Character Books were at the height of their popularity, it shows how those analyses of types could be carried one step further toward the novel of character and manners. Its racy dialogue, that suggests the idiomatic conversations of *Pilgrim's Progress*, and its numerous little insets picturing unconsciously Elizabethan bourgeois life, must needs be considered by any student of fiction. The book's one fault is monotony, and the endless jangle between the impeccable husband and the *always* erring wife grows monotonous. The French author lacked the subtler art of Ovid, and left much for the novelist to learn.

E. N. S. THOMPSON

Chief Modern Poets of England and America. Edited by GERALD DEWITT SANDERS and JOHN HERBERT NELSON. New York, Macmillan, 1929. Pp. xxx + 705. One wonders how much the selections for this conservative anthology would have differed if they had been made ten years ago, for all the more recent poets are omitted and so are T. S. Eliot, Rupert Brooke, Harriet Monroe, Leonard, Untermeyer, Benét, and even Masters! W. W. Gibson receives the same space as Masfield and Conrad Aiken a third more than Frost. Yet the pieces included have been chosen with excellent taste, the appearance of the volume is attractive, and the type is large.

R. D. H.

Studia Neophilologica, A Journal of Germanic and Romanic Philology. Edited by R. E. Zachrisson. Vol. I, Nos. 1-2. Uppsala, 1928. It is good to welcome yet another journal in the ever growing field of modern humanistic studies. The new enterprise is somewhat misnamed, it is true; *Studia Neoglottica* would be more to the point, since the first volume, at least, is devoted to linguistics rather than to philology. The Swedes, however, like the British (though with a difference), are fond of using "philology"

in a sense certainly not Greek—I don't dare call it barbarous! And their scholarship is so good that we have to overlook the badness of their terminology. The volume opens with an admirable description of that wonderful instrument of precision, the Swedish Dialect Alphabet. The editor contributes an important paper on the origin and early history of the name *Germani*. Dr. J. Wallenberg gives us some of the fruits of his studies in Old Kentish charters, and E. Staaf contributes a study of the French words with the negative prefix *in-*. These articles are followed by a group of notes and observations, and the issue is concluded with a few reviews of recent works in the linguistic field. The journal starts well, with the high standards and the distinguished scholarship which we recognize as characteristic of the Swedish men of learning. English is the official language of the journal, although French and German may also be used by contributors. The editor and his associates are evidently striving to give their publication a world-wide circulation, and in this effort they deserve and will, I hope, receive support from linguists everywhere.

K. M.

Walt Whitman, A Brief Biography with Reminiscences. By HARRISON S. MORRIS. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp. viii + 122. \$1.50. Mr. Morris's brief volume consists of a short biographical summary of Whitman's life together with a critical interpretation of certain elements of the poet's thought and some personal reminiscences of the man himself during the Camden period. Discerning and well-balanced, it provides an interesting and helpful introduction to one of America's leading literary figures, particularly for readers who are victims of the popular misunderstandings of Whitman and who might be led still further astray by the extravagant hero-worship and sometimes gauche criticisms common among certain other of the poet's admirers and later associates.

Parts of the book were written in Italian and apparently translated without close revision, which perhaps accounts for occasional over simple explanations that may seem annoyingly obvious to the American reader. There are occasional minor variances from accepted biographical fact, such as the dating of Whitman's trip to and from New Orleans as 1849-51 in spite of the abundant evidence that it occurred in 1848. The personal reminiscences provide no significant information which is new but serve rather as an epitome of some of the most interesting recollections preserved by other of Whitman's friends and as additional evidence of the accuracy of these previous accounts. The book on the whole

is for the general reader rather than the scholar, and as such forms one of the most sympathetic and valuable approaches to Whitman that is available.

LEON HOWARD

A Handbook of Classical Mythology. By GEORGE HOWE and G. A. HARRER. F. S. Croft, New York, 1929. Pp. 301. This is a dictionary of Greek myths for general reference, but with very useful notation of modern masterpieces in poetry and fine arts on mythological subjects. Under "Heracles" Browning's *Aristophanes Apology*, not his *Balaustion*, should be cited. There should be room for Spenser's *Astrophel* and Shelley's *Adonais* under "Adonis," and *Faery Queen* VI. x, under "Charites." And why are Hawthorne or Kenneth Grahame unmentioned, if it is the book's intention to reveal the charm of ancient myth to modern youth? Why, too, must the myths be presented like pressed and dried specimens? Apollodorus, belying his name, long ago showed the world how *not* to rehearse a myth.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Translated by THEODORE HOWARD BANKS, JR. New York, 1929. Pp. 143. \$1.00. The translator has based his work on Tolkien and Gordon's edition of the Middle English poem. His translation is metrical, and remarkably accurate in view of his purpose (in which he succeeds) to "make it a poem that might be enjoyed on its own merits" (p. 7). He uses an anapestic meter, with alliteration, and holds closely to the *Gawain* stanza. The book as a whole is heartily to be commended.

K. M.

The Middle English "Lai Le Freine." Edited, with a study of the date and dialect of the poem and its analogues, by MARGARET WATTIE. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. x, No. 3. Northampton, Mass., April, 1929. Pp. xxii + 27. \$0.75. This excellent edition of the Middle English poem (which is less than 400 lines long) was prepared by Miss Wattie under the capable direction of Professor Howard R. Patch. The editor gives us, not only the text, but also a discussion of the dialect, of the sources and analogues, and of the date. She has also a good bibliography and a careful glossary, with full etymological information. It may be doubted whether the additions to the poem composed by Weber are worth reprinting.

K. M.

Modern Language Notes

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THE DUEL OF KING LOUIS AND GORMONT.

Much has lately been written on the famous fragment called *Gormont et Isembart* and its origins.¹ The well-known theory of Professor Bédier has been vigorously assailed by Professor Lot, who restates the theory of a Scandinavian origin of the poem. The arguments advanced have been mostly historical. I wish to call attention to a strange passage in the poem itself which seems difficult to account for without going back of the eleventh century.

In the duel between King Louis and the chivalrous Gormont—whose rôle certainly looks remarkably like that of a hero and an original protagonist—there occurs an extraordinary use of weapons, unparalleled, as far as I am aware, in the entire body of the *chansons de geste*.

Gormonz li a treis darz lanciés;
Deus le guarî, par sa pitié,
qu'il ne l'at mie en charn tochié.
Reis Loois fut mult iriés;
a joste mie nel requiert;
encontre munt dreça l'espié;
si l'at feru par mi le chief
que l'elme agu li at trenchié
et del halberc le chapelier;
gesqu'al braiel le purfendiet,
qu'en pre en chient les meitiés;
en terre cole li espiés.

Gormont et Isembart, ed. Bayot (Classiques français du moyen âge, 1921), II. 385-396.

Not much attention has been paid to the endless duels of the

¹ F. Lot, *Romania*, LIII (1927), 325 ff., discusses other articles and his own theories.

French epics. Usually monotonous in the older poems, with an invariable technique, they take on considerable variety as time goes on. But it is always a case of the hero who cuts down his enemy after more or less troublesome preliminaries. The hero is stronger than a man has any right to be, as is best illustrated by the feat of Roland hewing his adversary in two and slaying his horse to boot with one stupendous blow.²

The modern world is happily not trained to deal tremendous blows with sword and lance. We are not good judges of the possibilities of strokes dealt by specialists. Even the feats of Roland, Guillaume and Louis, exaggerated as they are, have interesting historical parallels. The best case is the mighty blow of Godefroy de Bouillon at the gates of Antioch, applauded by numberless eye-witnesses and recorded by many contemporary historians of the first Crusade.³ One might add that whether Godefroy actually cut his Turk in two pieces or not the Middle Ages were quite certain that he had done so.

The fighting in the *chansons de geste* was necessarily realistic. Any imaginable audience of the jongleur understood perfectly how men fought. It would have been unthinkable not to present these innumerable duels essentially as they were taking place daily before the eyes of those who crowded to hear recitals of epic deeds. The poems were offered as serious history. Exaggeration in mere strength was only human and I take no account of comic episodes (Rainoart's feats for example). In form the medieval duels were impeccable. The poems scant such features of warfare as sieges, in their technical details, archery, the use, such as it was, of infantry. This was merely the privilege of the poet, emphasizing the favorite side of battle and representing his hero as able to hit harder than ordinary men. When knights fight in the epics with sword and lance, the audience had to be held by imaginary incidents strictly in accord with what the hearers knew to be the practice of real men at arms. Christian knights had to use the weapons of the day in a possible manner. It was only occasionally, for an extra thrill, for variety and for humorous effect, that the poets allow the comparatively unknown pagans, about whom the wildest

² *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Jenkins (Boston, 1924), 1325-1334.

³ Robert le Moine, *Rec. hist. croisades occid.*, III, bk. iv, gives the most detailed account. Also see Guibert de Nogent, Orderic Vital, etc.

stories were current, to wield strange weapons and perform fantastic feats.⁴

The passage quoted above is an amazing exception to the universal use of arms in the vast body of the chansons de geste. How could a medieval audience accept such a story as this where Louis raises his spear and cleaves Gormont to the waist? Nothing like this is found elsewhere and one suspects that the story is a survival from another age.

No medieval spear of which I have found record or which is suggested by what is left in museums, could possibly have been used as a sort of battle-axe. The Bayeux tapestry gives us pictures of the usual spear of the time, the only one, in fact, which could have been effective against the hauberk, a small head mounted on a stout ash stave.⁵ The knights use them thousands of times in various poems, always in the same way. The Christians thrust with them, the pagans not infrequently throw them, as was done particularly by the Turks. Gormont in our poem uses darts for throwing with deadly effect. In the Bayeux tapestry, the knights poise their rather light spears to throw or hold them for the thrust. Never, as far as I am aware, does a knight strike a blow with his spear as if it were a sword. The unanimity of the record shows that spears were useless except for thrusting. Apparently they soon became too heavy for throwing, as one would expect, and were designed to support a very hard thrust. To get full piercing advantage of the impetus of horse and man, a small head was indispensable. On the other hand, King Louis could only deal his blow with a short, heavy headed spear, of a kind which would have been hopelessly ineffective in a joust, for piercing, aiming or even reaching an adversary. I have never found a hint of any such weapon, called by the name of spear, used by a knight on horseback in either chronicles or poets. To invent such an incident for the entertainment of seigneurs or even common peasants and

⁴ A. J. Dickman, *Le Rôle du surnaturel dans les Chansons de geste* (Paris, 1926). Examples collected and discussed. See especially the conclusion and the index.

⁵ Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français, s. v. Lance*, has many illustrations of medieval lances; Lavis, *Histoire de France*, II, 2, pp. 96 and 100 has good illustrations from the Bayeux tapestry; Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, III (Paris, 1916), pp. 448, 449, 450, 453, 459, has many similar illustrations from different periods.

monks seems strange. The episode runs counter to the whole immense body of tradition and practice of the age.

There can be no mistake in meaning or text. It is not a question of a simple word. The passage states in detail that Louis made no effort to joust with Gormont, but raised his spear, struck a fearful blow on the top of his enemy's head and clove him through so effectively that the body fell in two parts and the spear "en terre cole." The word spear is masculine and stands in the rhyme.

Reading the passage one thinks at once of the Frankish *framée*.⁶ As everyone remembers, the Franks fought originally on foot and used the *francisque*, the *framée* and a long knife or sword. The *francisque* was not unlike a tomahawk, used for throwing and for close work. The *framée* was a shorter spear than the one used by the later knights, rather heavy perhaps, but a spear none the less, as the reproductions referred to show conclusively. The Franks were particularly well supplied with striking weapons. Naturally enough they possessed also a thrusting one. I have not found anywhere a hint that the *framée* could be used for striking in the manner of a sword. To be sure the sources are scanty. If such a case could be found, however, it would be very interesting. It would then be difficult to escape the conclusion that the meeting of Louis and Gormont echoes the original duel of the battle of Saucourt. But for lack of evidence to support it let us discard this possibility of the *framée*.

A few lines further on there occurs in the poem another striking passage, this time in a metaphorical sense, also unexampled in the epics and admittedly historical. Louis pulls back after his blow so vigorously, in order to avoid an undignified tumble, that he sustains a fatal rupture. I mention this wellknown and historical passage merely because in close conjunction with it, the strange spear episode becomes doubly significant.

If the Scandinavians had a hewing spear of a sort that the text so plainly calls for, would not this fact have great significance in a poem which concerns them and which Professor Lot believes to have very likely a Scandinavian origin?

A weapon commonly used for thrusting and cutting, sometimes for thrusting, cutting and throwing as well is often mentioned in

⁶ See Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, II, 1, p. 96, the original weapons of Chilperic, also pages 282, 294 and Enlat, *ubi supra*.

the sagas and scaldic poetry.⁷ It is regularly classed as a spear (*spjót*) and the general term applied to it is *hogg-spjót*. The very name implies a twofold function. Specialized forms are *kesja*, *atgeirr* (familiar to Old French) *brynþvari* and *hepti-sax*. Once also we find a spear of the sort termed *bryntroll*, possibly through confusion with *brynþvari*.⁸ Commonest is the *hoggspjót*, defined by Vigfusson⁹ as a "kind of halberd," by Falk as "die zweite Hauptart der Speere . . . das sowohl zum Stecken wie zum Hauen gebraucht wurde und in erstere Verwendung teils Hand- teils Wurfspieß war."¹⁰

Characteristic illustrative passages follow: *Gísla Saga Súrssonar*, written down in the twelfth century, but presenting historical material from the tenth, chapter 2; "Gísli hewed at him with his spear (*með hoggspjót*) and cut off the lower end of his shield and his foot as well"¹¹; *Víga-Glúms Saga*, an early saga dealing with events of ca. 1000, chapter 8; "Then he (Glúmr) turns quickly against Sigmund and brandished his spear (*spjótinu*) and he (Sigmundr) jumps to meet him; but Glúmr straightway hews him in the head,"¹² and later in the same saga, chapter 22, it is said of Glúmr that he "had his shield and spear (*hoggspjót*) . . ." and that he "hurled his spear at Arngrimr." Falk thinks that this is the same spear as the one mentioned in chapter 8.¹³

Vápnfirðinga Saga, relating events of the tenth century, chapter 2; (Svartr) thrusts at him with a great spear (*hoggspjóti miklu*)."¹⁴

Ólafs Saga hins Helga, describing the early 11th century outlaw

⁷ Professor Henning Larsen has been kind enough to answer the question raised concerning a Scandinavian weapon which would fit the case of Gormont.

⁸ Hj. Falk, *Altnordische Waffenkunde*, Vidensk. Selsk. Skr. (Kristiania, 1914), pp. 66 ff.

⁹ *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, p. 309.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ *Gísla Saga Súrssonar*, búið hefir til Prentunar V. Ásmundarson, Reykjavík, 1899, p. 6.

¹² *Víga-Glúms Saga*, búið hefir til Prentunar V. Ásmundarson. Reykjavík, 1897, p. 24.

¹³ Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁴ *Vápnfirðinga Saga*, búið hefir til Prentunar V. Ásmundarson, Reykjavík, 1898, p. 3.

Arnljot Gelline, chapter 205, says; "Arnljot had in his hand a great spear (*hoggsþjót*); its socket was all inlaid with gold, but its shaft was so high (i. e. not longer than) that one could reach the socket with his hand."¹⁵

The commonest form of the *hoggsþjót* is the *kesja*; it is used for cutting, thrusting and throwing. When intended for cutting or thrusting it was much heavier than when planned as a missile. The term was common from the early poetry to the hunting terminology of early modern times. According to Alex. Bugge,¹⁶ the word and possibly the weapon represent a borrowing from the Irish *ceis*; but the more recent work of Marstrander makes it more probable that the Scandinavian is the original, the Irish the loan.¹⁷

In the general meaning, "spear" we find *kesja* in the *Magnúsflokkur* of Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, composed about 1045, strophe 21; "Yonder at Helganes the followers of Swain bowed before the spears (*fyr kesjum*)."¹⁸ Far more significant is the description in the *Egils Saga*, Chapter 53, of a *kesja*, of the type known as *brynþvari*, carried by Þórólfr Kveldulfsson in the battle of "á Vínheiði við Vínuskógi," which the author mistakenly identifies with the battle of Brunnanburg. Actually the date of the event must be placed about 925.¹⁹ We read; "He had a *kesja* in his hand. The blade was two ells long and the tip was fashioned into a four-sided point, but above (the tip) the blade was broad. The socket was both long and thick and the shaft not longer than one could reach with his hand to the socket. And the shaft was very thick. Such spears are called *brynþvarar*."²⁰ A similar weapon carried by Goliath is described in *Stjórn*, Chapter 233.²⁰ It is there called *bryntröll*, a term, according to Falk incorrectly used.²¹ The weapon is such

¹⁵ *Flateyjarbók*, with preface by G. Vigfusson and C. R. Unger (Kristiania, 1860-1868), vol. II, p. 273.

¹⁶ *Vesterlandenes Indflydelse*, Vidensk. Selsk. Skr. (Kristiania, 1905), p. 208.

¹⁷ Carl J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske Sprogs Historie i Irland*, Vidensk. Selsk. Skr., Kristiania, 1915.

¹⁸ Joh. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, vol. III, p. 70 ff.; F. Jónsson, *Egils Saga* (Halle, 1894), p. xxii; Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 80; F. Jónsson, *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie* (København, 1907).

¹⁹ F. Jónsson, *Egils Saga*, p. 152.

²⁰ C. R. Unger, *Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie* (Kristiania, 1862).

²¹ Falk, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 and 111.

a one as we are seeking; "In his hand (Goliath) had a spear of the hardest iron, so heavy that the shaft weighed six hundred shillings. It was so shaped that the blade was broad toward the socket, but the tip was shaped as a four-sided point. Such a spear is called *bryntröll*."

The *hepti-sax*, though mentioned only once, is well known to English scholars; for its mention occurs in the famous *Barðardal* episode of the *Grettis Saga*, so often equated with the Beowulf account of the death of Grendel's dam. The word is equated with *hæftmæce*, a nonce word in the Beowulf episode. To follow the translation of Morris; "But when Grettir came anigh, the giant leapt up and caught up a glaive and smote the new-comer, for with that glaive might a man both cut and thrust; a wooden shaft it had and that fashion of weapon men called then heft-sax."²²

Finally the *atgeirr* (O.E. *ætgar*, O.H.G. *azgēr*) occurs frequently both in prose and poetry. The most famous *atgeirr* possibly is that of Gunnar in the *Njála*, a saga of the 12th century, but presenting 10th century events. Gunnar use the spear for thrusting and parrying, once also for throwing.²³

None of the passages cited above go back in date so far as to the battle of Saucourt (881). The earliest reference (the passage from the *Egils Saga* describing Thorolf's *kesja*) however, goes back to events of 925 and treats of the same general period as *Gormont et Isembart*, the same type of Viking warfare, and implies moreover that the weapon is of a well-known type. The other passages are almost all drawn from poems or accounts of the 10th and 11th centuries. Except for a few songs we have no earlier sources to seek. But the mass of evidence, of which that cited is only a small part, all suggests the *hoggspjót* to be a common type known all over Scandinavia and not a late innovation.

The argument presented in this article can be summed up in a few words. Although the chansons de geste seem often exaggerated and sometimes fantastic in tone, the form of the fighting (comic incidents neglected) is monotonously correct. Weapons are used by Christian knights always in the same manner, that of the 11th and 12th centuries. *Gormont et Isembart*, however, contains a

²² E. Magnússon and Wm. Morris, *The Story of Grettir the Strong* (London, 1869), p. 197.

²³ Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

striking episode entirely inconsistent with such practice. The incident is, on the other hand, entirely in conformity with Scandinavian usage. Since the poem echoes the battle of Saucourt fought by Scandinavians, it is reasonable to assume that the episode of the duel was borrowed from a Scandinavian source, presumably a poem.

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CHAUCER STUDIES, 1929

The year just past was apparently a period of quiescence in Chaucerian studies: no great editions and only one extended monograph appeared; and the number of shorter studies and notes, though by no means inconsiderable, fell noticeably short of the total for the last two years. The quality, one need hardly say, is as varied as ever.

I have merely to record the publication of the first volume of the magnificent Shakespeare Head edition of the *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, Blackwell), to be completed in eight sumptuous tomes at twenty-five guineas the set. Alas, I have not seen it, nor is it likely that scholars, or even college libraries, will be at much pains to acquire it; for it pretends to no scientific value, and like the Kelmscott Chaucer of happy memory is an item for collectors. Still, every Chaucerian will rejoice to see the poet so nobly adorned, and, for all his superciliousness, he will envy lucky possessors and pray that a copy may find its way, if not into his own, at least into his university library.

But every scholar can and should own the interesting edition of the *Manciple's Tale* by Dr. Gustav Plessow.¹ This is, strictly speaking, hardly an "edition" in the ordinary sense, but a collection of materials for *Seminar-übungen* in Middle English or in Chaucer. The author gives us a type-facsimile of Landsdowne MS. 851 and *literatim* transcripts of the Ellesmere and of Harley 7334.

¹ *Des Haushälters Erzählung aus dem 'Canterbury Geschichten' Gottfried Chaucers*. Berlin und Leipzig. DeGruyter. Trübners Philologische Bibliothek 12.

To this are added a classification of the MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales*, based frankly on Brusendorff, a valuable set of directions for the study and mastery of ME. paleography, thus laying a proper foundation for textual criticism, a complete scansion, and critical translation of the Ellesmere text into Modern German. Finally, in a last section, "Quelle and Aufbau," Dr. Plessow prints Ovid's version, the source of the *Manciples Tale*, apparently, *in extenso*, and very full abstracts of the other analogues; and shows in detail how source-hunting should and should not be carried on. The most valuable thing here is his study of the rhetorical devices by which Ovid's brief apologue has been elaborated to the dimensions of a full-bodied Canterbury Tale. Here Dr. Plessow builds on Manly's British Academy lecture of 1926, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," and illustrates by a striking example how fruitful this way of approach may be. From a study of the rhetorical art of the tale, and from its obvious relations to the *Roman de la Rose*, Plessow comes to the conclusion that it was written before the year 1383/4. With this speculative chronology I am not now concerned; what I *am* concerned with is the character of the training that such a text-book implies. We need to remind ourselves in this country, now more than ever, when a perverse "humanism" is rampant, that if today we can read Chaucer with pleasure, if he really counts for us as one of the two or three greatest poets in our literature, it is because of the work of scholars, great and small, who have been trained, often in the school of sad experience, in the *minutiae* of their job. Dryden, in 1701, wrote one of the best criticisms of Chaucer that have been done to this day; and Lowell, in 1868, wrote another. Men of genius might have gone on writing others still. But all of them put together could not have advanced us half so far toward an aesthetic enjoyment of Chaucer as Tyrwhitt's laborious annotation of the *Canterbury Tales* or Child's severely technical "Observations on the Language of Chaucer."

But now I must turn to my tale again. And here it is my pleasant duty to mention the translation of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, with parallel text, by Nathaniel E. Griffin and Arthur Beckwith Myrick (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia). The translation will be useful; even more, one hopes, the Italian text; and Dr. Griffin's introduction (107 pp.) brings together a mass of material that we have hitherto had to seek in out-of-the-way places.

Of particular value is the section (pp. 95-107) on "The Bearing of the *Filostrato* upon English Literature." Both collaborators are to be congratulated on a solid piece of work and, not least, the University of Pennsylvania Press on a beautiful book.

Dr. Koch has given in *Anglia* (LIII, 1-101) the full accounting he promised last year of the debatable readings in his recent edition of the *Minor Poems*, and a thorough-going accounting it is. One may not share Koch's confidence always in his decisions, but it is impossible to regard them without respect. Another contribution to textual criticism is Miss Margaret Kilgour's "The Manuscript Sources of Caxton's Second Edition of the *Canterbury Tales*" (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 106-201). Miss Kilgour here carries on the study begun by Dr. W. W. Greg in the *PMLA.* for 1924. But she takes as the basis for her collation a much larger section of the text, the *Prologue* and the *Pardoner's Tale*. The result, in her opinion, is to confirm decisely the conclusion to which Dr. Greg was not willing to commit himself: the basis for the revision of Caxton's first edition was either A^s (i. e. B. M. Add. 35286) or a MS. remarkably close to it. Miss Kilgour's article was published in the *PMLA.* for March. In the issue for December (XLIV, 1251-1253) Dr. Greg reiterates his original position, unaffected by Miss Kilgour's argument, that some of the variations between A^s and Caxton's changes in his second edition are such as to bar A^s as his specific source. Miss Kilgour, however, is of the same opinion still: in a brief rejoinder (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 1253) she declares her conviction that if A^s was not the actual source, it was certainly a MS. much more closely allied to it than to any other examined. Indeed, there is no conclusive evidence that A^s was not the source, and not a little to suggest that it was. But she admits that pending an exhaustive examination the case must remain open. Finally, Miss Hammond's important paper (*MP*, XXVII, 27-33) not only identifies a second Chaucerian scribe, but raises fundamental questions of the ways of book production in the age before printing, and of textual criticism as well.

When we turn from purely textual matters to the critical side, the slenderness of the year's output is striking. The only important monograph is Professor Edgar Finley Shannon's *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* (Harvard University Press). The author has here brought together the whole body of Chaucer's borrowings from

the Latin classics, and has attempted to appraise them and the profound influence they exercised on his work. The influence came, of course, chiefly from Ovid and Vergil, most of all from Ovid, and perhaps Professor Shannon's prettiest piece of philological detective work is his demonstration that when Chaucer says in the Proem to the *Anelida*, "First folow I Stace and after him Corinne," the mysterious allusion to "Corinne" means quite certainly the *Amores* of Ovid. Dr. Shannon shows that scholars of the early Renaissance at least knew this poem "sub titulo Corinnae Ovidii." Again, Chaucer's use of *Metamorphoseos* for *Metamorphoseon* is to be attributed not to his ignorance of Greek, real as that was, but to his following the general practice of his age. Compared with his use of Vergil and Ovid, Chaucer drew but slightly on the other Roman poets, and Professor Shannon disposes of them adequately in a short chapter. But even here there is one most interesting detail: the convincing argument that Chaucer knew the *Argonauticon* of Valerius Flaccus and that what little knowledge of this poet there was in mediaeval Europe seems to have come from Britain; if, indeed, it existed elsewhere at all. *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* is thus a book of great importance: as a collection of materials it will be indispensable, nor is it lacking in acute observations; but Professor Shannon's criticism is distinctly weak. His last chapter, in which he essays an appraisal of the Latin influence on Chaucer leaves one, if I may trust my own feeling, with a sense that the things that matter have been left unsaid, that the researcher has once more been imperfectly submerged in the critic.

A year ago I was able to catalogue a considerable number of Chauceriana; this year I have only three, all from the *Times Literary Supplement*. In an interesting communication of March 14, Mr. E. St. John Brooks proves from certain entries in a cartulary of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, that Chaucer's mother, Agnes Northwell, was a Copton—Mr. Manly's conjecture that her maiden name may have been Pelican is therefore unnecessary. In successive communications (May 9, May 16, and June 13) Miss Ramona Bressie, Mr. Manly, and Mr. Bernard M. Wagner have suggested various persons as the possible original of Adam Scriveyne, but with little result. Of considerable value, on the other hand, is Mr. W. R. Lethaby's little article on Chaucer's Tomb (February 21), with notes by Katherine A. Esdaile (February 28)

and Walter A. Godfrey (March 7). Mr. Lethaby makes it all but certain that the tomb erected by Nicholas Brigham in 1556 was not an older monument erected in a new place but a new work, and that it is to "be regarded as the actual tomb of Chaucer and not merely as a monument set up in his greater honour." Mr. Manly and Miss Rickert have not published this year any further results of their delving into the records, but one of their pupils, Miss Florence White, has printed in *MP.* (xxvi, 248 f.; 378 f.; xxvii, 123 f.) a full abstract of the depositions in the celebrated case of Sir John de Roches vs. John Hawley. Mr. Manly made use of them in his Lowell lectures; but nothing so well illustrates that vivid figure as the documents themselves. Miss White could not give us these—they run to seventy-one membranes of highly abbreviated Chancery Latin—but she has given a coherent and intelligible summary.

The De Roches-Hawley case went on for fifteen years, and even then reached no conclusion. The same fate, I am afraid, in our present state of knowledge, awaits every effort to determine the character of Chaucer's "lost" works or the details of Chaucerian chronology. Viktor Langhans has ventured on both these wild-goose chases in a single year; and although he conducts the chase skilfully he comes out precisely where one would expect. In his first article, "Chaucers Angebliche Übersetzung des Traktates *De Contemptu Mundi*" (*Anglia*, lxi, 325 ff.) he tries to show that Chaucer's translation of this tract of Pope Innocent's is a ghost work pure and simple. The argument is often tenuous, but it might be sufficient, save for Chaucer's express words in the *Prologue to the Legend*. This apparently conclusive testimony Langhans dismisses as a clumsy interpolation. The irony of it, of course, is that Langhans, having in earlier papers expended enormous energy to prove that the F-prologue is a banal *rifacimento*, now discovers that this egregious performance—which does not contain the decisive line—actually here preserves the better text! This article is at least a sober and plausible piece of work; his second, "Die Datierung der Prosastücke Chaucers" (*Anglia*, lxi, 235 f.), it is difficult to treat with patience. The date of the *Astrolabe* (1391-92), of course, is secure; and the dating of the *Boethius* (ca. 1380) seems as good as any. But the argument concerning the date of the *Melibeus*, which Langhans places between 1368 and 1372, is flimsy;

and the long dissertation to prove that the *Parson's Tale* was written at Hatfield somewhere about 1358 in a mood of religious fervor and exaltation is, more especially in its details, mere fantastic futility.

I have glided imperceptibly from chronology into criticism. And here, happily, I have no fantasies to record. Miss Agnes Getty's article, "Chaucer's Changing Conception of the Humble Lover" (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 202 ff.), would trace an evolution in the poet's treatment of the conventional mediaeval figure. Beginning with a matter-of-fact conformity to the courtly love conventions, Chaucer came gradually to revolt against them and to treat love humorously and realistically. I have no fault to find with Miss Getty's main thesis, but *revolt* seems too strong a word. Chaucer certainly developed in range of subject-matter and in freedom in handling it; but I have no feeling that he ever revolted. Mr. Coolidge Otis Chapman's paper on Chaucer's knowledge of preaching and preachers (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 178.) in effect merely sums up his earlier studies; but Professor Graydon's startling "Defense of Criseyde" (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 140 ff.) is certainly something of a shocker. He would have us believe that Cressida did not wantonly and wickedly betray Troilus, as we have always supposed, but that Troilus himself, in his insensate jealousy, having divulged their *amour* to Cassandra, had made it a matter of common gossip and thrown her into the arms of Diomedes. The argument almost persuades one—till one turns to the text. Mr. Graydon has been effectively answered by Mr. Joseph M. Beatty (*SP.*, XXVI, 470 f.) and by Mr. Milton French (*PMLA.*, XLIV, 1246 f.). Mr. French's reply is especially convincing. He reminds us of the total effect of the poem, points out how wrong-headed Professor Graydon's article frequently is, and quotes the passages that completely demolish it (v, 1051-1057, 1072-1078, 1828-1834). But the real answer to Mr. Graydon is the passage with which the article closes: "The danger of such criticism as Mr. Graydon's is that it passes insensibly from condemnation of a character in a book to condemnation, usually unintentional, of the author himself. If Troilus and not Criseyde be the criminal, then Chaucer didn't know what he was about."

Mr. Hulbert in his interesting study, "What was Chaucers Aim in the *Knight's Tale*?" (*SP.*, XXVI, 374 f.), has no revolu-

tionary designs. He asks how to account for the changes that the English poet has made in the *Teseide*. They are not obviously improvements; and they are certainly not accidental. Mr. Hulbert's suggestion is that they may be accounted for by supposing that Chaucer set out to convert Boccaccio's romantic tragedy into a *demande d'amour*: "Which of two young men of equal worth and with almost equal claims shall (or should) win the lady?" Professor Kemp Malone has thrown light on the Griselda story ("Patient Griseldus," *RR.*, xx, 340 ff.) by bringing together, with brief comment, a curious group of analogues from folk-lore, "fairy tales in which the lord, not the lady undergoes trials that strain patience to the utmost. The type may be named the 'male Griselda,' or, more simply, 'Griseldus.'" It belongs patently to the same family as the Griselda stories, and takes "us back to Arabia and to the legends that cluster around the Queen of Sheba."

There remain a number of brief notes and comments and one curious Chaucer allusion. Mr. B. J. Timmer shows (*ES.*, xi, 20 f.) that Skeat was wrong in supposing (i, 527) that the name "Faire Rewthelesse" in Chaucer's *Compleynt to his Lady* is a translation of the French phrase *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, which occurs as the title of a translation once attributed to Chaucer, for the original is by Alain Chartier (1385-1430). The idea is a commonplace in French and Provençal love poetry, and Mr. Timmer has been unable to identify a precise source. Mr. G. Bonnard (*RES.*, v, 323 f.) offers, I think, a happy solution of the tortuous lines in the *Troilus* (v, 1637-8):

For with ful yvel wil list him to leve
That loveth wel, in swich cas, thogh him greve.

He takes *leve* = believe, and translates, "He that loves well, even though he suffer from his love, can hardly, in such case, bring himself to believe in a change." Equally successful is Mr. George L. Frost's criticism (*MLN.*, xlv, 496 f.) of Manly's suggestion (*C. T.*, p. 518) that *parvis* in the description of the Man of Law means, not the porch of St. Paul's, as is usually held, but either the Court of Exchequer or the moots of students in the Inns of Court. Mr. Frost renders it highly probable that it refers to the north aisle of St. Paul's. A small but valuable addition to our

knowledge of mediaeval music is Mrs. Dieckmann's explanation (*MP.*, xxvi, 279 f.) of *burdoun*, a term which Chaucer uses twice. Her evidence leaves no doubt that the word means not "burden of a song," or "bass accompaniment," but a monotonous and repetitious ground melody sung as accompaniment to the tune." Two notes on the *Canterbury Tales* exhaust the list. Mr. Sigurd Hustvedt (*MLN.*, xlv, 182) has found a new, and really informing, parallel to the cryptic phrase in the *Knight's Tale*, "under the sonne he loketh," in a ballad in Kinloch's *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, "John of Cocklesmuir"; and Mr. G. M. Rutter (*MLN.*, xliii, 536), finally, suggests that the "Holy Jew" of the *Pardoner's Prologue* (C351) may be a faint reflection of Gideon and his wonder working fleece (*Judges* vi). I strongly suspect that this particular "Holy Jew" is not to be found among the patriarchs of the Old Testament.

The Chaucer allusion has been brought to light by Mr. L. B. Wright, "A Character from Chaucer in XVII Century Satire" (*MLN.*, xlv, 364 ff.), and it was worth discovery. In 1645 one James Story wrote a bombastic poem in heroic couplets, stiff with classical allusions, celebrating the part played by the Puritan women in the defense of Lyme (Devon) against the royalists. "A MS. copy of this poem fell into the hands of a royalist printer; and when the printed version came forth it was equipped with thirty pages of epistles and verses in burlesque commendation of the author. The text was supplemented with explanatory notes which twisted the pious author's meaning into ridiculous or obscene nonsense. A pompous prologue and epilogue were written. And most interesting of all, a character of the author drawn out of Chaucer by I. Chaucer, junior, was included." The "Character," fifty-two lines, is an amusing conglomeration of phrases from the General Prologue held together by scraps of Middle English of the Stuart period.

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CHAUCER AND THE *LEGENDA AUREA*

There is more evidence than is commonly noted for Chaucer's familiarity with the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. In the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 1688-91) he says of Lucretia:

Nat only that thise payens her comende,
But he that cleped is in our Legende
The grete Austin hath greet compassioun
Of this Lucresse, that starf at Rome toun.

Chaucer doubtless depended on memory for the sentiment mentioned and the *obiter dictum* about the saint, but his memory of the second was more accurate.¹ "Our Legende," the "our" having the intimacy and homeliness of the Domestic Our,² can hardly be anything but this widely-used collection. "Grete" assuredly sums up Jacobus' opinion of St. Augustine among the four Latin Doctors. He begins his inevitable etymological prologue, "Augustinus hoc nomen sortitus est vel propter excellentiam dignitatis . . ."; and proceeds, "Propter excellentiam, quoniam, sicut Augustus praecebat omnes reges, sic et iste excellit omnes doctores, . . . Unde alii doctores comparantur stellis, . . . Hic autem comparatur soli, . . ." with more to the same effect. The *Life* proper begins, "Augustinus doctor egregius . . ." This preëminence of Augustine is well borne out by Jacobus' account of the other three; he has no such praise for St. Gregory, Jerome or Ambrose. What is equally to the point, there is no such tribute to Augustine's greatness, or superiority to other doctors, in the *Sarum*, *York* or *Roman breviary*, or in the account of him by the tenth century Simeon Metaphrastes, as Latinized by Lippomani,³

¹ Unfortunately in *De civ. Dei*, I, 19, the purpose is polemic, to defend against pagan critics Christian women who had suffered like Lucretia but less impatiently. Using her as a foil, Augustine shows no compassion for her, but blames her suicide. He never mentions her elsewhere, except briefly in II, 17.

² *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 425 ff.

³ Reissued by Surius, and reprinted in *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum* (Turin, 1875-80), VIII, 676 ff. The above etymologizing praises are merely borrowed from Jacobus in certain late Middle English accounts of Augustine: Horstmann, *Sammlung altengl. Legenden* (1878), p. 61; *Capgrave's Lives* (EETS., 1910), p. 2. Augustine was not a popularly conspicuous saint, and in many legendaries does not appear at all.

a congener of whose collection Chaucer used for the life of St. Cecilia in the *Second Nun's Tale*.

In this also we should probably recognize direct use of the *Legenda Aurea*, in which the legend of Cecilia so closely resembles Chaucer's. The evidence that he knew its account of Augustine strengthens the presumption that he used it here, and that his undoubted parallels to the Simeon version and others are due to his supplementary use of a version similar to them. That is, the presumption seems against use of a single hypothetical legend combining features of the two, as has been thought by Kölbing,⁴ Holthausen,⁵ apparently Dr. G. H. Gerould,⁶ and others. In the first place, it is hard to doubt that he used either the *Legenda Aurea* version or a derivative of it. While his poem contains many details peculiar now to one and now to the other of the above versions, it contains at least two important passages which there is reason to believe appeared first in the *Legenda Aurea*. One contains the fantastic explanations of Cecilia's name (ll. 85-119), which are found nowhere else, are paralleled by similar explanations elsewhere in the *Legenda*, and cannot reasonably be deemed a later edition to Chaucer's poem. The Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS even have at this point the side-note, *Interpretacio nominis Cecilie quam ponit frater Iacobus Ianuensis in legenda (aurea, MS Hn)*; most if not all of such side-notes probably are Chaucer's own, though in a particular case we cannot be certain. The other is Chaucer's citation (ll. 270-83) of St. Ambrose and the Proper Preface of the mass for St. Cecilia's day in the Ambrosian missal, a passage which also is in the *Legenda Aurea* and in no other version.⁷ The chances are that this Milanese passage was first introduced into this Roman legend by Jacobus. The liturgy named after St. Ambrose, though its influence has been detected elsewhere, was used chiefly in churches subject to the see of Milan (where

⁴ *Engl. Stud.*, I, 227-8; II, 281. It is not certain whether in the view of these writers the "lost version" followed the *Legenda Aurea*, or its sources.

⁵ *Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr. u. Litt.*, LXXXVII, 269, a confused but unduly neglected article. There is room for a fresh study of the sources of the *Second Nun*, especially when the Bollandists reach 22 Nov., St. Cecilia's day.

⁶ *The Saint's Legend*, p. 241.

⁷ On early parallels to the legend see an article in *PMLA.* for March, 1930 (XLV).

it is still used). Jacobus, though a Genoese, for many years was provincial of the Dominican order in Lombardy and otherwise employed by it there; his *Legenda* indeed in one or two parts shows such familiarity with Lombard history that it was sometimes called *Historia Lombardica*. The indications are then that matter contributed by Jacobus appears in Chaucer's poem, and there is but one supposition on which anyone can hold to Chaucer's use of a single version combining features from Jacobus' and from some version like those adduced by Holthausen and Kölbing. This is that someone within a century before Chaucer made the combination, constantly and minutely altering Jacobus' vastly admired work, and that this version has quite disappeared. None such is known now. The only end served by such a supposition is to shift from Chaucer to someone else the devoted and skilful labor of combining the two legends. But in his other works over and over again this is precisely the sort of thing Chaucer did. It is hard to understand the logic of fancying a lost version in order to attribute less wide reading and less ingenious writing to a man of Chaucer's curiosity, energy and taste. *Quasi—Impossibile est ut non veniant Mischredaktionen, vae autem illi per quem veniunt.* Here goes into Limbo, one is forced to think, another conjectural "lost version." Perhaps it will find there the enlarged *Roman de Brut* and *de Troye*, and the supposed common source of the *Franklin's Tale* and Boccaccio's May-garden-in-January story.

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CHAUCEER AND ELIZABETHAN ASTROLOGY

(a)

Two Chaucer allusions of the Elizabethan period which have been overlooked by Miss Spurgeon, and which do not appear in subsequent lists, are as follows:

1601. Chamber, John. *A Treatise against Iudicial Astrologie*. . . . Written by Iohn Chamber, one of the Prebendaries of her Maiesties free Chappell of Windsor, and Fellow of Eaton College. Printed at London by Iohn Harison . . . 1601, p. 43.

(Speaking of false prophecies for 1588.)

The *Spaniards* belike thought, that this consummation of 88 would be by

water, and therefore very politikely they began to prepare for it betime, longer a great deale then euer Noah did for the flood. And sure they might haue done well, if they had bin prouided of a pilot, such as was *Hen. Nicholas* in *Chaucer*. But it fell out reasonable well with them, for they sped almost as well in their *Calloones*, as if they had bin in his tubs.

1603. Heydon, Christopher. *A Defence of Iudiciall Astrologie, In Answer to A Treatise lately published by M. Iohn Chamber*. Wherein all those places of Scripture, Councells, Fathers, Schoolemen, later Divines, Philosophers, Histories, Lawes, Constitutions, and reasons drawne out of Sixtus Empericus, Picus, Pererius, Sixtus ab Heminga, and others, against this Arte, are particularly examined: and the lawfulness thereof, by equiualent proofes warranted. . . . Printed by Iohn Legat, Printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. 1603, p. 206.

(Heydon replies to Chamber, chapter by chapter.)

His ieast of *Hen. Nicholas* in *Chaucer*, whome he would haue a *pilot* for the *Spanyard*, dreaming of a consummation by waters is absurd: and his tubbe were better borrowed of *Hen. Nicholas* to hide his owne head in, sith he may blush to behold the light; that not forbearing to taxe other men so boldly for lying, doth ly all meanes in this manner seeke to obscure the truth.

(b)

It speaks rather well for Chaucer's literary status at this time that the *Miller's Tale* should have been brought into this heated argument concerning the validity of astrological prediction, even though the passage in Heydon gives no indication that he had read Chaucer; and it seems rather likely that he had not, since he takes no advantage of the opportunity offered him to combat Chamber with passages in Chaucer where the legitimate use of astrology is attested.

The matter of the clerk's name is rather interesting in that the only recorded variant of "hende Nicholas" is "fayre Nicholas." "Hen." does not appear in any of the manuscripts, nor in the 1598 or 1602 editions of Speght.¹ It seems, therefore, that these men at least were not familiar with the language of Chaucer.

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¹ Miss Florence Teager very kindly examined for me the large (and practically complete) list of photostat copies on hand at the University of Chicago for their textual project.

BEOWULF 2596-99

Professor W. W. Lawrence (*Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, 1928, pp. 227-28) asks and leaves unanswered the question why the poet should have made Beowulf's thegns desert him at the onset of the fire-drake (*Beowulf* 2596-99). He points out that "this attribution of abject cowardice and faithlessness to the *comitatus* of the hero, in an age which emphasized courage and fidelity above all things, is most striking;" but he concludes that the incident is proper because it "throws the strongest light upon the heroism of the single faithful retainer."¹

Cannot the answer be found in the folk-tale named "The Bear's Son"?² In that tale, which underlies the plot of Beowulf's combats with Grendel and Grendel's dam, the hero's cowardly (or treacherous) companions desert him after his descent to the cave of the waterfall-troll. In *Beowulf* the obvious place for such an incident would be in the account of Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother (1492-1631); yet for a reason which I suggest below, the poet modifies the tradition to the extent of making the Danes the cravens, while the hero's band remain steadfast (1591-1605).³ In the dragon-episode, on the other hand, Beowulf's followers definitely leave him, and even run off to a wood to hide. While granting that the cowardice of the *comitatus* helps to set off Wiglaf's courage (which is evident enough without the contrast), I do not feel that the desertion is a necessary or desirable part of the episode; the events would go forward equally well without it, and the reader's attention would not be distracted from the central theme. It would appear that the poet decided to take advantage of his final opportunity to introduce the familiar (and probably expected) desertion of a hero by his retainers, an opportunity that he had slighted in the earlier episode of the fight with Grendel's mother.⁴

¹ *Loc. cit.*; cf. pp. 176-77.

² See the typical outline of this widespread tale in Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74; the fullest discussion of the tale is that in F. Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*, I: *Beowulf* (Munich, 1910).

³ The departure of the Danes from the mere shows the poet's desire to conform with tradition, even where he does not wish to follow it explicitly. Cf. Lawrence, p. 176.

⁴ This hypothesis rests upon the assumption that the poet was artist

Such displacement of narrative materials suggests that the poet had a definite object in view—the preservation, so far as traditional story would permit, of the good name of Beowulf and his companions. The worst service he could have rendered to Geatish honor would have been to show the Geats humiliated in the sight of the warlike Danes. Consequently, in the fight with Grendel's dam, where the folk-tale called for the flight of Beowulf's followers, the poet, realizing how destructive of Geatish self-esteem such an event would be, made the Danes the deserters instead. Later, however, with the desertion-theme still virtually unused, he arrived at a point in his narrative where a desertion-story was possible; and this time he used it, for with the scene in Geatland, the desertion would be observed only by the cowards' own countrymen, and the deserters would be upbraided only by Wiglaf, a man of their own people. To be sure, their crime intrinsically was no less heinous than it would have been on the former occasion, but this time it was at most a domestic scandal, not a humbling of Geatish pride before foreigners.

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EUPHUES AND OVID'S HEROICAL EPISTLES

Lyly's indebtedness in *Euphues* to Ovid¹ must be extended to include the first half of Lucilla's long reply to Euphues' proposal of marriage in which "she fed him indifferently with hope and despair, reason and affection, life and death." The substance of this part of her answer, to the extent of more than two pages,² is borrowed from Helen's Epistle to Paris, in Ovid's *Heroical Epistles*, of which roughly one-third is paraphrased in Lucilla's words, as shown by the fact that Lucilla not only repeats Ovid's thoughts but repeats them *in the same order*.

enough to use incidents from one story to embellish another. There is in folk-lore no connection between the tale of "The Bear's Son" and stories of dragon-slaying.

¹ A. Feuillerat, in his *John Lyly*, pp. 316-7, collects Lyly's indebtednesses to Ovid.

² *Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond, 1902, vol. I, p. 220, line 5, to p. 222, line 6.

Lyly's close dependence upon Ovid in Lucilla's answer has been obscured by the many changes in his selective paraphrase, resulting from his omission or alteration of considerable portions of Helen's Epistle and from his addition of not a little ornamental euphuistic material in his working over Helen's thoughts to fit them into the Lucilla-Euphues episode. For Lucilla's speech, however, Lyly has preserved the principal features of Ovid's minute portrayal of the reasoning of the female mind in Helen's Epistle; Lucilla's treatment of her lover is essentially the same as the treatment accorded Paris by Helen. As Helen "offred him hope, but fed him with dispayre," so Lucilla "fed him [Euphues] indifferently with hope and despair." The fickle Lucilla is true daughter to Helen, as is many another, similarly minded Elizabethan heroine.

The passages in Epistle XVII with which we are concerned are printed below, in George Turberville's translation (1567), on the right side of a double-columned page. They are numbered consecutively from [1] to [22], and are placed approximately opposite the paraphrased *Euphues* passages, correspondingly numbered. In the notes at the bottom of the page are given the Latin lines for each of the derived sections in the Lucilla passage quoted, with the exception of the lines for section [8], a long quotation which may be easily located by the line-reference given.

EUPHUES

[1] Gentleman as you may suspecte
me of Idelnesse in giuing eare to your
talke, so may you conuince me of
lyghtenesse in answering such toyes,
certes as you haue made mine eares
glowe at the rehearsall of your loue,

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS*

[1] Now since thy letters have
thus rashly wrongd my sight:
I thought it needefull with my penne
thy Pistle to requite.
And didst thou dare a guest,
(the bounds of hostage broke?)

* *The Heroicall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ovidius Naso. Translated [1567] into English Verse by George Turberville*, ed. by Frederick Boas, Cresset Press, London, 1928. The twenty-two sections quoted in this article from Turberville's translation of Ovid's Epistle XVII (in Turberville the number of this Epistle is XVI) are found on the following pages of this edition: [1] on p. 211; [2] on p. 212; [3], [4] on p. 213; [5], [6], [7] on p. 215; [8] on p. 216; [9], [10], [11], [12] on p. 217; [13], [14], [15], [16] on p. 220; [17], [18], [19] on pp. 220-221; [20] on p. 222; [21] on p. 222; and [22] on pp. 223-224.

EUPHUES

so haue you galled my hart with the remembrance of your folly. *Though you came to Naples as a stranger, yet were you welcome to my fathers house as a friend.* And can you then so much transgresse ye bounds of honour (I will not say of honestie) as to sollicite a sute more sharpe to me then deathe?

[2] I haue hetherto God bethancked, liued wythout suspition of lewdnesse, and shall I nowe incurre the daunger of sensuall lybertie? What hope can you haue to obtayne my loue, seeing yet I could neuer affoord you a good looke? Doe you therefore thinke me easely entised to the bent of your bow, bicause I was easely entreated to lysten to your late discourse? Or seeing mee (as finely you glose) to excell all other in beautie, did you deeme that I would exceed all other

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

And honest Matrone well espousde,
to pleasure to provoke?
For this by whisking windes
ytost on waving Seas,
Did Taenaris thee with port relieve
thy painefull plight to ease?
Nor (*though inguestred thou
camst from a Country farre*)
*My Pallace did gainst thee as then
his churlish gates debarre?*
That such a wrong should be
reward for good desart?
Thou that didst enter so hast playd
no guesstes but enmies part.⁴

[2] Yet honest is my fame,
I live devoyd of spot:
No lustfull Lecher for his life
is able me to blot.
Which makes me muse the more
what should embold thee so,
To take this straunge attempt in hand,
a married wife to wowe?
Cause Theseus wrongd me once,
well worthy am I deemde
To be a Ruffians rape againe,
and so to be esteemde?⁵

[1] Nunc oculos tua cum violarit epistula nostros,
non rescribendi gloria visa levis.
ausus es hospitii temeratis, advena, sacris
legitimam nuptae sollicitare fidem!
scilicet idcirco ventosa per aequora vectum
excepit portu Taenaris ora suo,
nec tibi, diversa quamvis e gente venires,
oppositas habuit regia nostra fores,
esset ut officii merces iniuria tanti!
qui sic intrabas, hospes an hostis eras?

Ep. xvii, 1-10.

[2] fama tamen clara est, et adhuc sine crimine vixi,
et laudem de me nullus adulter habet.
quo magis admiror, quae sit fiducia coepti,
spemque tori dederit quae tibi causa mei.
an, quia vim nobis Neptunius attulit heros,
rapta semel videor his quoque digna rapi?

Ep. xvii, 17-22.

EUPHUES

in beastlynnesse? [3] But yet I am not angry *Euphues* but in an agony, for who is shee that will frette or fume with one that loueth hir, if this loue to delude mee bee not dissembled.

[4] It is that which causeth me most to feare, not that my beautie is vknown to my selfe but that commonly we poore wenches are deluded through lyght beliefe, and ye men are naturally enclined craftely to leade your lyfe. When the Foxe preacheth the Geese perishe. The Crocodile shrowdeth greatest treason vnder most pittifull teares: in a kissing mouth there lyeth a gallyng minde.

[5] You haue made so large proffer of your seruice, and so fayre promises of fidelytie, that were I not ouer charie of mine honestie, you would inueigle me to shake handes with chastitie. [6] But certes I will eyther

leade a Virgins lyfe in earth (though

I leade Apes in hell) or els follow

thee rather than thy giftes: [7] yet am I neither so precise to refuse thy proffer, neither so peeuish to disdain thy good will: So excellent alwayes are ye giftes which are made acceptable by the vertue of the giner.

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

[3] Yet I am nothing wroth,
(for who can angry bee
With that she loves?) if this my love
be faithfull unto me.

[4] For thereof doubt I sore,
not for distrust at all,
Or that my face and featurd forme
into suspect I call:
But for such light beleefe
and credite workes our woe:
And suters tales are freight with fraud,
and fixed faith forgoe.⁶

[5] So great rewardes your lines
and letters me behight,
As well they might accoy, and cause
to yeeld a heauenly wight.

[6] But so I minded were
to breake the bounds of shame:
Thy selfe shouldst sooner make me yeeld
then all thy gifts of fame.
Or I for aye wyll live
and leade unspotted life,
Or thee more rather would ensue
then all thine offers rife:
[7] As I not scorne the same,
in price so are they thought
The greatest gifts to whom the geuer
hath their beauty brought.⁷

-
- [3] nec tamen irascor—quis enim succenset amanti?—
si modo, quem praefers, non simulatur amor.
[4] hoc quoque enim dubito—non quod fiducia desit,
aut mea, sit facies non bene nota mihi;
sed quia credulitas damno solet esse puellis,
verbaque dicuntur vestra carere fide.

Ep. xvii, 35-40.

- [5] Munera tanta quidem promittit epistula dives
ut possint ipsas illa movere deas;
[6] sed si iam vellem fines transire pudoris,
tu melior culpa causa futurus eras.

EUPHUES

[8] I did at the firste entraunce discern thy loue but yet dissemble it. Thy wanton glaunces, thy scalding sighes, thy louing signes, caused me to blush for shame, and to looke wanne for feare, least they should be perceiued of any.

[9] These subtilt shiftes, these paynted practises (if I were to be wonne) woulde soone weane mee from the teate of *Vesta*, to the toyes of *Venus*.

[10] Besides this thy comly grace, thy rare quallities, thy exquisite perfection, were able to moue a minde halfe mortified to transgresse the bondes of maydenly modestie. But God shielde *Lucilla*, that thou shouldest be so carelesse of thine honour as to commit the state thereof to a stranger.

[11] Learne thou by me *Euphues* to dispise things that be amiable, to forgoe delightfull practises, beleene mee it is pietie to abstayne from pleasure.

[12] Thou arte not the first that hath solicited this sute, but the first that goeth about to seduce mee, neyther discernest thou more then

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

[8] And eke at tables set
(though with dissembling brow,
I seeke to hide thine amorous tricks)
I note them well ynowe.
Sometime thou (wanton wight)
dost cast a glauncing blink

.
Againe you sigh as fast,
another time.

.
With fingers (Lord) how oft,
and with a talking brow,
Hast thou me given secrete signes,
I wote well where, and how.
And oft I stoode in feare
my husband sawe the same:
And often dreading to be spide
I blusht with bashful shame.*

[9] These fancies might have forst,
my ruthfull brest to bend,
And turnd my hart, if to aguilt
I would at all intende.

[10] Thy feature I confesse
is rare, and such to see,
As might allure a womans hart
to linck her selfe with thee.
I wishe that hap to fall
upon some single Dame:
Ere I with forraine love should seeke
my bridely bed to shame.

[11] Well liked thinges to lacke
by my example leare:
It is a vertue to abstaine
from what thou hast so deare.

[12] How many youthes have wisht
for that which thou doost crave?
What? Paris dost thou deeme that thou
alone good judgment have?

aut ego perpetuo famam sine labe tenebo,
aut ego te potius quam tua dona sequar;
[7] utque ea non sperno, sic acceptissima semper
munera sunt, auctor quae pretiosa facit.

Ep. xvii, 65-72.

* [8] Ep. xviii, 75-84.

EUPHUES

other, but darest more then any,
neyther hast thou more arte to dis-
couer thy meaninge, but more hearte

to open thy minde: [13] But thou
preferrest mee before thy landes, thy
lyuings, thy lyfe: thou offerest thy
selfe a Sacrifice for my securitie,
thou proferest mee the whole and
onelye souereigntie of thy seruice:
[14] Truly I were very cruell and
hardehearted if I should not loue thee:
[15] harde hearted albeit I am not,
but truly loue thee I cannot, whome
I doubt to be my louer.

[16] Moreouer I haue not bene vsed
to the court of *Cupide*, wherein ther be
more slights then there be Hares in
Athens, then Bees in *Hybla*, then stars

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

Thou seest no more then they,
but madder is thy mind:
Thy courage is no bett then theirs,
lesse shame in thee I find.⁹

[13] . . . thou didst preferre
my blased beauties good
For Pallas gift, and Junos raigne
that there in judgment stooode.

Then I thy vertue am,
then I to thee a raigne:

[14] I were too stonie if I would
not love the like againe.

[15] Good faith I am no steele,
but him to love I shonne

Who (scarce I think) may be my spouse
when all my worke is donne.¹⁰

[16] I skillesse am in scapes,
(the Gods record I call)
I never by deceitfull sleight
beguilde my Feere at all.¹¹

- ⁹ [9] his ego blanditiis, si peccatura fuisset,
flecterer; his poterant pectora nostra capi.
[10] est quoque, confiteor, facies tibi rara, potestque
velle sub amplexus ire puella tuos;
altera vel potius felix sine crimine fiat,
quam cadat externo noster amore pudor.
[11] disce meo exemplo formosis posse carere;
est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis.
[12] quam multos credis iuvenes optare quod optas,
qui sapiant? oculos an Paris unus habes?
non tu plus cernis, sed plus temerarius audes;
nec tibi plus cordis, sed minus oris, adest.

Ep. xvii, 91-102.

- ¹⁰ Prima mea est igitur Veneri placuisse voluptas;
[13] proxima, me visam praemia summa tibi,
nec te Palladios nec te Iunonis honores
auditis Helenae praeposuisse bonis.
ergo ego sum virtus, ego sum tibi nobile regnum!
[14] ferrea sim, si non hoc ego pectus—amem.
[15] ferrea, crede mihi, non sum; sed amare repugno
illum, quem fieri vix puto posse meum.

Ep. xvii, 131-138.

- ¹¹ [16] sum rudis ad Veneris furtum, nullaue fidelem—
di mihi sunt testes—lusimus arte virum.

Ep. xvii, 141-142.

EUPHUES

in Heauen. [17] Besides this, the
common people heere in Naples are
 not onely both verye suspicious of
 other mens matters and manners, but
 also very iealous ouer other mens
 children and maydens: [18] eyther
 therefore dissemble thy fancie, or
 desist from thy folly.

But why shouldest thou desist from
 the one, seeinge thou canst cunningly
 dissemble the other. [19] My father
 is nowe gone to *Venice*, and as I am
 vncertaine of his retourne, so am I
 not priue to the cause of his trauayle:

[20] But yet is he so from hence that
 he seethe me in his absence. Knowest
 thou not *Euphues* that kinges haue
 long armes & rulers large reches?
 [21] neither let this comfort thee,
 that at his departure he deputed
 thee in *Philautus* place. Although my
 face cause him to mistrust my loyal-
 tie, yet my fayth enforceth him to
 giue mee this lybertie, though he

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

[17] This dread dooth much annoy
 and sore I am agast,
 Suspecting all the peoples eyes
 on us are fixed fast.
 Nor this I feare in vaine,
 the buzzing brute I know:
 And *Æthra* what report had gone,
 to me but late did shoue.
 [18] Unlesse thou mind to cease,
 dissemble thou therefore:
 But why shouldst thou now stinte thysute?
 thou canst dissemble sore.
 In secrete, use thy toyes,
 and spare thou not to play:
 [19] Now scope we have, though not the most,
 my husband is away.
 He now is farre from home,
 affayres compeld him so:
 A just and good occasion he
 had out of towne to goe.¹²
 [20] So is my spouse alacke,
 as in his absence well
 He dooth me garde: that Princes haue
 long reach canst thou not tel?¹³
 [21] That I am left with thee
 now he is farre away
 Muse not: he trusts my manners well
 and thinkes in me some stay.
 My face did make him dread,
 he trustes my life full well:

¹² [17] Ipse malo metus est; iam nunc confundor, et omnes
 in nostris oculos vultibus esse reor.
 nec reor hoc falso; sensi mala murmura vulgi,
 et quasdam voces rettulit *Aethra* mihi.
 [18] at tu dissimula, nisi si desistere mavis!
 sed cur desistas? dissimulare potes.
 [19] lude, sed occulte! maior, non maxima, nobis
 est data libertas, quod *Menelaus* abest.
 ille quidem procul est, ita re cogente, profectus;
 magna fuit subitae iustaque causa viae—
 aut mihi sic visum est.

Ep. xvii, 147-157.

¹³ [20] sic meus hinc vir abest ut me custodiat absens—
 an nescis longas regibus esse manus?

Ep. xvii, 165-166.

EUPHUES

be suspicious of my fayre hew, yet
 is he secure of my firme honestie.
 [22] But alas *Euphues*, what truth
 can there be found in a tranayler?
 what stay in a stranger? whose words
 & bodyes both watch but for a winde,
 whose feete are euer fleeting, whose
 faythplighted on the shoare, is tounred
 to periurie when they hoiste saile.

HELEN'S EPISTLE TO PARIS

The suretie which my manners breede,
 my beauty doth expell.¹⁴
 As straungers starters are,
 uncertaine be their loves:
 And when thou thinkst them furst of all
 their wavering faith remooves.¹⁵

The juxtaposition of Turberville's rhymed verse translation and of Lyly's euphuistic prose paraphrases of the same thoughts of Ovid strikingly reveals the degree to which Lyly's prose in its mass of ornament outweighs Turberville's verse. Within the dozen years that separate the two works, prose had decorated itself with more than a legitimate amount of poetic trappings until it fairly glittered in its array of euphuistic figures of speech. In all this Lyly is further from Ovid than Turberville. In his surer instinct for the avoidance of the archaic in diction, however, and in his admirable firmness of sentence structure, Lyly offsets in part his over-ornamentation of his prose.

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A NOTE ON *MISOGONUS*

In his monumental and invaluable compilation, *The Elizabethan Stage* (iv, 31), Sir Edmund Chambers informs his readers that the manuscript play *Misogonus* ("In collection of the Duke of Devonshire") bears on the title-page and elsewhere certain names which, he says, "are all in later hands, some of them not of the sixteenth century." Sir Edmund's statement being, however, incorrect, and

¹⁴ [21] nec quod abest hic me tecum mirare relictam;
 moribus et vitae credidit ille meae.
 de facie metuit, vitae confidit, et illum
 securum probitas, forma timere facit.

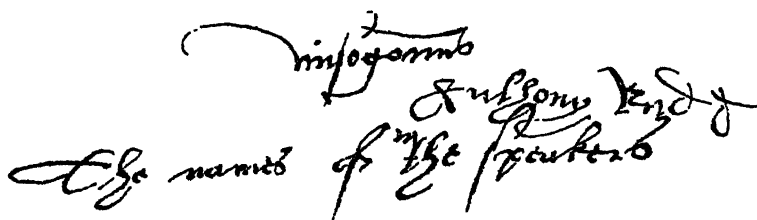
Ep. xvii, 171-174.

¹⁵ [22] certus in hospitibus non est amor; errat, ut ipsi,
 cumque nihil speres firmitus esse, fuit.

Ep. xvii, 191-192.

the play being one of the most important in the annals of our literature, it is worth while recording the results of a recent examination of the manuscript, now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (HM 452).

The most important point to note about the manuscript title-page, dated "1577," is that the name (written immediately below the title) which has been generally read as "Anthony Rice" is not "Anthony Rice" but "Anthony Rudd." (See annexed facsimile.)



The facsimile shows the title 'misogonus' in a large, ornate script. Below it, the name 'Anthony Rudd' is written in a similar script. Underneath that, the phrase 'The names of the speakers' is written in a smaller, more cursive script.

An equally important point to note here is that the hand which wrote this name is beyond the possibility of a doubt the same hand which wrote the title and the "names of the speakers," to wit: Lawrence Johnson's. These facts are of importance because we know nothing about an "Anthony Rice" who might have had anything to do with the writing of this play; whereas, on the other hand, we have a considerable body of knowledge regarding Bishop "Anthony Rudd," who might very well have been associated with Thomas Richards and Lawrence Johnson in the composition and production of this violently anti-Catholic comedy. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, in its interesting but all too brief account of him, says, *inter alia*: "Anthony Rudd (1549?-1615), bishop of St. David's born in Yorkshire in 1549 or 1550, was admitted *socius minor* at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 6 Sept. 1569, and *socius major* on 7 April 1570, having graduated B. A. 1566-7 and M. A. 1570. He became B. D. 1577 [the year in which Laurence Johnson took his M. A. at Cambridge!], and incorporated in that degree at Oxford on 9 July of the same year. He proceeded D. D. at Cambridge in 1583." We know that his sermons "were very acceptable to Queen Elizabeth" and that he subsequently lost the fickle Queen's favor as a result of a contemptible trick by Whitgift. That Rudd had literary aspirations seems to be indicated by the fact that four of his sermons, preached at court before Elizabeth, were subsequently published.

Regarding the note "Thomas Warde 1577, / Barfold" (at the bottom of the prologue-page, fol. 1b), not "Thomas Warde Barfold 1577," it is to be noted that—with the exception of the letters *Th*—the handwriting is a very modern Roman script, and that the "5" in "1577" is written over a "7." In connection with this memorandum it must be noted that someone—in all probability, John P. Collier—had tampered with the word "Kettheringe" [*sic*] on the title-page, "Ward" being written over the letters "ring." There is therefore no contemporary evidence to connect Thomas Warde of Jesus College with this play.

It should also be noted that the scribbled notation "W Wyllm" (in the right margin of fol. 11b) is in the old English handwriting of Thomas Richards (who was probably only a scribe), and that the notation "John / York / Jesu" (in the left margin of fol. 17a) is in the old English hand of Lawrence Johnson.

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A CUP FOR MY LADY PENELOPE

Under date of the year 1581 in Lord Roger North's Household Book¹ is the following entry:

Oct. 29. A cup to geve my Ladie Penelope to hir Marriage £11. 16 s.

That this "Ladie Penelope" was Penelope Devereux seems to be implied by the fact that Lord North and Lord Rich, Penelope Devereux's husband, were related by marriage. About 1555 North married Winifred, the sister of Robert, second Baron Rich, who was the father of Robert, third Baron Rich, the husband of Penelope Devereux.

The value of the gift also helps to prove that "my Ladie Penelope" was a close connection of Lord North, particularly when we note that the value of the gift which North presented to Queen Elizabeth each New Year was only £10.²

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¹ *Progress of Queen Elizabeth*, II, 248.

² *DNB.*, XIV, 617.

ANAPESTIC FEET IN *PARADISE LOST*

The printer's manuscript¹ of the first book of *Paradise Lost* is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. Its presence has made possible the settlement of the question of Milton's attitude toward the use of anapestic feet in his formal epic—a question on which such eminent scholars as Masson and Saintsbury on one hand, and Robert Bridges and Charles Dobbin Brown on the other are divided.

We find many anapestic feet in *Paradise Lost* as it is printed to-day; but if we open an early edition of the epic, we find many of the anapests elided into iambs. The following are examples:

6, Sing Heav'nly Muse.

15, Above th'Aonian Mount.

84, But O how fall'n, how changed

224, In bil-/lows leave / i'th' midst / a hor-/rid vale.

It scarcely need be said that present-day readers, both casual and scholarly, prefer the more easy, natural anapests. Masson and Saintsbury are especially earnest in their preference, and Saintsbury² even defies the evidence of the first edition. He says in effect that Milton was too fine an artist to write in the stilted measure that elision of anapestic feet would bring about, and he attempts to offset the evidence of the marked elisions in the first edition by saying that printers in the seventeenth century habitually and unwarrantably elided as their own notions prompted. Obviously, the evidence of Milton's own manuscript for the printer will settle the question.

In Book One of the printed first edition I have counted eighty-three examples of elision definitely expressed by omission of letters and use of apostrophes. Seventy-eight of these are found to be exactly the same in the manuscript. The extra five may have been elided by the printer through force of habit during a careless half-hour, especially since they appear almost in a group.

This establishes proof that Milton carefully elided some seventy-eight anapestic feet into iambs. There are, however, approximately an equal number of anapests in the first edition and in the manu-

¹ For identification see *Modern Philology*, 25 (1927-28), 313 ff.

² *History of English Prosody*, London, 1908, vol. II, Book vi, chapter 1.

script without elision expressed. These, we believe, were intended by Milton to be elided by the reader. Such unmarked elision constitutes one of the rules of Latin metrics, and Milton had written much Latin verse. Spenser and other Elizabethans left much of their evident elision unmarked. Moreover, there is internal evidence in Milton's manuscript that is stronger than mere supposition. A few of the best examples follow, showing to what extremes in distortion of accent Milton at times resorted in order to avoid the anapest. Line 682 of Book One apparently has an anapestic second foot:

The rich-/ es of Heav-/ en's pave-/ ment trod-/ den gold.

In the manuscript, however, the pleasing anapest is elided, and the reading is:

The rich-/ es of/ Heav'n's pave-/ ment trod-/ den gold.

Again in I, 282 an anapestic fourth foot is avoided by contracting "fallen."

No won-/ der fall'n/ such a/ per-ni/ cious height.

There is still greater strain in I, 202, which, as it now stands, would be read with a trisyllabic third foot:

Cre-at/ ed hug-/ est that swim/ the o-/ cean stream.

Milton took the trouble to avoid this anapest by eliding as shown:

Cre-at/ ed hug-/ est that/ swim th' o-/ cean stream.

There are two remarkable examples of what would be four-foot lines if anapestic feet were allowed at all. But of all licenses, the violation of the five-foot line in the formal epic was disallowed. Dramatic blank verse was more free. The following anapestic reading must be distorted into iambic:

On the firm/ brim-stone/ and fill/ all the plain (I, 350).

In the sweat/ of thy face/ shalt thou/ eat bread (x, 205).

Each of the lines immediately above shows crying need of anapestic feet. But, since Milton would not tolerate even these, and since he carefully expressed the elision in seventy-eight of the lines, we may assume that he intended none, and that all unmarked elisions are to be contracted when read.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE RACINE IN A NEW RÔLE

Among the records of the old seventeenth-century Latin plays performed by students in French schools, exists a play of 1689, *Marie Stuart, reine d'Ecosse*, "Tragédie qui sera représentée en vers latin et françois au college d'Harcourt pour la distribution des prix, le mercredi troisieme d'Aoust à midy."¹ There follow separate casts for the Latin and the French production, which, under the name of each historical character, give that of the boy who played the rôle. In the cast for the French play, under the character of Le Comte de Murray, villain of the plot, we find: "Jean-Baptiste Racine (de Paris)."

A note of explanation concerning the tragedy states that the subject, taken from Camden² and Florimond de Remont³ "est si connu de tout le monde qu'il seroit inutile d'en faire une longue explication." The agitated life of the Queen of Scots in France, Scotland, and England is briefly recounted; the play will give the story of her last hours.

Unfortunately, nothing of the Latin production remains and only a résumé of the French tragedy, but from the latter one gathers that the plot substantially followed Regnault's drama of the same name, which appeared fifty years previously. In the jealousy of the Tudor queen over the love of Norfolk and Mary, in the important rôle in English politics assigned to Mary's bastard brother, the ambitious Murray, in the death of Murray at the beginning of Act IV, and in Elizabeth's repentance after Mary's execution, one finds close resemblances to Regnault's tragedy. The adapter made only the changes necessary for a performance in a boys' school, introducing as many male characters as possible and reducing the feminine rôles to two, those of Mary and Elizabeth.

Born November 11, 1678, Jean-Baptiste Racine, only about ten and a half years old at the time of his participation in this performance, must have made a diverting villain. By one of life's

¹ A Paris, chez Jean de Laune, rue de la Harpe, proche le college d'Harcourt, à l'Image S. Jean Baptiste, 1689.

² *The Historie of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth.* A French translation appeared in 1627.

³ *L'Histoire de la Naissance, Progrez et Decadence de l'heresie de ce siècle*, Paris, 1605.

ironical twists, a man whom history describes as mild and retiring, who was beloved of his father's friends, Boileau and Fénelon, and who, after a brief career as diplomatic attaché, withdrew from all mundane pursuits, is found impersonating a desperate character, moved by vaulting ambition to bring about the ruin of his unfortunate sister.

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APPLES OF HESPERIDES IN THE *ESTRELLA DE SEVILLA*

In the edition of the *Estrella de Sevilla* published by the late Foulché-Delbosc attention was called to a curious mistake made by the author in locating the Apples of Hesperides in Colcos.

Rey: Pues,
por que espumosos remolcos
por mançanas passo a Colcos?¹

Commenting upon this error, Foulché-Delbosc advanced abundant reasons for doubting that Lope de Vega could have been guilty of such ignorance.

The same mistake was committed by Andrés de Claramonte in his *De Alcalá á Madrid*.

Isabel: Nunca, marqués, de dulces tan amargos
los postres me sirbais.
Marqués: Si á Colcos fuera
por las manzanas vanagloria de Argos
dulce imposible por ser bivos fuera. . . .²

This would indicate that Claramonte had a hand in the composition of scenes in the play other than those suggested by Menéndez y Pelayo³ (all those in which *Clarindo* figures).⁴

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¹ *La Estrella de Sevilla*. Edition critique publiée par R. Foulché-Delbosc. Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, tome XLVIII. New York, Paris, 1920, lines 933-935.

² MS. (Bibl. Nac., Madrid, 15048), fol. 14, verso.

³ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Acad., IX, xxxv-xxxvi.

⁴ An extensive study of Claramonte's participation in the play will be published shortly by the author of this article.

SOME ITALIAN SOURCES FOR MEY'S *FABULARIO*

Sabastián Mey's *Fabulario* was published at Valencia in 1613.¹ It contains fifty-seven *cuentos*, each followed by a moralizing couplet such as follows in the *exemplos* in *El Conde Lucanor*. In the Prologue Mey says, in speaking of the *Fabulario*: "... tiene muchas fábulas y cuentos nuevos, que no están en los otros (libros) y los que hay viejos, están aquí por diferente estilo."² That thirteen of the stories of the *Fabulario* have Italian sources has been already established.³ In addition to the relations now known, the following *cuentos* have their sources in Italian *novellistica*.

XXXII.

Los labradores codiciosos.

Luis Manchego arrives at an inn, wet to the bone, his teeth chattering. He asks the innkeeper to build him a fire. While he is trying to get warm some farmers come in and so crowd the fireplace that Luis gets little good from it. He remarks that he has lost ten *escudos* on the highway, about a league and a half away, and regrets that he has to wait until daylight to search for them. The greedy farmers leave, one by one; Luis enjoys the fire and avarice is punished.

This is a *facezia* attributed to Arlotto Mainardi and bears the title: *Il piovano da una mala notte a parecchi contadini*.⁴

XLIX.

El caballero leal a su señor.

The daughter of the Count de Armifiac falls in love with the Spaniard, Rodrigo Lopez, a favorite of her father's. She writes Rodrigo a letter offering him her love. The servant to whom the

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, "Orígenes de la Novela," II, xciv, *NBAE.*, Madrid, 1907.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, "Orígenes de la Novela," IV, *NBAE.*, Madrid, 1915.

³ Cf. Milton Buchanan's "Sabastián Mey's *Fabulario*," *MLN.*, June, 1906.

⁴ *Scelta di Facetie, Motti, Burle, et Buffonerie de Diversi*. Venetia, 1681, 20. This collection includes stories attributed to Mainardi, Gonella and Barlacchia. The first dated edition of the celebrated *piovano* seems to be that of 1515(?) Cf. Bartolomeo Camba, *Delle novelle italiane in prosa*, Bibliografia di B. G. Bassanese, edizione seconda con correzioni ed aggiunte, Firenze, Tipografia all'Insegna di Dante, 1835, 48.

message is entrusted, fearing the consequences, takes it to the Count. The Count has the servant deliver the letter and bring him Rodrigo's reply. Rodrigo answers that he cannot even think of touching the honor of his benefactor and friend. The Count recognizes the Spaniard's loyalty by arranging the marriage.

Mey's story is taken directly from the 50th *novella* of Masuccio.⁵

Uno cavaliere Castigliano dal conte d'Armignaca favorito serve al re di Francia: diventa gran maestro, la figliola del Conte se ne innamora de lui, e la sua persona gli offre: el cavaliere per propria virtu refuta l'invito; el conte el sente e per gratitudine gli la da per moglie; el Re il fa gran Signore devenire.

LIII.

La prueba de buen querer.

A man feigns death to test his wife's loyalty. Coming upon the "corpse" she decides to eat first and to mourn later. When her hunger is finally appeased she begins her lament. The husband then "comes to life" and bids her have a drink of wine to balance her meal.

This is No. 115 of Poggio's *Facezie*.⁶ It is also one of the *facezie* in *Scelta di Facezie, Motti, Burle et Buffonerie*.

LV.

El medico y su mujer.

A doctor of Tolouse marries a niece of the governor of the city and two months later is presented with a child. Dismissing her from his home, he explains to the uncle that he is not rich enough to take care of a child every two months.

This is the 49th novella of the *Novellino* (*Le Novelle Antiche*), wherein a doctor of Tolouse marries an Archbishop's niece. Mey,

⁵ *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano*, a cura di L. Settembrini, Naples 1874.

⁶ Poggio Fiorentino, Traduzione, introduzione e note di F. Cazzamini-Mussi, *Classici del Ridere*, Roma, Modena, 1927. The earliest editions of the *Liber Facietiarum* are three in number without date or place. First dated edition is that of 1470.

Regarding this *cuento* of the *Fabulario*, Hurtado y Palencia, *Historia de la Literatura Española* (1925), 547, names a "poesia" of Poggio as source. Although it occurs also in the *Scelta di Facetie, Motti, Burle et Buffonerie* (cf. above), in the section devoted to anonymous stories (186) it cannot be dated.

evidently wishing to avoid even the mention of a churchman, substitutes a governor for the Archbishop.⁷

LVI.

El combidado acudido.

A guest reproves his host for having given him very small fish by pretending to have a conversation with them and thus calling attention to their diminutive size. This is a *facezia* attributed to Barlacchia.⁸

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MIRA DE AMESCUA IN ITALY

In the *información de limpieza* which preceded Mira de Amescua's elevation to the dignity of Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Guadix (1631), the last witness declared as follows:

Es muy notorio en esta ciudad que cuando el dicho doctor don Antonio de Mira y Amescua pasó en el reyno de Nápoles con el Conde de Lemos, que fué Virrey de dicho reyno, estuvo a pique de ser obispo en Italia, y que tubo mucho tiempo el gobierno de un obispado de Italia, no se acuerda en qué ciudad, y que dió muy buena cuenta dél, y esto responde a esta pregunta.¹

These statements, the truth of which was questioned by Don Fructuoso Sanz, who published the documents, are confirmed by

⁷ Cf. *Le Novelle Antiche*, ed. Guido Biagi, in *Raccolta di opere inedite o rare di ogni secolo della letteratura italiana*, Firenze, 1880.

Hurtado y Palencia, *op. cit.*, 547, attributes this story to the collection of Sansovino. Although it is most likely that it came to Mey's attention through Sansovino's anthology, the primary source in Italian must be the anonymous *Novelle Antiche*.

⁸ *Scelta di Facetie, Motti, Burle et Buffonerie*, 140. Barlacchia was a contemporary of Arlotto Mainardi.

In addition to the preceding sources for the *Fabulario* the following analogues may be listed:

XVIII and LI, *Facezia*, No 59, *Facezia*, Poggio Bracciolini (Fiorentino).

XLVIII, *Novella*, 59 (Gualteruzzi MS), *Le Cento Novelle Antiche*.

¹ Fructuoso Sanz, "El Doctor don Antonio Mira de Amescua. Nuevos datos para su biografía," in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, vol. I (1914), pp. 551-572.

evidence found in the registers of the *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè* in the Archivio di Stato at Naples.² Unfortunately our information is still incomplete: we do not know when Mira de Amescua assumed the stewardship of the Bishopric of Tropea, nor when he ceased to serve in that capacity.³ I can state with considerable confidence, however, that there is no further mention of him by name in the papers of the *Segreteria dei vicerè*.⁴ It

² Sr. Sanz expresses his doubts as follows: "Posesionado de su capellanía (in the Royal Chapel at Granada) el año 1610 . . . , y posesionado el mismo año en que el Conde de Lemos fué nombrado por Virrey de Nápoles, asalta la duda de si efectivamente acompañaría al Virrey en su expedición, como aseguran muchos y graves testimonios; y entiendo que bien pudo ser capellán y estar inscrito, como lo está, en los libros de puntuación coral de la Real Capilla, sin que pueda comprobarse la residencia material del Capellán . . . ; porque si obtuvo dispensa de residencia . . . bien puede constar su nombre como residenciado en Granada y estarlo realmente en el reino de Nápoles. Faltan, o no se han hallado, las actas capitulares de la Real Capilla correspondientes a los años 1608 a 1621, las cuales resolverían la duda y nos convencerían de lo que era notorio en Guadix y se tiene por cierto entre los historiadores de nuestra literatura, a saber: que el Conde de Lemos . . . se llevó . . . a Nápoles . . . a nuestro Mira de Amescua, el cual desempeñó al mismo tiempo oficios muy propios de su dignidad sacerdotal y de su virtud y letras." *Loc. cit.*, p. 563. Among the "graves testimonios" may be mentioned Cervantes, *Viage del Parnaso* (ed. Schevill and Bonilla, Madrid, 1922, p. 44), and Don Diego Duque de Estrada, *Comentarios del desengañado de sí mismo* (ed. Gayangos in *Memorial Histórico Español*), vol. xii. Madrid, 1860, p. 124.

³ It is probable that he returned to Spain with Lemos, as is stated by La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 256. The second document here given speaks of the *brevedad del tiempo*, and is dated June 11, 1616. On June 24 Lemos had already left for Spain. Archivio di Stato in Napoli, *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè, Tesoreria Generale*, vol. 4293, fol. 136.

⁴ It is impossible to tell whether or not the following document refers to Mira, since it precedes in date the first of the documents in which his name appears:

"Capellá(n) Mayor: El Conde mi señor dize que Vuestra Señoría informe sobre lo contenido en essa carta del ecónomo de Tropea, tocante a que si no se le da orden que venda el trigo de aquella mensa obispal, no podrá pagar las pensiones a Ottaviano Viestri ni a Don Francisco Patino, pues la cobrança de la renta en dinero no cae asta novienbre. Palacio a primero de Junio 1614." Arch. Sta. Nap., *Segreteria particolare dei vicerè, Diversorum*, vol. 1432, fol. 9.

Other documents might be found in the capitulary archives at Tropea and among the papers of the Regia Camera della Sommaria and of the

is therefore improbable that he served the Count of Lemos as secretary.⁵ The documents follow:

I.

Capellán Mayor. Su Excelencia dize que Vuestra Señoría informe de lo contenido en este memorial del Doctor Mira en que pide se le haga bueno el salario de Ecónomo de Tropea hasta que el Obispo tome la posesión de aquel Obispado, sin embargo de la orden que se dió por Collateral⁶ para que no exercitase el economato. De Palacio 26 de Hebrero 1615.

Arch. Sta. Nap., *Segreteria particolare dei vicere, Diversorum*, vol. 1432, fol. 56.

II.

Su Excelencia dize que del dinero que meterá en esta Thesoreria Marco Tomaruelo pague Vuestra Señoría al Doctor Mira de Mesqua sesenta y tres ducados que ha de haver del salario de ecónomo de Tropea conforme a una certificatoria de la Regia Cámara de la Sumaria despachada a siete deste mes, lo qual manda Su Excelencia que se execute no embargante que no se haya sacado libranza en virtud de la certificatoria, que respecto de la brevedad del tiempo se dispensa agora en esto, que después se sacarán los recados en forma y se darán a Vuestra Señoría para su cautela. Palacio a 11 de Junio 1616.

Arch. Sta. Nap., *Segreteria particolare dei vicere, Tesoreria Generale*, vol. 4293, fol. 125.

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Cappellano Maggiore in the Archivio di Stato at Naples. Cf. *Degli Archivi Napoletani, Relazione a S. E. Il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione* per Francesco Trinchera, Napoli, Fibreno, 1872.

⁵ It is also doubtful that he belonged to the Accademia degli Oziosi, founded in 1611 under the auspices of the Viceroy. Don Diego Duque de Estrada (*op. cit.*, p. 124) says casually: "Había juntado el Conde-Virey una lucida Academia, habiendo traído consigo al singular, si desgraciado, ingenio de Francisco Ortigosa, al insigne rector de Villahermosa Leonardo Lupercio de Argensola (*sic*) . . . y al Doctor Mira de Mescua . . . ; al famoso Gabriel de Barriónuevo, a Lupercio Gabriel de Argensola (*sic*) . . etc." But Mira de Amescua's name does not appear in the list of members compiled by Camillo Minieri Riccio (*Opuscolo storico delle Accademie fiorite nella città di Napoli*, Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico del Cav. F. Giannini, 1879), nor, to my knowledge, in any of the books or manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples dealing with the history of the Oziosi. The Academy admitted corresponding members not residing in Naples. Carlo Padiglione, *Le Leggi dell'Accademia degli Oziosi in Napoli, ritrovate nella Biblioteca Brancacciana* . . . , Napoli, 1878.

⁶ The Consejo Colateral.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spenser in Ireland. By PAULINE HENLEY. Dublin and Cork: Cork University Press; New York: Longmans, 1928. Pp. 231.

Spenser's 'Complaints.' Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. 273.

Spenser's 'Daphnida' and Other Poems. Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. 243.

I.

Miss Henley has performed a much needed service in bringing together the rather scanty facts we have about Spenser's residence in Ireland and weaving them into a connected story. It is a disappointment that she has been able to add so little, for since the greater part of the poet's active life was spent in Ireland and his chief poetical work was produced there, the task of relating his work to his environment is one on which we should expect most illuminating treatment from an Irish scholar. To a certain extent we do get help. Miss Henley's maps are most interesting, her story is well-told, and she surpasses previous writers in conveying to us some sense of the conditions amid which Spenser lived and worked. Her book merits commendation, therefore, despite its failure to add new facts, and the doubtfulness of some of her interpretations.

Miss Henley's facts derive chiefly from the summary of investigation given in Dr. F. I. Carpenter's *Reference Guide*, but she has apparently made no use of the various short articles in which Dr. Carpenter and others have discussed these matters. Therefore we must still refer to the separate articles for interpretations and queries. She is apparently unaware, also, of the important recent contributions of F. F. Covington, notably his careful study of Spenser's use of Irish history contributed to *English Studies* of the University of Texas in 1924; her own chapter on the subject is quite unsatisfactory. She leans too heavily, throughout her book, on the essay by W. B. Yeats, who is an excellent poet and man of letters but assuredly not a Spenser scholar. And though she strives bravely to be fair, she is obsessed with the conception of Spenser as the "gentle" poet, and with Mr. Yeats's horror that so gentle a spirit should have been so "subservient" to British tyranny.

With the difficulty, which is a real one, of Spenser's relation to British policy in the treatment of Ireland in the sixteenth

century, I do not propose to meddle. The prejudice is by no means confined to Irish nationalists. Jusserand, for example, remarks: "The poet sang; the functionary spoke." But when Jusserand wrote, he represented the state of knowledge of an earlier generation. We know much more about Spenser now. We know, for example, that he was not merely a dreamer, a poets' poet, but a first-rate interpreter of Tudor policy and of Elizabethan life; we know, too, that his life in Ireland was by no means hateful exile. While Miss Henley herself recognizes this last point, fitfully, without making full use of her knowledge, she makes Spenser the creature of Grey. But the "policy" was not Grey's alone. It was Raleigh's, for example, as Edwards makes clear enough in his account of Raleigh's views, precisely like Spenser's. And it was Sir Henry Sidney's view in an earlier time and the view of Essex in a later time. The keynote to all the criticism, by these and other men who knew Ireland, was not that they believed in extermination but that they saw the immeasurable cruelty and folly of constant change: neglect and toleration followed by abuse and that in turn by frightfulness. Miss Henley's contrast between British sympathy for the Low Countries and cruelty toward Ireland is beside the point, for Spain, as the representative of Rome, was the adversary in both cases.

There is plenty of evidence of this, disproving Miss Henley's naive conception of Spain and Rome as mere bogeys. For example, Elizabeth's policy in 1580, urged by Burghley, was favorable to Spain. In 1581 she quarrelled with Mendoza about the Spanish expedition to Ireland, but in the same year soundly berated Walsingham about some trouble in Scotland, in the words: "You Puritan, you will never be content until you drive me into war on all sides, and bring the King of Spain on to me." Thus early the stage was set, preluding the Armada. The Queen vacillated, fearing expense. Her instructions to Grey are characteristic; he was to be kind, to end the trouble at once, and to cut off expense. Even those who advised conciliatory tactics, like Thomas Lee in 1594, advised "royal war."

These are a few of many illustrations of the truth that Spenser, far from being merely subservient to Grey, really expressed the views held by all those who knew the situation at first hand. Of Spenser's real interest in the country, in its antiquities, Miss Henley gives some evidence. She might have given more, and she might have interpreted the matter more soundly. Thus, the tract was not published until 1633, and then by an antiquary, and chiefly because of its antiquarian interest. It is this aspect of the tract, not the military or political aspect, that is after all of most value to us today. Such a treatment would have prevented Miss Henley's assent to the preposterous assertion of Mr. Yeats that Spenser wrote "out of thoughts and emotions that had been

organized for him by the State, for he had begun to love and hate as it bid him."

Such misconception colors the entire narrative. Thus Miss Henley remarks (p. 76): "After a year and a half's dalliance, or more, at the Court of Gloriana, the Poet, having failed to secure any appointment, was forced to return to exile in Ireland." The sentence is quite misleading. That Spenser's visit to London cannot be described as "dalliance" is amply proved by what he says of the Court in *Colin Cloute*, by his activities there, and by the great creative impulse that swept over him. Moreover, it is by no means certain that he spent the entire period in England. Miss Henley does not seem to be aware of F. P. Wilson's evidence (*RES.*, II, 456-457, October, 1926) that Spenser was in Ireland in May of 1590; to which should be added the fact that both his troubles with Roche and the necessity for securing colonists for Kilcolman render it highly improbable that he remained so long away from home. Moreover, there is little evidence to support the old view, adopted by Jusserand and others, that he sought some "appointment" in London or on the continent in 1589-90. By this time he was thoroughly settled in Ireland and was improving his estate there. It is true that he represents Raleigh as finding fault with him for remaining so long in "that waste, where I was quite forgot." But this, after all, records a quite understandable mood. Spenser, spurred by Raleigh, went to London to print the first three books of his great poem, not for a cabinet position or a foreign embassy. By this same token, the idea that he "was forced to return to exile in Ireland" is too strong a term. "Exile" is the proper word to use in describing his feelings in the early 80's; it does not apply to this later period. Even for the earlier period, Miss Henley's interpretations are not confirmed by recent investigation. For example, she continually stresses the poet's fancied "subserviency" because of the rewards he received. But the earlier "rewards" were of doubtful value. She does not mention, for example, the fact pointed out by Covington (*MP.*, XXII, 63 ff.), that Spenser held Newland but for a short time, so that at least one of the "rewards" is reduced to "tantalizing nothingness."

Thus, although Miss Henley collects most of the facts unearthed by recent investigation, she misses some of the most important, she is not aware of the problems these facts present, and her interpretation is based upon outworn ideas which these facts largely controvert. It is the traditional note of exile, of subserviency, of the Jekyll-Hyde contrast between the "gentle" poet and the government functionary that she presents.

Moreover, it is in precisely the field in which we should expect to find competent guidance from an Irish scholar that Miss Henley's book is least satisfactory. The Celtic elements in

Spenser's poetry, the possible influence of Irish lore upon him, his acquaintance with "the antiquities of (Irish) fairy land," are subjects that need further investigation. But Miss Henley does not even make full use of the antiquarian element in the *View*, let alone the more delicate appraisals necessary to the study of the Celtic strain in his poetry. She follows wrong leads in her interpretation of Brutomart and Florimel; she misses the Celtic strain in the story of Guyon although she points out some resemblances between the close of the second book and the *inramas*; her etymologies are dubious, and despite some pleasant sections about the influence of Irish scenery on the *Faerie Queene* she drifts back into her echoes of Mr. Yeats, who finds it a pity that Spenser did not come to Ireland, a land like that of Theocritus and Virgil, filled with shepherds and shepherdesses, merely as a "gentle" poet. She sees in his appointment as sheriff of Cork another "reward" for subserviency, and, while rejecting the story that he died "for want of bread," expresses the opinion that there would have been poetic justice in such a retribution.

II.

Readers of Professor Renwick's fine book on Spenser, published five years ago, turn to the first two volumes of his edition of the poet's works with high anticipation, and these hopes are fully justified. These first volumes deal with the minor poems, many of which have not previously been adequately annotated. Mr. Renwick's commentary, like his book of general criticism, is fully aware of even recent Spenser investigation, and he uses this material, in the main, fairly, independently, and in such a way as to weave it into a stimulating interpretation of the poems. Furthermore, he has supplied new notes of great value, has carried over into the pedestrian business of annotation something of the distinction of style that marks his critical essays, and has supplied, in this volume as in his earlier book, a sensible and inspiring interpretation of the relation between a poet's use of sources and his art. The three books, therefore, supply a theory and practice of annotation that may well be studied for values quite apart from the light they throw on Spenser. The irritation with scholiasts displayed by W. G. Rutherford in his *Chapter in the History of Annotation*, and shared by all of us, does not apply to commentaries such as these. Spenser will not pester Mr. Renwick with malicious suggestion of the folly of going "to the lackey for what the master will tell you at first hand."

Where so many topics invite discussion, somewhat arbitrary selection must be made. I shall not consider here the question of text, further than to express satisfaction that in the second volume Mr. Renwick has been more conservative than in the first. There

are a few inaccuracies in the commentary, notably the reference to the 1591 *Calender* as the third edition, not the fourth. The format of the volumes lacks distinction: the covers warp badly and are unattractive in color, and the binding will not withstand the usage to which the books will be put. Mr. Renwick makes no attempt to apply tests of style to the problem of dating the poems; he is content with such evidence from other sources as he can get. While it is true that it is much more difficult to apply tests of rime, meter, and diction, or the test of evolution of style and thought, to Spenser than to most writers who have left a comparable body of verse, yet some things are possible, especially if such tests are used as cautiously as Mr. Renwick would use them if he cared to go into the matter.

Despite his avoidance of style tests, Mr. Renwick summarizes the evidence regarding the publication of *Complaints* and the date of composition of the chief poems in the volume in a way that is in the main satisfactory. He deals powerful blows against the idea that Spenser was "obsessed with Burghley," holding that the obsession is a freak of scholarship, not the poet's. His thesis that Spenser probably collaborated with Ponsonby seems substantiated. Such a supposition is natural enough, for Spenser was in England, flushed with victory. Furthermore, the poems thus collected with difficulty, as Ponsonby says, have a singular unity; if a publisher were merely in search of early work by a popular author we should not expect such unity. Finally, the arrangement, as Mr. Renwick shows, is artful, proving the author's hand.

The whole difficulty, it seems to me, has arisen over the interpretation of Ponsonby's words, "imbeziled and purloined . . . since his departure over sea." The words indicate some stronger feeling than mere loss or misplacement. I do not know what lies back of this feeling. But the time reference is, I think, quite clear. Mr. de Séincourt misinterprets the passage as referring to Ponsonby's effort to get Spenser MSS after the poet had returned from his visit to London 1589-90 (*Minor Poems*, xvii), says that Spenser had no time to correct proofs, and maintains that "departure" does not refer to 1580. But surely the expression does refer to 1580. The true explanation is that the success of the *Faerie Queene* led Ponsonby and the poet to project another volume. For this, Spenser wanted not merely MSS of such work as he had written prior to the summer of 1580 and of which he had no copies, but also poems showing "like manner of argument." His difficulties were such that he used the words "imbeziled and purloined." A group, however, was collected; some changes in old MSS were made, for example, in *MHT*; some new work was added, for example *BT*; all the poems contained "like matter of argument." The book was entered Dec. 29, 1590, when Spenser was pretty certainly in London, since *Daphnida* was dated Lon-

don, January 1, 1591. During the period of collection, or before it was undertaken, Spenser seems to have made a short trip back to Kilcolman (F. P. Wilson, *RES*, Oct., 1926), but he was in London again by the end of the year.

This, except the references to de Sélincourt and Wilson, is in Renwick. There remains the question of "like manner of argument," and the Burghley "obsession." I agree with Mr. Renwick that Spenser was too big a man, and his position after the publication of the 1590 *Faerie Queene* was too assured, to admit that he deliberately gathered a volume of poems old and new to gratify a petty spite. I would add my emphatic disbelief, already indicated in what I have said of Miss Henley's book, in the idea that he returned to Ireland as to exile, angered by his failure to get an appointment in London. There is nothing in this position that prevents acceptance of Mr. Renwick's admirable sentences to the effect that Spenser would no doubt have welcomed a chance to live in England. England was home, was *alma mater*, and his feeling must have been that of many an alumnus of a university, teaching in a provincial college, who re-visits the great institution which even in "exile" is the center of his intellectual inspiration and the basis of his romantic dreams. But this is very different from M. Jusserand's extraordinary comment on *Colin Clout* as the angry cry of a bitterly disappointed man. Spenser's disappointment was deeper. His "complaints," here and elsewhere, are not personal so much as they are a part of the general disillusion that was creeping over England in the years following the Armada and which we find, in one phase, in Donne, and, in another, in Shakespeare's early seventeenth century plays; a disillusion revealed, too, in a thousand other ways in the literature and life of the time.

Mr. Renwick, then, adopting some such interpretation, shows us the young academic complaint of *TM*, which he rightly dates ca. 1580, and the young intellectual satire of the early form of *MHT*, revamped, as I believe, for a crisis in 1579-80, and again revised for *Complaints* a decade later. These things Spenser retains for his new volume. He also writes, for example, *RT*, instinct with the sense that the old group had gone, the old issues and their protagonists, a new and unfamiliar England presenting itself to the poet. He might have added that those first years in Ireland had driven all thought of his early poems from Spenser's mind, that he worked fitfully on the *Faerie Queene*, presenting in the first three books his conception of the England he had known before his exile; that momentarily, as in meetings such as Bryskett describes, he returned from business to poetry and philosophy; that the dynamic force of Raleigh's personality, reviving old ideals of the man of action who was also a man of letters, operated to send him back to *alma mater* where he published, was welcomed, became

"the new poet," collected long forgotten MSS "imbeziled and purloined" by men to whom these youthful dreams had been submitted but who had not written him or urged publication, but on the contrary had thrown them away, or lost them.

Seen thus, *Complaints* becomes a document of first rate importance in the history of Spenser's mind. The book is not merely an attempt to trade in momentary popularity. It reflects the old academic dissatisfaction with the world first met by the young idealist. It reflects the impact of an altered England upon a man long out of touch. It leads straight to the interpretation of *Faerie Queene* IV-VI on which, filled with new creative fire, he began to work as soon as he returned to Ireland.

With all this in mind, let us approach the Burghley matter. Mr. Renwick does not notice the defiance to Burghley in the poem to the fourth *Faerie Queene*, or its bearing on the whole question, or, specifically, on the *Hymnes*. Spenser was not "obsessed" with Burghley. Rather he wrote, to apply Gilbert Murray's account of the genesis of the *Trojan Women*, "under the influence" of the new time. He is not thinking, either in the separate poems of *Complaints* or in the "like matter of argument" that ties them together, of Burghley alone. He is thinking of the sort of thing that he treats with devastating satire in *Colin Clout*. Burghley is one aspect of this philistinism. On the other hand is gallantry, the "love me, love my dear." There is the refusal or inability of the Burghley type of mind, in all ages, to understand love's mystery.

Let me turn, now, to Mr. Renwick's handling of the four hymns. He reacts justly, here as elsewhere in his commentary, against excessive and pedantic source study. But it seems to me that he falls into the error of postulating Spenser's complete repudiation of the first two of the hymns, which leads to a quite unjustifiable view. He seems to take quite literally the dedicatory letter. He may be right, but I do not see why we should not apply here what he has so well taught us in the interpretation of the Ponsonby letter; dedicatory letters are not to be taken too literally. Literal interpretation, here, brings us face to face with the necessity of explaining why a poet sincerely regretful of his earlier love poems and determined to correct his error by more godly poetry, should nevertheless publish for the first time the pagan and the godly in the same volume. Surely it was not to illustrate the extent of his reformation. And let us keep in mind, always, his rebuke to Burghley's puritanism in the poem of the fourth *Faerie Queene*.

The fact of the matter is that the opening lines of the third hymn are inserted, in harmony with the dedicatory letter, and in harmony with similar expressions elsewhere (in the *Calender*, for an early example). Moreover, Mr. Renwick does not grapple with some quite obvious problems presented by the dedication. It must

be noted that this dedication is expressly stated to be of *the last two hymns only*: "in stead of those two Hymnes . . . two others . . . the which I doe dedicate." That is, from this letter we should expect the publication of only the last two hymns, not of the four. Why he changed this evident purpose I do not know. The blame cannot be placed on the publisher, for, as de Sélincourt has pointed out, the text of the four poems is excellent, a fact to be accounted for by the personal supervision given by the poet. Nor can we accept Legouis' explanation that he published the last two as an antidote: "Il conservait le poison mais mettait l'antidote à côté." Legouis and Renwick are at one in feeling that Spenser's conversion, if there was a conversion, must have been sudden, the former because *Fuerie Queene* IV-VI shows no repentance for his love poetry, but gives new examples sufficiently pagan, and the latter because of "difficulty and confusion," no proper motivation for Sapience, an experience "isolated and in so far suspect" for which there is "no hint in Spenser's other poems."

But there is "hint" elsewhere in Spenser's work of his late period, in the last two stanzas of *Mutabilitie*, for example, which express longing for a vision of God, with an undertone that links the poem indissolubly with the matter of the last two hymns. For in *Mutabilitie* we have the cosmic view, parallel to the last hymn; the suggestion that earthly wisdom cannot solve the mystery of time and change; the true Sapience is with God, to be attained only as a mystic vision.

I have no space to elaborate this view here. I cannot agree with Mr. Renwick's view of the last two hymns as confused and uncertain, filled with merely literary sources, making fresh starts because of the inability of the poet to think the matter through. For if we forget the dedication and the opening lines of the third hymn the four poems form a closely knit sequence; closely knit, at least, as the speeches in the *Symposium*. Mr. Renwick, strangely enough, appears for once to have been led astray by too great dependence on source hunters, in this case Miss Winstanley. The fact is, that while there are vestiges of literary Platonism in the last two hymns, the underlying philosophy is quite other. The new element is Christian mystical theory, such, for example, as is familiar to English readers in the works of Richard Rolle. The third hymn is not, as Mr. Renwick holds, a Christian "parallel" without the "ladder" of Platonism. Its theme is the "illumination" that comes, as the Christian mystics held, from contemplation of the life and passion of Christ. In the last hymn there are rich suggestions of Dante. The method, as Spenser repeatedly insists, is "contemplation"; the structure is cosmic; the vision to be attained is that love which interprets the universe: "L'Amor che muove il sole e l'altre stelle."

Taken as a whole, therefore, there is unity. The first hymns are imperfect, earthly, like the speeches of Phaedrus, Pausanias, and Agathon; for the speech of Socrates he substitutes what is equally characteristic of his method, the method of the Christian mystics: contemplation of Christ's Passion; contrition; contemplation of the cosmic order; the Vision of God. All is set over against the intellectual, more materialistic cosmic vision of *Mutabilitie*, which leads to a conclusion not satisfying to the soul; the hymns are an answer to the cry of the soul that is found in the two stanzas of "the viii. canto, unperfite" with which the *Faerie Queene* dies away. Both are climaxes of Spenser's most mature thought, not sudden conversion, not "suspect," but in perfect keeping with all that we know of the man.

EDWIN GREENLAW

Les Sonnets élisabéthains: les Sources et l'Apport personnel. By JANET G. SCOTT. Vol. 60 of the Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée. Librairie Champion, Paris, 1929. Pp. 343.

This is an excellent book—well-informed, prudent, sympathetic, just, the best guide thus far devised among the pitfalls of this adventurous subject. The author has taken more trouble than any other writer to comprehend the whole matter—"Voulant vérifier des points douteux, j'ai parcouru presque toute la littérature pétrarquiste des trois pays, Italie, France, et Angleterre, et je n'ai pas négligé la poésie néo-latine." She has had an eye also to the Ancients, especially the Latin erotic poets, the pseudo-Anacreontics, and the Greek Anthology.

In design the book is a series of chapters, usually a chapter to a sonneteer—Sidney, Greville, Watson, Barnes, Lodge, Giles Fletcher, Daniel, Constable, Drayton, Spenser, Shakespeare, Drummond. There are also chapters on "Poètes Secondaires" and "Sonnets Dispersés." Appended is a bibliographical list of all important early editions of Italian, French, and English "Petrarchists," and a list, most useful, by authors, of imitative Elizabethan sonnets, with an indication in each instance of such sources as careful consideration can admit.

Miss Scott's inclusive view has enabled her to correct many partial observations of her predecessors—Lee, Koepfel, Wolff, Kastner, and others. Quite sensibly, for example, she touches the vexed question of a given poet's sincerity, which is not necessarily impugned, as some have thought, by his use of the many conventional devices of form, style, imagery, by adaptation or even translation from foreign originals. Especially in masters like Sidney and Spenser, where both biographical evidence and artistic

originality are for it, "il nous semble raisonnable de croire à la sincérité du poète."

Each chapter on a single poet resumes in order the biographical aspect of his sonnets, their sources, their part and place in the traditions of the sonnet, their style and poetic value. In the matters of sources and tradition the book is most informing. Miss Scott has observed many sources hitherto unnoticed.

Among favorite devices of the sonneteers is what may be called the inventoried description of the lady's features—lips, cheeks, hair, eyes, neck, etc., enumerated and praised with oriental excess. Miss Scott records instances in Watson, Sidney, and others. It is "un sujet favori de la Renaissance," by no means confined to the sonnets—e. g. Spenser's *Epithalamion*, st. 10 (see van Winkle's notes), Lodge's *Scilla's Metamorphosis*, and many others. The device, found among the Italians, obviously springs from the Song of Songs, chap. 4, which Miss Scott fails to note. In fact her wealth of material cannot but make a reader regret that she has generally ignored Biblical and Apocryphal origins of imagery in the sonnets. One infers also that, had she been a better Platonist or neo-Platonist, she would more easily have recognized and measured the real extent of this element in the sonnets. In fact she is too inclined, as I think, to minimize it: she mentions only the *Phaedrus*. She points out the recurrent idea of "procreation" in the sonnets, of the "cruel she" that will "lead her graces to the grave and leave the world no copy," but does not observe that it is an idea no doubt nourished and sustained by Socrates' speech in the *Symposium*.

In the difficult matter of Shakespeare Miss Scott is wisely conservative. She is reasonably sure of his acquaintance with the *Arcadia*, and with "des poésies des sonnettistes qui le précédaient"; from these he learned all the themes and devices, Petrarchist and anti-Petrarchist; but in special cases, as of Lily "il ne sert à rien de pousser trop loin le rapprochement . . . Nulle part cependant il n'y a la moindre trace de plagiat." Which is, perhaps, an obvious conclusion for any but such as lose their balance in too exclusive preoccupation with the "mystery" of Shakespearian sonnets.

Miss Scott's book may be commended as indispensable to the advanced student of Elizabethan poetry.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

Princeton University

Marlowe and his Circle. A Biographical Survey. By FREDERICK S. BOAS. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. 159.

When in 1925 Professor Hotson published the results of the most brilliant piece of record research in many a year, he started

numerous discussions and investigations. Dr. Boas attempts in *Marlowe and his Circle* to survey and interpret these new pieces of information in the light of the old. But he records that Miss Seaton's valuable article appeared in July, 1929, as his book went to press; and he has missed Professor Austin K. Gray's important article, and Dr. Tannenbaum's book, both published in 1928.

Dr. Boas marshals the evidence in sane and eminently judicial fashion to find that the main conclusions of Professor Hotson have not been shaken, but even much strengthened by the after-discovered evidence. He hesitatingly suggests, however, a different reason for the academic frown of Cambridge, which Professor Gray independently had already given some evidence for stating boldly. In the eighties, the phrase "gone beyond the seas to Reames and there to remain" had a definite and indisputable meaning, as anyone who will take the trouble to study the life-records of "Catholic Martyrs" will learn. Marlowe was unquestionably suspected by the Cambridge authorities of having entered, or of having intended to enter the English College at Rheims to become a seminary priest.

Dr. Boas is to be commended for espousing with Professor Hotson the unpopular verdict of the coroner's inquest. Indeed, if we cannot accept the verdict of a properly constituted judicial body, what can we accept? The now popular theory that Ingram Frizer killed Christopher Marlowe "for the good of the (secret) service" has no single definite fact, nor any known motive on which to rest. There was no secret service in the sense implied; only Poley is known to have had any length of connection with secret service affairs; Marlowe was probably on one mission in 1587; neither Ingram nor Skeres is known before or after ever to have been connected in any way with secret service. The only known bond between Marlowe and Ingram is that of a common master and patron; the only alleged bond between Marlowe and Poley is that they were would-be fellow coiners, and probably former fellow tenants of Newgate; Skeres had been something of a jackal for Poley as early as 1586. Known associations account for the group in 1593, and justify the alleged holiday nature of its gathering. As to allegations that Frizer's story rings false, it did not ring false to the sixteen men who examined it narrowly upon oath, and who must have been individually and collectively far better judges intuitively of its probability than any one now can possibly even by much study be. Nor is there a single known fact to indicate that these sixteen men were or could be corrupted.

Perhaps, after all, the difficulty is that we do not wish to accept a brawling Marlowe as our beloved poet; but after Dr. Boas's masterly summary, the conclusion is unavoidable that Marlowe was, at least, temperamentally an aggravater, with an immoderate desire to shock. Though this was an outstanding characteristic,

yet it cannot have been the whole. So far we have but one of Marlowe's circles, and that the one in which he conjured devils. There are signs unmistakable that he had also other circles more nearly celestial.

T. W. BALDWIN

University of Illinois

A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642.
By EDWIN NUNGEZER. Yale University Press (Cornell Studies in English, XIII), 1929. Pp. vi + 438. \$5.00.

Mr. Nungezer states that he has "attempted to assemble all the available information regarding actors, theatrical proprietors, stage attendants, and other persons known to have been associated with the representation of plays in England before the year 1642." He has not attempted to unearth new material, only "to collect and organize all the discovered facts."

For the period before 1616, of course, much of this work had been done by Sir Edmund Chambers and published in his valuable chapter on the actors in the second volume of *The Elizabethan Stage*. Mr. Nungezer has been able to add to this, notably by including the results of the research of Harold N. Hillebrand in connection with the child actors and by expanding the discussion of major figures like Tarleton, the Burbages, and Edward Alleyn. On the other hand, there are gaps in the information which Mr. Nungezer gives. Apparently he has not seen Sir Edmund Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage Gleanings*,¹ as he makes no mention of the new actors and new material presented there. Some of his accounts are incomplete. To indicate a few at random: The discussion of William Birde gives only a blanket reference to many of the facts. It makes no mention of Birde's letters to Henslowe in 1599² or to Edward Alleyn, c. 1617(?),³ or of his legacy in the will of Thomas Towne;⁴ there is no mention of the letters of Sir Thomas Parry concerning Browne, "an English Comedian";⁵ the account of Christopher Beeston omits his hiring of the Cockpit from John Best in 1616,⁶ as well as several events in his career after 1616. But perhaps this is ungrateful. Mr.

¹ *RSS*, I (1925), 75-78, 182-186.

² W. W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 347.

⁵ Frances A. Yates, *RSS*, I (1925), 402.

⁶ Leslie Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 1928, pp. 89, 90, 98.

Nungezer has made easily accessible much information that was not included or was only summarized in Chambers.

In the account of actors after 1616, the omissions are more serious. I find in my notes at least sixty actors and persons of theatrical interest whom Mr. Nungezer does not mention at all. Apparently he has not seen Dr. Boas's valuable article, "Crossfield's Diary and the Caroline Stage."⁷ Though Baldwin's *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* is mentioned in the bibliography, I find in the text no use at all of Professor Baldwin's elaborate analyses of the rôles of the King's men. Hotson's *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* is used most erratically. The important discovery of Christopher Beeston's will—printed in that book⁸—is not mentioned. Numerous occurrences in Beeston's career are omitted, apparently for the sake of compression, but in such a book as this, the conclusion that Beeston "managed . . . Queen Henrietta's men (1625-37)"⁹ is not so important as the facts which establish it. Though Hotson's discoveries about Andrew Cane's Commonwealth activities are mentioned,¹⁰ there is no reference to Cane's signature to the bond to Gunnell to continue playing at the Fortune in 1624.¹¹ Indeed, Mr. Nungezer says, "Of Cane between 1622 and 1631 nothing is known."¹² The mass of information from the provincial records in Murray's *English Dramatic Companies* has been only partially used. Several actors mentioned in these records are not included at all—for instance: Robert Taylor,¹³ John Costine,¹⁴ James Crauford,¹⁵ George Hall,¹⁶ Robert Marcham,¹⁷ Thomas Maskell¹⁸ and John Mountsett.¹⁹

There are a few slips in dates, for instance: the pageant in honor of the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales was 31 May 1610, not 1618, as given on page 70, under John Allingham and William Soyles (really the names are Allington and Styles, but this is Mrs. Stopes's mistake, which Nungezer has copied) and the other nine servants of the King's men granted a ticket of privilege 12 January 1636/37, he gives the date as 1636, instead of changing to the new style calendar as elsewhere.

⁷ *Fortnightly Review*, CXXIII (April, 1925), 514-24.

⁸ Pp. 398-400.

⁹ P. 87.

¹⁰ Pp. 84-5.

¹¹ Hotson, pp. 52-4.

¹² P. 82.

¹³ Murray, II, 253; apparently not the Robert Taylor of the Admiral's men.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 331.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 247-248.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 253, 359.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 374 and note.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 358, 331.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 359.

But with such a multiplicity of details, complete accuracy is almost impossible and the slips do not seem to be numerous.

On the whole, I have the impression that the discussion of the actors before 1616, though exhibiting annoying omissions, is a helpful addition to the information given in Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*. For a dictionary of actors after 1616, we should be grateful, but Mr. Nungezer does not seem to have been notably successful in his attempt "to gather all the available information."

GERALD EADES BENTLEY

University of Chicago

The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Selection and a Study. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. London: The Scholaris Press, 1929. Pp. 180.

With this carefully-chosen anthology, intelligently and sympathetically introduced, and adequately annotated, the poetry of Wyatt bids fair to receive its just recognition. *Tottell's Miscellany*, with its inclusion of much of Wyatt's earlier verse and its exclusion of his more individual and finished poetry, and Puttenham's well-intentioned but misleading dictum that Wyatt's chief service was to introduce foreign models into English verse, have succeeded in robbing Wyatt of his dues for nearly four centuries. He was, as Professor Tillyard so well shows, a man of robust intellect and of penetrating, if not associative, imagination, and his better poetry is intensely dramatic, highly individual, and passionate. Moreover his technique is at times quite beyond praise, and shows a masterly command of tone effects, of tempo, and of rhythm.

In a single respect only does one feel inclined to differ with Professor Tillyard. He follows Saintsbury in the conclusion that the iambic line as employed by Hawes and Barclay was built on no unifying pattern, and that "the only way to read these people's verses is to gobble them breathlessly with the hopeful intention of lighting on four main accents a line." Consequently, Professor Tillyard concludes, "the existence of such writing must have made him [Wyatt] initially less critical and more tolerant of harshness. The opening of this sonnet, for instance, is hopelessly rough:

Each man me telleth I change most my devise.
And on my faith, me think it goode reason,
To change propose like after the season;
For in every case, to keep still one guise
Is meet for them that would be taken wise."

As I have attempted to show elsewhere ("The Scansion of Wyatt's Early Sonnets," *Studies in Philology*, xx, 137-152), Hawes and

Barclay did have a unifying pattern, and seldom used a line of four, as opposed to five, accents. Their verse is not unrhythmical, when properly read, and Wyatt, as an inheritor of their technique, followed a recognized pattern in the above lines. He accented them as follows, and the reader may decide for himself whether or not they are "hopelessly rough":

Each mán mē tēlleth I chānge mōst mý dēvise;
 And ōn mý faīth, mē thīnk it gōod reāson,
 Tō chānge prōpōse līke after thē seāson;
 Fōr in évery cāse, tō kēep stīll ōnē guīse
 Is mēet fōr thēm thāt wōuld bē takēn wīse.

There is no impropriety in slurring the syllables in *telleth*, and Wyatt indicates such slurrings in his own manuscript versions. A hovering accent on words of Romance origin is both legitimate and musical, and the occasional use of a monosyllabic foot where a word calls for special emphasis—*most* and *still*—is commended elsewhere by Professor Tillyard himself. This whole question is one hardly to be argued in a review, but it was responsible for the almost complete exclusion of the sonnets from the anthology, and some of them, such as "If waker care; if sodayne pale coulor," and "You that in love finde lucke and habundance," are decidedly colorful.

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD

University of Washington

Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae. Translated by JOHN WALTON. Edited by MARK SCIENCE. E. E. T. S., No. 170 (for 1927). Pp. lxvii + 379.

This edition uses collations of sixteen manuscripts and the printed edition (1525). The Introduction describes the nineteen known manuscripts, analyses their inter-relationships, and discusses date, authorship, method of translation, language and versification. The study is sound in method, clearly presented, and concise; it brings out many significant points. As the filiation of versions indicates two main groups, a "critical text" is impossible. Consequently the editor prints one version, with rather frequent emendations (a number of which are open to question), and variant readings.

It is always difficult to explain the relationships of manuscript versions in such a way as to make the facts clear to readers unfamiliar with the manuscripts. In general Dr. Science has

succeeded in this task, but perhaps at times his exposition does not do justice to his method. In particular he fails to give the evidence on which he places β' where he does. According to his diagram, β' , a hypothetical version, is one of two main divisions of B', and has, itself, no descendants. Its sole function is to serve as a source of corrections for an extant version, Bb. Probably the corrections in Bb show none of the peculiarities of the A group, but how does Dr. Science know that β' is not immediately descended from B? In fact he gives hardly any discussion of β' . In the main, the editor bases his study of relationship on "variant readings"; yet he knows that only erroneous readings have significance (see his excellent statement of this principle on p. xxxii). Though it is probable that his use of "variant readings" has not led him into errors, one wonders why he emphasizes them as he does.

Again Dr. Science's choice of his basic text seems illogical on the basis of the data he offers the reader. If group A does not afford as good a text as group B, why did he not use N or C if they are "nearer to the original source than b' and β' ?" Instead he used L which is copied from Bb, a version derived from b' with corrections from β' . If he must use a version of the b' group, why did he not use Bb, which he believes to be the source of L? Yet, in spite of slight inconsistencies, Dr. Science's work is an important and valuable addition to the publications of the E. E. T. S.

J. R. HULBERT

The University of Chicago

Ancient Emigrants, A History of the Norse Settlements of Scotland. By A. W. BRØGGER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. xii + 208.

Professor Brøgger's volume is based upon a series of lectures, on the Rhind Foundation, which he gave in Edinburgh in the fall of 1928. The book begins with an account of the Norwegian colonization of the Shetlands and Orkneys, which the author compares, not without point, to the outflow of Norwegians to America in the nineteenth century. He makes it clear that the settlements in the Shetlands and Orkneys were not so much the result of Viking raids as of a migration of the Norwegian peasantry, in search of more land to till. The wave of migration went beyond to the Hebrides and to the Scottish mainland, but only in the Shetlands and Orkneys themselves did the conquest produce a homogeneous Scandinavian civilization. The author looks into the history of these regions in pre-Norse times, and finds that

climatic changes and other factors (not all of which are known to us) had brought about a decline of the Celtic civilization which previously had flourished there, and he thinks that in the Shetlands and Orkneys at least the Celtic population had become so thin and so enfeebled by the eighth century that the Norwegian settlers met with no serious opposition. By a study of place-names he now tries to find out from what parts of Norway the settlers came; his results confirm the results earlier reached by J. Jakobsen on the basis of the Norwegian words surviving in the dialect of the Shetlands. Another chapter is devoted to the rather scanty archaeological finds; the author thinks that a systematic and thorough excavation of the sites would yield a great deal of material bearing on the Norse occupation. The last two chapters take up the political and ecclesiastical history of the Norse colonies, down to their cession to Scotland.

Mr. Brøgger's book makes interesting reading, and brings out many points of value to the student of medieval civilization. It is however by no means an exhaustive treatise on its subject. One must describe it, rather, as a semi-popular work, meant chiefly for the layman. As such, it meets a real need, and can be recommended to all who are in want of authoritative sketches in a field little known to most of us. The work is well printed and well illustrated, though a large-scale map would have been of great help to the reader. The translation was done by "Mr. Crane of the British Legation in Oslo," whose English is not always up to the mark (see p. 15). No doubt Mr. Crane is to blame for "philological" (i. e. etymological) on p. 32, for "old Erse" (i. e. Old Irish) on p. 50, and for "soundless" (i. e. surd or voiceless) on p. 70. The author himself, though, must be held responsible for the statement (p. 43) that Scotch *broch* is a "corrupt" form of ON. *borg*.

KEMP MALONE

A Concordance to the "Historia Ecclesiastica" of Bede. By PUTNAM FENNELL JONES. Pp. x + 585. Published for the Concordance Society by the Mediaeval Academy of America. Cambridge, Mass., 1929. \$6.50.

The late Albert S. Cook did much for American scholarship in all sorts of ways, but among his more important contributions must be reckoned the work which he and his students have done in the field of concordance-making. Cook was never weary of pointing out the fundamental importance of the concordance in philological and linguistic scholarship, and he practiced what he preached by making concordances himself. More important still, he trained up a group of notable scholars who carried on the good work. Thanks

largely to Cook and his men, we have today a respectable body of these indispensable tools (although concordances are still far too few). Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell, one of Cook's most distinguished pupils, has himself long been a leader in this vitally important field. And, as we learn from the "Preface" of the work under review, Mr. Cooper suggested to the author that he undertake making a concordance of Bede's *History*, and helped him with the task at every stage. Professor Jones is to be congratulated on his mentor, and on his own wisdom in following so excellent a guide. The four years of hard work which he has put in on his arduous task now have their reward. The volume which he has produced will be a godsend to medievalists, and will be reckoned an indispensable part of their armory of books. We are deeply in his debt, and are correspondingly grateful.

The volume itself is well printed, on paper of good quality. I have noted too many instances of bad letters—sometimes overinked but more usually not inked enough, or even defective. As the author points out, his concordance serves also as an *index rerum*, by virtue of its form. The proper names are in each case identified. All forms of a given word are listed under the so-called dictionary form, which is printed in capital letters. Under this the forms which actually occur appear as subheads, arranged alphabetically and printed in bold-face type. This procedure sometimes involves printing the same form twice: first in capitals and then in small letters. It often involves printing in capitals a form which does not occur in Bede. Nevertheless, the method has obvious advantages, and is to be commended.

KEMP MALONE

Early German Romanticism. Its Founders and Heinrich von Kleist. By WALTER SILZ. Harvard University Press, 1929. x + 264 pp.

The aims of this admirable study are clearly set forth in the foreword: no final delineation of either Heinrich von Kleist or German Romanticism is to be attempted, but certain significant relationships between a very complex individual and a very complex literary movement are to be pointed out. The treatise represents the conviction that, in spite of the lack of immediate contacts with the originators of the Romantic movement, Kleist has an undeniable kinship with them, and that he succeeded far better than they in embodying their common ideals in poetic production.

A searching investigation of Heinrich von Kleist's much-disputed relation to the Romantic movement is, indeed, to be welcomed. Ernst Kayka's monograph *Kleist und die Romantik* (Berlin, 1906) was written with the aim of freeing the dramatist from the charge

of belonging to a school of alleged morbid tendencies. Numerous other brief attempts to classify Kleist have been rather incidental, more or less casual, inadequate and highly contradictory. Outstanding Kleist-scholars have disagreed on his relation to the literary movements of his time. For he has been pronounced a classicist, an out-and-out romanticist, a romanticist subject to various reservations, and a psychological realist. His originality, individuality and complexity transcend any one literary movement and consequently render exact classification impossible. By setting forth Kleist's kinship with certain phases of early German Romanticism, rather than endeavoring to place him in a definite category, the author has wisely avoided pitfalls.

The study shares a growing tendency to stress the points of contact between Classicism and early Romanticism, makes sharp distinctions between early and subsequent phases of the latter movement, and emphasizes the necessity of using the term Romanticism in the plural. The book is carefully documented, abounds in suggestive comparisons, and is written in lucid style.

Significant reference is made to the admiration of reason by early romanticists such as Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, an attitude frequently lost sight of in the tendency to judge all German Romanticism by the subsequent yielding to unbridled phantasmagoria which brought the entire movement into discredit as being far removed from the realities of life. Striking parallels between Kleist and Holderlin, Friedrich Schlegel, and Novalis bear out the assertion of intellectual, spiritual and artistic kinship. A duality of rational and irrational qualities is found to distinguish the literary character of the early romanticists and of Kleist as well; earlier and later Romanticism are viewed as differing largely in the increasing predilection for the irrational, in a growing lack of formal discipline, and in the resultant predominance of the vague, fantastic, and emotional. In Tieck, the author sees the literary progenitor of later Romanticism and its weaknesses; the tendencies of this later period begin to manifest themselves in Kleist's writings in the wake of his contacts in Dresden. But, like the early romanticists, Kleist "insisted on form and discipline in art; like them, he considered himself not the opponent but the perfecter of Classicism, intent on conserving its achievements and yet going beyond it" (p. 99). Kleist is regarded as a belated and misplaced individual in the development of his age.

Professor Silz sees the innovation in Kleist's drama not in its form, but in a new and distinctly modern ethical and religious content (p. 169). To the reviewer, it seems that an additional important innovation in the drama of Heinrich von Kleist lies in his treatment of emotion. Through Kantian philosophy he had lost confidence in reason as a reliable guide to thought and action. And he subsequently concluded that, because of its tend-

ency to weigh and balance, reason merely made for indecision and thereby paralyzed initiative. Kleist came to regard feeling as the powerful, energizing, impelling factor in human conduct; consequently he treated emotion as the fundamental, differentiating, dynamic quality. The best, most reliable judgments he regarded as intuitive; feeling, rather than the reasoned logic of the situation, seemed the best guide. Kleist delighted in the portrayal of eruptive emotions of volcanic intensity which at times burst forth into acts of extreme violence, thereby pointing toward the irrational, incommensurable and incomprehensible elements of human nature. This predilection for emotion leading to deeds differentiates Kleist from the sentimental, vague, listless treatment of feeling by certain later romanticists. By such portrayal of surcharged emotions Kleist widened the boundaries of the drama of his time.

In a concluding chapter Friedrich Schlegel's ideal of poetic art is cited as one "that should unite the finite and the infinite, that should have the typical simplicity of the antique and yet express the complex soul of the modern individual with its infinite passions and longings" (p. 228). Professor Silz believes that this ideal was well-nigh realized in the best works of Kleist, and particularly in *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, in which he sees a reconciliation of qualities "commonly called *Classic* and *Romantic*," a reconciliation that he considers to have been the ideal of early German Romanticism.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Ohio Wesleyan University

Goethe, Sexus und Eros. VON FELIX A. THEILHABER. Berlin-Grunewald: Horen-Verlag [1929]. Pp. 361.

Das Verhältnis von Sexus zu Eros bei Goethe zu klären ist das Ziel dieser umfangreichen Studie. "Sexualität ist der physiologische Inhalt der grobanatomisch geschlechtlichen Handlung," definiert der Verfasser mit nicht unanfechtbarer Logik (die überhaupt seine schwache Seite ist); "Erotik ist eine seelische Komponente, ein gedanklicher Vorgang, eine intellektuelle Empfindung." Es gilt ihm nun zu erweisen, daß Goethe sexuell schwach, erotisch dagegen stark veranlagt gewesen, mit andern Worten, daß er seine Sexualität in seine Werke sublimiert habe (85-91). Haben wir das nicht eigentlich schon immer gewußt? Das Neue scheint bei Theilhaber nur das zu sein, daß er Goethe eine ausgesprochene Männlichkeit abspricht, ja daß er ihm fast diese Sublimierung übel nimmt. Er verlangt sozusagen, daß der Strom, dem man sein Wasser entzogen hat, um es auf poetische Mühlen zu schlagen, unten im

Tale in ungeminderter Fulle lustig weiter rausche, und es leuchtet ihm nicht ein, daß ein Mann, der bei Tage Hunderte von Banden in aufreibend geistiger Tätigkeit füllt, mit denen er Jahrhunderte bewegt, nicht auch bei Nacht seinen Ruf als *pater patriae* nach Art Augustus des Starken begründen kann.

So führt Theilhaber denn die Eigenart des Goethischen Eros auf eine pathologische Veranlagung zurück, während die vielleicht viel lohnendere Frage nach etwaigen Hemmungs- und Fixierungserscheinungen durch frühe Erlebnisse nicht einmal aufgeworfen wird. Ich wäre der Letzte, der Theilhaders These von vornherein als unfruchtbar abweisen würde; aber unfruchtbar muß die Behandlung eines so umfassenden Themas bleiben, wenn der Bearbeiter kein Psychologe großen Ausmaßes ist, ja wenn ihm eine Einfühlung für menschliche und geistige Größe recht eigentlich abgeht. Seine Kronzeugen sind denn auch immer Leute von "prächtigen natürlichen Menschenverstand," wie er dem Dichter fehlt. So rühmt er Wilhelm Bodes Urteil über den *Werther*, der mit einer zwecklosen, sinnlosen, unerwünschten, verbotenen Liebe erfüllt sei. "Die natürlichen und vernünftigen Ziele der zärtlichen Gefühle zwischen Mann und Weib sind Begründung eines Hausstandes, christliche Kindererziehung und auch das Vergnügen des Ehebettes. Hier in diesem Roman fielen solche vernünftige Zwecke unter den Tisch!" So Bode. Für Theilhaber ist dann der *Faust* die Behandlung des Sexualproblems des modernen Menschen, wobei einigermaßen unerfindlich bleibt, was der Verfasser unter dem 'Problem' versteht.

Vollig konfus sind irgendwelche Versuche, auf geistesgeschichtliche Entwicklungen einzugehen (112, 194), und Analysen der Dichtwerke bleiben in oberflächlicher und erborgter Charakterisierung stecken, wie der Verfasser auch für Einfühlung in historisch bedingte Ausdrucksform keinen Sinn hat: die Sprache des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, die ihm doch zum großen Teil sein Material bietet, wird einfach mit der unserer Zeit identifiziert.

Ein großer Aufwand von Arbeit ist hier vertan, um eine dünne These zu erweisen, vertan aus Mangel an genügender Einsicht und sachverständiger Methode. Selbst die Frage, ob Goethe in Zeiten befriedigter Liebe rein quantitativ weniger geschrieben habe, ist nicht aufgeworfen, geschweige beantwortet worden.

Theilhaders Zitate sind nicht immer zuverlässig, vergleiche z. B. das wichtige 'siegt mit Netzen' ist in 'siegt mit Reizen' (gesperrt!) verlesen (über Frau von Stein S. 120).

ERNST FEISE

Histoire de la Clarté française. Par DANIEL MORNET. Paris, Payot, 1929. Pp. 308. Fr. 30.

Peu de livres traitent un sujet aussi essentiel pour la connaissance de l'esprit français.

On a fait souvent (et Mornet mieux que quiconque) l'histoire de certains sentiments intellectuels comme ceux de *Raison*, de *Nature* dans la Littérature française. Mais on n'avait jamais fait l'histoire d'un trait, d'une qualité de l'esprit français. Et quand cette qualité est la Clarté qui passe pour maîtresse dans la Littérature française l'enquête est de première importance.

Qui dit *histoire* de la Clarté française dit formation, acquisition de cette qualité, dit qu'elle n'est pas surgie toute faite du Génie ethnique de la France, comme on le croit généralement. Le titre même que Mornet donne à son étude est un programme critique, est un refus d'accepter les vues conventionnelles sur le sujet. Et en effet tout son effort se porte vers la démonstration que voici : La Clarté française comme qualité littéraire n'est pas une vertu intellectuelle innée, une et indivisible, mais une discipline enseignée et apprise, une conquête graduelle, d'achèvement relativement récent, qui a été souvent disputée et menacée et qui l'est aujourd'hui encore par des tendances qui ne sont pas toutes condamnables. En effet il peut y avoir quelque artifice dans la Clarté à tout prix. Elle peut être acquise et maintenue aux dépens de la complétude, de la profondeur, de la vérité même aux yeux de ceux qui croient en la fluidité de l'Universel Devenir. Cela notre Professeur en Sorbonne met beaucoup de bonne grâce et une sorte de coquetterie de probité à le reconnaître. Pourtant il pense qu'à tout prendre la Clarté est une vertu essentielle de l'intelligence communicatrice et qu'il faut la maintenir.

Que cette vertu, que cette courtoisie de l'intelligence qui s'appelle du beau nom de Clarté soit bien française Mr. Mornet ne le conteste pas, car cela est évident, même en ces temps valéryques et proustiformes. Mais qu'elle ait été toujours et spontanément française c'est cela qui lui paraît le Mythe. Je voudrais marquer brièvement les principales étapes de sa démonstration sans prétendre résumer un livre qui fourmille de faits et d'aperçus :

Mornet commence par la Clarté (ou plutôt l'Obscurité) au moyen âge et par cette déclaration "La pensée au moyen âge ne s'est pas souciée d'être claire" (p 13). Même si on tient compte de ce que notre auteur parle ici de *la pensée* on peut faire quelques réserves sur ce jugement rigoureux. En effet le courant didactique si puissant au moyen âge n'implique-t-il pas au moins une velléité de Clarté ? Peut-on dire que le souci de clarté soit absent chez Saint Thomas ? Et Mornet lui-même ne dira-t-il pas plus loin tout ce que les Rhétoriques et manuels de clarté des temps modernes doivent à la Scolastique médiévale ? Pourtant on sent bien que ce qu'il dit est tout de même vrai dans l'ensemble. Peut-être aurait-il dû nuancer davantage sa déclaration en se servant par exemple de la fameuse

distinction médiévale entre *Sens* et *Matière*. Le *Sens* est caché et on ne va à lui que par les symboles, mais la *Matière* est susceptible d'arrangement et de clarté

Sous la Renaissance, comme M le montre excellemment, la pensée ou mieux encore l'appétit intellectuel est chose quantitative. Peu ou pas de souci de sélection, de hiérarchie ordonnatrice, de proportions, de Clarté enfin. Suivant le mot vif et juste de Sénac de Meilhan que cite M., "l'esprit au XVIème siècle consistait dans l'érudition" (p. 20). Cela est vrai même de Rabelais, même de Montaigne, tous deux citateurs acharnés. Le tableau que M trace de cette époque de la Renaissance comme paysage intellectuel est original et vrai. On y voit tout ce qu'il y a eu de fumeux dans tant de flamme.

Au XVIIème siècle, aux côtés mêmes des Classiques, on voit sévir le pédantisme citateur, la manie des *Ana*, de ces espèces de vide-poches intellectuels où on fourre sans but et sans ordre ce qu'on a lu. Quant au théâtre (qui est encore le meilleur baromètre des habitudes d'esprit d'une époque) les lecteurs du livre de Lancaster sauront tout ce qu'il a fallu de temps et de peine à la Clarté pour s'établir dans la littérature dramatique.

Et pourtant, et précisément au XVIIème siècle, la Clarté finit par l'emporter. Et cette victoire c'est au fond l'histoire même du Classicisme. La Clarté a fini par s'implanter, par devenir un trait qu'on associe avec l'esprit français. Comment cela s'est-il fait? Cela s'est fait, répond M., par l'effort et l'influence d'une discipline et d'une méthode contenues dans des traités qui s'appelaient des *Rhétoriques* et qui étaient enseignés, pratiqués, appliqués à coup d'exemples et d'exercices dans les collèges. En somme c'est un fait pédagogique. Ce furent des clercs et des régents qui apprirent aux futurs écrivains à penser en clarté, si on peut dire, et en cadence.

Ces Rhétoriques, ces méthodes pour s'exprimer clairement, ces grammaires de l'idéation avaient su distinguer les éléments essentiels de la Clarté: Le Choix, l'Ordre, l'Expression. Et par des exercices, des compositions elles apprenaient à l'enfant à bien tenir en mains ces trois conditions nécessaires de toute communication claire de la pensée. Ces méthodes représentaient à certains égards un apurement de la Scolastique. A cet apurement Descartes dans son *Discours de la Méthode* s'était livré de son côté mais de façon beaucoup moins solitaire et originale qu'on ne le répète trop souvent. "Descartes, dit excellemment M., pense comme ses contemporains, il ne leur apprend pas à penser comme lui" (p. 61). Avant Descartes il y avait déjà des méthodes de clarté. Mais après lui (et beaucoup à cause de lui) il y en a eu plus que jamais. L'histoire et les citations que M. donne de ces Rhétoriques sont très vivants et très persuasifs. On voit combien ces disciplines et ces dressages ont eu d'action prolongée à travers des générations d'écoliers devenus hommes et parfois écrivains. On lira à ce sujet avec le plus grand fruit ce qu'il écrit sur la Composition oratoire (p. 156-205). En fait l'*habitus* oratoire (comme force et comme vice) est un trait important de la littérature et même de la poésie françaises. A cet égard le Romantisme si oratoire continuait bien plus qu'il ne le croyait une tradition classique et presque pédagogique.

Mais de même qu'il y avait eu dans l'établissement de cette discipline de Clarté des lenteurs et des attentes il y eut aussi des dissidences et des réactions. Et cette histoire négative n'est pas moins intéressante que l'autre. On peut dire que la recherche de la Clarté formelle soulève les protestations de deux camps qui sont pourtant adverses l'un à l'autre: Le Camp des Emotifs et celui des Scientifiques. Pour des motifs différents mais également puissants ces deux tempéraments se méfient de la Clarté

comme déformation et mutilation du Réel. A propos des esprits scientifiques une des parties les plus pénétrantes et à mon sens les plus neuves du livre de Mornet est celle qu'il consacre à Buffon, dont il montre le vigoureux effort pour adapter les formes consacrées à un contenu intellectuel plus complexe (p. 101-110). Quant aux réactions et dissidences émotives contre la Clarté elles sont évidentes bien avant le Symbolisme. C'est un curieux spectacle que de voir les Préromantiques nous parler du *Vague des Passions* (qui est la négation même de la Clarté comme fait de conscience). Mais c'est un spectacle plus curieux encore de les voir nous parler de ces ténèbres en termes de clarté et de logique oratoires.

Mornet nous a lui-même bien averti que son but dans son livre n'était pas de chercher "les causes profondes" de la Clarté française mais seulement ses causes littéraires. Cependant tout en cultivant son jardin d'historien de la Littérature il ouvre devant l'esprit du lecteur tout un horizon. Entre autres problèmes celui de savoir si cette acquiescence aux doctrines et aux disciplines de Clarté par l'esprit français ne trahit pas une certaine réceptivité ou prédisposition plus ou moins native, ce problème-là me semble se poser malgré tout. Ceci n'infirmait pas les conclusions bien étayées de M., mais leur apporterait seulement un léger correctif. Il y aurait lieu également de se demander si l'influence de l'Eglise (et surtout des prédicateurs catholiques après la Réforme) et celle des femmes (qui n'étaient pas toutes précieuses ni quintessenciées) n'ont pas compté pour quelque chose dans l'établissement de la Clarté? Il est si difficile de faire abstraction du phénomène social dans le phénomène intellectuel ou littéraire!

Mais qu'on dise ce que l'on voudra, l'ouvrage en question est de ceux qu'aucun étudiant sérieux de l'esprit français ne pourra se permettre d'ignorer.

LOUIS CONS

Swarthmore College

Le Théâtre d'Octave Feuillet (1821-1890). Par ALICE BORRESEN.

Paris: Editions Spes, 1929. Pp. 283. Fr. 22.

The theme of this dissertation is the significance of Feuillet as a representative of his time. Making almost no attempt at literary criticism, Miss Borresen has emphasized the historical value of Feuillet's ideas, which found earlier expression, and whose evolution can be traced more clearly, in his plays than in his novels. As she states in her preface, her aims are to *faire revivre l'esprit et la société du Second Empire, faire mieux connaître son romancier mondain, étudier les divers courants de l'époque*. She has carried out this ambitious program by giving briefly the life of F. and the *historique* of his theatre, by telling at wearisome length the dull plots of the plays most successfully produced or most significant for the ideals they embody, by showing the relationship of F.'s

ideas with romanticism, realism, positivism, by a final chapter on the *Théâtres de société* and the *Comédie de salon* of the Second Empire. The last two parts are by far the clearest and most interesting. In her desire to present the hitherto unpublished material which forms the greatest part of her bibliography, Miss B. somewhat overloads her pages with quotations that might have been more thoroughly integrated into the text. She is too sparing of personal comment. Having shown that she can write vividly and sensitively, for instance in her admirable analysis of romanticism and the bourgeois reaction to it, she leaves the reader a bit resentful of the heavy going in such a chapter as the one on *Le Réalisme d'Octave Feuillet*, where he finds himself obliged repeatedly to consult the *Table des matières* in order to supply the plan and conclusions which could well be more explicit in the chapter itself.

The dissertation, for which its author received the highest mention of the University of Paris, gives the impression of thorough, painstaking, and sincere scholarship. Miss B. has had a real problem in the organization of the great mass of material which she has gathered. She handles the problem by presenting a detailed *Table des matières* in the form of an outline. It is regrettable that no page numbers are given either in the *Table* or in cross-references in the footnotes, where the use of merely *infra* and *supra* show sublime confidence in the reader's ability to turn without loss of time and patience to a desired paragraph.

EDITH MELCHER

Wellesley College

Stage Realism in France between Diderot and Antoine. By EDITH MELCHER. Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1928. Pp. vi, 189.

Dramatic critics and literary historians have always insisted upon the revolutionary character of the Théâtre Libre and praised its founder, Antoine, for introducing realism on the French stage. Miss Melcher has asked a very interesting question: was Antoine's stage realism an abrupt creation *ex nihilo*? Had there been anything, before 1887, to prepare his courageous attempt and to explain his success?

Miss M. has made a thorough study of the setting, the properties, the costumes and the stage-directions of the French theatre between Diderot and Antoine. In a preliminary chapter, she shows how the gradual discarding of classical tradition, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, opened the way to a new realism. Much attention is paid to Diderot's theories, which advocated a naturalism as complete as that of a hundred years later, but were long neglected by the following century. The greater part of her book is devoted to the nineteenth century: the author has adopted a

classification which is not without drawbacks, although it probably remains more satisfactory than a chronological division into periods might have been. She follows with great care the development of stage realism in the melodrama, in the romantic drama (which she makes to include, somewhat arbitrarily, such plays as Ponsard's *Lucrèce* and Sardou's *Théodora*), and in the realistic drama. The conclusion is clear: the powerful movement which swept the whole century towards realism was felt on the French stage long before Antoine; in fact, realism was applied in the theatre, long before Champfleury and Duranty advocated it for literature at large. Antoine's task will be "to unite the scattered reforms of a century and to present them to a public which had been gradually prepared to receive them" (p. 157).

Miss M. has accomplished her task with great skill and a very thorough method. There is much that is new in what she tells about the realistic setting of many nineteenth century plays, and the student of French drama in that period cannot afford to do without her book. The wealth of details and of quotations has not caused her to lose sight of the main lines of her subject. The facts are presented with a fine clarity and the style has an elegant purity, which we do not always find in American dissertations. Such a modest, but definite, contribution to our knowledge of French literature is a good instance of what can be done in a thesis, and may help to justify the Ph. D. against the charges recently brought by Mr. Norman Foerster and other American critics.¹

HENRI PEYRE

Yale University

Parnassus in France, Currents and cross-currents in nineteenth-century French lyric poetry. By AARON SCHAFER. University of Texas Press, 1929. Pp. x + 291.

In spite of many recent works on the Parnassian movement, Mr. Schaffer feels that "the fact remains, that the Parnassians, as a whole, have not received the attention they deserve among American scholars." Since the present work is frankly introductory in character, it makes no claim to exhaustiveness and merely

¹ The author might have added a few titles to her precise and very useful bibliography: L. Allard's *La comédie de mœurs en France au XIX^e siècle* (Harvard, 1923); Hastings's, *The Drama of H. de Balzac* (Baltimore, 1917), E. C. van Bellen's *Les origines du mélodrame* (Utrecht, 1927), among others would have provided a few details about stage realism in Picard, Balzac and in the melodrama. And the dramatic criticism of other nineteenth century periodicals (such as the *Revue de Paris*, the *Revue Nationale*, the *Revue Encyclopédique*, etc.) would have enabled her to study the reaction to that realism with greater accuracy.

attempts to sketch the principal currents of nineteenth-century French lyric poetry, which, "for a decade, fused to form a stream that has come to be known as Parnassianism." After a short chapter on lyric poetry to the Romantic Period, he studies the Romantic Period, Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, Banville, Baudelaire, etc., ending with a ninth chapter on Symbolists and Decadents. The appendix contains a short but satisfactory bibliography.

"We have completed," remarks Mr. Schaffer in his afterword, our ascent of the French Parnassus. Our voyage, to be sure, has been somewhat hurried." Indeed less than 300 pages seem scant space for the discussion of so broad a field, of so many poets, especially when there is frequent citation from the original text of poems mentioned. Mr. Schaffer writes for the general public rather than the special student; he aims to interest his reader in French poetry as Fontenelle did the ladies in astronomy. A sincere lover of this poetry himself, he wishes to attempt to rescue "these poets (the Parnassians) from the oblivion which has engulfed most of them in English-speaking countries." One wonders whether we can hope for much success along these lines. In both England and America the Muse of French poetry has always suffered from lack of appreciation. C. J. Bailey in *Claims of French Poetry* and M. Legouis in his *Défense de la poésie française* have both attempted a similar task along more traditional lines.

Mr. S.'s enthusiasm sometimes allows his prose to become more poetic than logical; such phrases as "the harmonies are Debussian rather than Chopinesque," "primordial unashamedness," "technical wizardry," "ethereal marble of lyric poetry" suggest an emotional rather than intellectual appreciation. At the end he grows pessimistic and wonders whether "poetry is capable of growth in so inhospitable a soil as this twentieth-century civilization" with its "iconoclastic intellectual phenomena," such as "*The Origin of Species*, *Madame Bovary* and the 'useful theatre' of Dumas fils and Augier." Critical works on modern French poetry with their vague and indefinite phraseology and their intensely subjective judgments cause one to regret the language and the logic of Malherbes, for the marginal notes to his copy of Des Portes, by their directness and common sense, make us realize that this 'tyran des mots et des syllabes,' with his frankly unsympathetic attitude toward lyric poetry, while he may have stifled lyric poetry in France for a century and a half, rendered his country a great service by preventing a host of unskilful riders from attempting to mount Pegasus. Nevertheless, the worthy motive of such works of initiation as the present disarms the critic, just as Miss Amy Lowell's enthusiasm in her *Six French Poets* somewhat compensated for a lack of critical acumen and historical background. To one unfamiliar with Parnassian poetry, *Parnassus in France* will provide an interesting and satisfactory introduction.

A Century of Voltaire Study. A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire, 1825-1925. By MARY-MARGARET H. BARR. New York: The Institute of French Studies, 1929. Pp. xxiv + 123.

In the case of a writer so voluminous, picturesque, and significant as Voltaire, it is natural that the number of books and articles dealing with his personality or his works should have become very large during that active century from 1825 to 1925, and Miss Barr has listed, and in most cases examined personally, 1,494 titles. This simple fact indicates at once the great aid offered to students of Voltaire by this little volume, which begins where Quérard left off and stops, since one must stop somewhere, a century later. The titles are classified, for greater convenience, under the seven main heads of Bibliography, General Criticism, Biography, Voltaire The Writer and Thinker, Correspondence, Criticism of Individual Works, and Voltairiana. Each title is numbered and there is a valuable Index at the end of the volume.

J. J. Jusserand's important *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1898) should be listed on p. 49, since later writers have drawn extensively on it, not always with due acknowledgments. Joseph Texte's *J.-J. Rousseau et le cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris, 1895), which bears on the same subject, may be found under number 955 on a later page. Although M. Morize's valuable critical edition of *Le Mondain* appears on p. 91, the still more indispensable edition of *Candide* (Hachette, Paris, 1913) has somehow been missed and should be added on p. 84. With these and such other occasional omissions as a very close scrutiny might reveal, Miss Barr's careful labor has produced a work of great value. In bibliography it is well-nigh impossible to be absolutely complete and the reader should always be grateful for the very high degree of completeness here attained. The difficult task of proof-reading has also been performed almost without slip. This *Bibliography* must be regarded as one of the fundamental works of reference for all students of eighteenth-century French literature.

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Santa Teresa y otros ensayos. Por AMÉRICO CASTRO. "Historia Nueva," 1929. 279 pp.

Los libros de ensayos me dejan siempre la impresión de que hoy se escribe con miedo, con un miedo inexplicable a atacar de frente los problemas difíciles, a meterse en honduras. Los ensayistas españoles de más valer suelen contentarse con temas marginales y

tratan, por temor a hacer el ridículo, de ajustar su prosa al ritmo del momento con una candidez admirable. Huyen de las complejidades y se asustan de todo, hasta de citar pasajes ligeramente escabrosos. "El gracejo con que se ensartan en este libro los vocablos y conceptos picantes—dice Maeztu hablando de *Le Celestina*—es punto menos que una catástrofe nacional, en cuanto impide manejar sin reservas uno de nuestros grandes clásicos."¹ Indudablemente hoy se escribe pensando demasiado en los liceos de señoras.

Castro es una de las raras excepciones. En su último libro aborda valientemente las cuestiones fundamentales que otros esquivan. Sus breves ensayos sobre la Edad Media, sobre los mozarabes, sobre la influencia de Erasmo, sobre el problema histórico de *La Celestina*, sobre Gracián, son el mayor esfuerzo que hasta ahora se ha hecho para destruir las cómodas fórmulas de la erudición burguesa. Cuando se escriba un manual *serio* de nuestra literatura será imprescindible tener a la vista estos ensayos.

El capítulo de la Edad Media, por ejemplo está pidiendo una revisión. Suele hablarse con evidente ligereza de la modorra intelectual de los siglos medievales. El error procede de habernos limitado siempre a estudiar las obras literarias sin tener en cuenta las didácticas, que en esta época son su clave. Todas las grandes figuras de la Edad Media, dice agudamente el ensayista, están tocadas de espíritu escolástico. Su concepto del mundo explica su sentido del arte. Por eso es impropio separar el arte de las demás manifestaciones de cultura.

Otro capítulo de nuestra historia literaria que también necesita mejora es el correspondiente al erasmismo. Se habla de Erasmo como heterodoxo, se recuerdan sus relaciones con los hermanos Valdés, se apunta vagamente su influencia sobre el autor del *Lazarillo*, todo esto siguiendo a Menéndez y Pelayo, pero no se dice nada de lo mucho que le deben (dejando aparte cuestiones religiosas) los escritores clásicos incluso Cervantes. Es un estudio que está todavía por hacer, y al que podría servir como punto de partida el sugestivo ensayo que Castro ha dedicado al gran humanista de Rotterdam.

Tan capitales como los anteriores son todos los demás problemas discutidos en el nuevo libro de don Américo, una de cuyas ideas fijas parece ser combatir a los que niegan un Renacimiento español. "No se manifiesta en la Península—dice en el ensayo sobre Santa Teresa—nada que podamos entroncar con la tradición del Cusano o de Leonardo; la mística viene en cambio a responder de extraña manera al afán individualista grato al Renacimiento." Desde hace ya tiempo viene el insigne crítico afirmando la participación de España en el movimiento renacentista. Esta era una de las conclusiones, quizá la principal, de su libro sobre Cervantes,² y

¹ *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina*, Madrid, 1926, p. 220.

² *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1925.

ahora, al hablar del erasmismo, de *La Celestina*, de la mística, aduce nuevas demostraciones.

El estudio más largo está dedicado a Santa Teresa cuya figura, hasta ahora exclusivamente sometida al análisis clínico o sublimada por el fervor religioso, aparece aquí juzgada desde un tercer punto de vista más sereno. Ni empíreo ni fisiología. Castro, situado en la clara zona del arte, da una interpretación puramente literaria. "Santa Teresa rechaza la abstracción, prefiere el amor divino inspirado en la humanidad de Cristo, fundado en elementos sensibles y expresados en símbolos y metáforas que alimenten la fantasía. No hay aquí 'noche oscura del alma,' como en Juan de la Cruz; en Teresa la unión mística se produce, necesariamente, en un previo estado de ausencia de sí mismo, en un total vacío de la mente, pero en un vacío cegador por su luz, no por su tiniebla; y rara vez sin el concurso de su sensibilidad." Nunca se ha dicho de la Santa de Avila nada tan justo en menos palabras.

En su último libro Castro hace frecuentes incursiones por el campo de la historia—*Herejías provenzales*, *El gran duque de Osuna*, etc.—demostrando igual destreza y erudición que en el terreno literario. No quiero concluir sin citar su ensayo sobre *Cervantes y Pirandello* que es, si no el más transcendental, el que ciertamente acusa mayor perspicacia crítica.

JOSÉ ROBLES

BRIEF MENTION

The Mabinogion. A New Translation. By T. P. ELLIS and JOHN LLOYD. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1929. Vol. I, pp. xx + 223; vol. II, pp. 253. \$3.50. The translators used both the Red Book and the White Book text in making their English version of the Middle-Welsh romances. They include not only the *Mabinogion* proper, but also Macsen Wledig, Lludd and Llevelys, Kulhwch and Olwen, Rhonabwy, Owein, Peredur and Gereint. Their work has been done with fair accuracy, but students of medieval romances will not find the volumes very useful, since the notes are rather meager. In their Preface (p. vii) the translators indicate that they interpret as a plural the *mabinogi* of the sentence *hon yw y bedwared geinc or mabinogi*. With equal reason (or unreason) one might argue that in the sentence "this is the fourth branch of the tree," the word *tree* is in the plural.

K. M.

Fourth Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400. Additions and Modifications to July, 1929. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS. New Haven, Conn., 1929. Pp. 1253-1332. \$1.50. Professor Wells once more brings his *Manual* up to date by adding the learned studies printed since the third supplement came out in 1926. The latest supplement conforms closely, in its arrangement of the subject-matter, to the original work and the supplements earlier brought out. I have noted only one mistake: on p. 1285, the page reference in item 617 is wrong. It is best corrected by reading "paragraph" for "page."

K. M.

Nicholas Breton as a Pamphleteer. By NELLIE ELIZABETH MONROE. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1929. Pp. 98. In this doctoral thesis, Miss Monroe classifies the prose writings of Breton into ten types: the dialogue, allegory, devotional tract, satire, gnomic pieces, ventures into courtly and realistic fiction, the familiar letter written with a conscious literary purpose, the political tract, the "character," and the essay. She then considers Breton's contribution to each of these types in the light of its own literary tradition and the cultural conditions which gave rise to it and supported it. Miss Monroe shows a thorough command of her subject-matter and she writes with considerable stylistic distinction.

FREDERICK M. PADEL FORD

Thomas Fuller. Selections. With Essays by Charles Lamb, Leslie Stephen, Etc. With an Introduction by E. K. BROADUS. Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 206. With its portrait and facsimile reproductions of the title pages, and its care to reproduce the typography and arrangement of the original volumes, this collection is an excellent effort to 'cream' Fuller for undergraduates. The extracts are representative of his whole work on a scale which assigns forty-five pages to *The Holy* and *The Profane State*, and two pages to *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*.

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AN UNRECORDED TYPE OF CHIVALRIC ROMANCE

Some years ago there fell into the writer's hands at Rome a manuscript, which previous to the year 1853 had been for a time, perhaps for many years, the property of Andrea Maffei, the nineteenth-century translator of Milton. So much, at least, would appear from a note inside the cover: "Dono dell'Illmo. Sig. Cav. Andrea Maffei . . . 1853." The little volume has no title, except for two lines written on the fly-leaf, probably about the year 1800: "Poema e Rime d'autore ignoto del secolo decimosesto"

The manuscript dates apparently from the end of the sixteenth century or from the seventeenth; it was written throughout in the same clear and careful hand of late Cinquecento style, without any obvious intermissions in the writing. The *Rime*, which come last in the volume, are of the conventional sixteenth-century type: a score or so of sonnets, a couple of *ballate*, two madrigals, a sestina, and two groups of *stanze*. The first sonnet begins *Quel aureo crin in cui si dolce Amore . . .*; another, with typical *bisticci*: *Luce che luce a par d'ogni altra luce. . .*. There is one sonnet of the familiar religious type, *Padre del ciel da cui precesse il Figlio . . .*; and another which announces with conventional tactlessness that a love-affair is ended: *Poich' è spenta la fiamma e 'l nodo sciolto . . .*; while the sestina opens with the eminently ordinary Cinquecento line *O per me lieto e fortunato giorno!* With these *Rime*, at the end of the manuscript, is a pastoral dialogue in *versi sciolti*, also thoroughly typical, both in idea and execution, of the sixteenth century. None of these poems seems ever to have been printed; at least it has been impossible to run any of them down, either in sixteenth-century anthologies or elsewhere; but their general nature, as the foregoing examples obviously suggest, bears out unequivocally the note already quoted (made at the beginning of the nineteenth century by one who possi-

bly knew something of the history of the manuscript), which ascribed them definitely to the "secolo decimosesto."

Since, therefore, the lyric portions of the manuscript appear to be in all probability of the sixteenth century, and since the whole body of the manuscript seems to have been written at about that period and in a single hand, it is not unreasonable to attribute the poem which occupies the greater part of the manuscript to the same period, especially as there is no period to which it would more naturally belong.

This chivalric romance was, then, written probably between 1550 and 1600. It is in the regular *ottava rima* form; the versification is smooth and regular, and the rhymes usually normal in every way. Like many other romances of the time,¹ it is merely fragmentary; the manuscript contains the whole of the first canto (consisting of 222 stanzas) and the first half or so (plus some scattered stanzas) of the second canto: in all, some 2,500 or more lines of the poem.

Whether it was ever completed or not, we cannot say; very possibly the manuscript is holograph, and contains all that the author ever cared to finish. At all events, he wrote enough to show that he possessed sufficient originality to introduce a new element into what was probably the most hackneyed of all Cinquecento literary forms—with the sole exception of the sonnet. For his poem does not narrate the adventures of the paladins of France (whose exploits formed the theme of nine-tenths of the chivalric romances of his day), nor of the Breton knights, of the *Gaulesi*, or of those of Spain; it tells the adventures of himself and of his patron. Furthermore, it is not pretended that these adventures ever actually took place; they are frankly admitted to be only the poet's dream. This it is which makes the poem remarkable and, apparently, unique: it is a chivalric romance that describes a dream, or rather a series of dreams, in which the poet and his patron go out as knights errant in search of adventures. To make a dream the background of a story or a poem was, of course, and long had been

¹ Girolamo Parabosco's chivalric romance, for example (also *sine titulo*), was printed with his *Lettere Amoroze* in 1554 (Venice, Giolito), and frequently reprinted in the following decades, though only in the form of two short isolated cantos, intended to be the tenth and fifteenth in a lengthy poem which never appeared and was apparently never completed; Pietro Aretino's four chivalric romances (one of them a parody) all broke off as fragments at the second or third canto; etc.

one of the most familiar of literary devices; but to cast a chivalric romance in this mold, and to make of it a series of dreams—*Sogno Primo*, *Sogno Secondo*, etc.—instead of cantos; to make, besides, the poet himself and his patron the heroes of the story—this was apparently an entirely original idea.²

The poem, to summarize very briefly, opens with the author's lament that he is now languishing far removed from the fair city "ch' ha il mare in seno . . ."—an unintentionally oracular expression which suggests on the one hand Venice, on the other, Naples.³ After a few introductory stanzas, we learn that the poet was sleeping on the eve of the day of her who, chaste and unflinching, shamed base desire by the sacrifice of her fair eyes. (It was, that is, on the Eve of Saint Lucy, *Santa Lucia*, whose "day" is the thirteenth of December.) Just at dawn,⁴ the poet has a dream; and in this dream his patron and himself go forth as knights errant and encounter the various adventures he is now going to relate. The patron, to whom the poem, naturally, is addressed, rides out as the *Guerrier Fatale*, the poet, in the world of his chivalric dream, is known as the *Cavalier Leale*.

² It should, perhaps, be noted here that one other late sixteenth-century work, Marzio Bartolini's obscure *Insogni Pastoral*, printed at Orvieto in 1596, superficially resembles our poem in the fact that it, too, is divided into *Primo Insogno*, *Secondo Insogno*, etc., up to the eleventh dream. This resemblance, however, remains purely superficial, since (quite apart from the fact that the one, as its name implies, is a pastoral, and in the conventional form of alternating prose and verse, while the other is a chivalric romance) Bartolini does not dream his pastoral story, but places it frankly in Arcady in the old familiar way. Its division into *Insogni*, or dreams, results solely from the large part played in its action by the recital and interpretation of eleven dreams, one after another, by five Arcadian nymphs and six shepherds, under an ancient and mysterious beech-tree.

³ The idea that the sea *ha in seno* Venice is, of course, a very common one, and may be the meaning here. The word order, however, makes *il mare* object more naturally than subject of the verb, indicating Naples—the city 'which holds the sea in her bosom.' Though this is a far less common (and less clear) conceit, the mention a few stanzas later of the legend anent Santa Lucia's eyes, especially current in the Southern city, makes it probable that Naples rather than Venice is the place which the poet had in mind.

⁴ Dreams were, of course, well known to be most vivid and most true in the hour that just precedes the dawn. Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, xxvi, 7, and *Purgatorio*, ix, 13-18.

The unusually long first canto, or rather *Sogno Primo*, describes vividly and attractively the alarums and excursions of their first wandering. Their search of Adventure is from the outset an unqualified success, for they find not merely adventure, but adventures in great plenty: adventures with giants and monsters and with evil knights; adventures rescuing damsels in distress; adventures, too, on occasion, purely amorous, with damsels whose charms prove too alluring for chivalry to resist. But every canto, and every *Sogno*, too, must have an ending; so in stanza 222 the poet briefly and regretfully describes how he awoke.

Then begins the *Sogno Secondo*, in which the knights, continuing their errantry, arrive at the court of the Queen of England. Here they take part in a great and complicated tournament—and the poem breaks off, unfinished. Perhaps this is just as well; for the *Sogno Secondo* is, it must be confessed, decidedly dull, its main interest for us lying in the mere fact that it should be the court of the Queen of *England* that the heroes visit. Was the poet perhaps a Protestant, dreaming of the court of Elizabeth? Or was it Mary the Catholic whom he had in mind? Speculation, alas, is futile; very possibly, indeed, the poet meant just *any* Queen of England. At all events, the first *Sogno*, despite its length, is vastly more readable than the second; it is varied and sprightly, telling its story with much vividness and realism, never suggesting, except in the opening and the closing stanzas, that all this high adventure was unreal.

The present writer hoped to do justice to the poet, whom we can know only by his dream-name as the *Cavalier Leale*, by printing at full length at least the battles and enchantments of his *Sogno Primo*. Unhappily, that is now impossible; all that can be done for the poem, which brought very genuine enjoyment to at least one reader, is to make these brief and general observations. For, largely through its owner's carelessness, the manuscript, together with nearly all such notes as he had made on it, was stolen from him on Christmas Day, 1929; and there can be no further hope that it is not now permanently lost. It would, however, be unhappy and unjust to let that dream-romance vanish entirely unrecorded; and so at least it shall be noted here that such a poem was written, apparently towards the end of the Cinquecento: a unique and hitherto unrecorded chivalric romance, of a type wholly unknown to Melzi and Tosi and to F. Foffano—to

the bibliographers and to the historian alike of the *Poema Cavalleresco*; a romance in *ottava rima*, divided not into cantos, but into *sogni*, narrating the adventures as knight errant in dream of the poet's patron, *Guerrier Fatale*, and of the unknown dreamer-poet himself, the *Cavalier Leale*.

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A. DE VIGNY ET ANGE PITOU

Le point de départ du tragique récit de Vigny intitulé *Laurette ou Le Cachet Rouge* se trouve, comme on l'a indiqué bien des fois, dans le passage suivant du *Journal d'un poète* :

PASSAGE DE MER.—Un beau vaisseau partit de Brest un jour. Le capitaine fit connaissance avec un passager. Homme d'esprit, il lui dit : "Je n'ai jamais vu d'homme qui me fût si cher."

Arrivés à la hauteur de Taiti—Sur la ligne.—Le passager lui dit : "Qu'avez-vous donc là ?—Une lettre que j'ai ordre de n'ouvrir qu'ici, pour l'exécuter." Il dit aux matelots d'armer leurs fusils et pâlit. "Fou !" il le fait fusiller.

M. F. Baldensperger dans son édition de *Servitude et Grandeur Militaire* (Paris, Conard, 1914), a complété cette simple indication par un extrait d'une lettre à Mme Lachaud :

Mon cousin, M. de Bougainville, me raconta véritablement ce trait d'un marin qui eut le malheur d'obéir à un ordre du Comité de salut public, de fusiller les prisonniers de guerre. . . .

Après quoi le savant éditeur de Vigny indique comment le Comité de Salut public est devenu le Directoire, et comment le cutter *Marat* prend la place "de la *Vaillante*, qui partit de Rochefort, le 25 septembre 1797, avec des instructions du Directoire relatives aux déportés politiques à bord."

Jusqu'ici cependant on ne semble pas avoir suffisamment remarqué un certain nombre de précisions données par Vigny dans son récit et qui semblent bien indiquer qu'il avait puisé quelques points de sa documentation à une autre source que la tradition orale. A n'en point douter, il avait eu entre les mains la relation authentique d'un déporté de Fructidor qui n'était autre que le

chansonnier Ange Pitou qui publia en 1805 le récit de ses épreuves. Nous nous servons ici de la seconde édition :

VOYAGE A CAYENNE, DANS LES DEUX AMÉRIQUES ET CHEZ LES ANTHROPOPHAGES, Ouvrage orné de gravures; contenant le tableau général des déportés, la vie et les causes de l'exil de l'auteur etc. Seconde édition. Par L. A. Pitou, déporté à Cayenne en 1797, et rendu à la liberté, en 1803, par des lettres de grâce de S. M. l'Empereur et Roi. Paris, chez L. A. Pitou, Libraire. Octobre 1807. 2 vols.

Voici maintenant les passages où Vigny a utilisé le voyage de Pitou :

Le 28 fructidor 1797, je reçus l'ordre d'appareiller pour Cayenne. Je devais y conduire soixante soldats et un déporté qui restait des cent quatre-vingt-treize que la frégate *la Décade* avait pris à bord quelques jours auparavant.

Ici Vigny a changé la date et simplifié le récit de Pitou. Les déportés furent embarqués d'abord sur *la Charente*, qui leva l'ancre le 21 mars 1798 (1er germinal an 6). La frégate ayant été mise hors de combat à la suite d'un engagement avec la flotte anglaise en face de Cordouan, les déportés furent transférés sur la *Décade* en rade du Verdon, le 22 avril 1798 (3 floréal an 6). On trouvera également chez Pitou la liste des "cent quatre-vingt-treize déportés, dont soixante-quatre morts à Konamana et à Synnamari" (*Voyage à Cayenne*, II, 308).

Quand le capitaine demande au jeune homme les causes de l'animosité de "ces chiens d'avocats," le pauvre garçon répond :

O mon Dieu! Capitaine, pas grand'chose, allez trois couplets de vaudeville sur le Directoire, voilà tout.

—Pas possible! dis-je.

—O mon Dieu, si! Les couplets n'étaient même pas trop bons. J'ai été arrêté le 15 fructidor et conduit à la Force, jugé le 16, et condamné à mort d'abord, et puis à la déportation par bienveillance.

Voici maintenant le court passage où Pitou raconte son arrestation; on notera la crainte qu'il exprime en terminant que cette mesure de grâce ne soit qu'une "noyade sous un autre nom."

Je fus arrêté le 13 fructidor an V (30 août 1797), pour avoir fait quelques couplets où les Jacobins et le Directoire crurent se reconnaître: traîné à la Force, jugé le 9 brumaire an VI (31 octobre) à la mort, puis à la déportation, j'en rappelai pour gagner du temps, je me persuadois, comme plusieurs, que la déportation seroit une noyade, sous un autre nom (I, 3).

On se souvient du tableau de la nuit sous les tropiques chez Vigny :

Nous étions à la hauteur des fles du cap Vert. Le *Marat* filait, vent en poupe, ses dix nœuds sans se gêner. La nuit était la plus belle que j'aie vue de ma vie près du tropique. La lune se levait à l'horizon, large comme un soleil; la mer la coupait en deux et devenait toute blanche comme une nappe de neige couverte de petits diamants. Je regardais cela en fumant, assis sur mon banc. L'officier de quart et les matelots ne disaient rien et regardaient comme moi l'ombre du brick dans l'eau.

Cette fois encore l'emprunt est évident car voici le passage de Pitou :

Du 24 au 29 mai. Quel spectacle ravissant que celui d'une belle nuit sur mer, quand les cieux se réfléchissent dans l'onde, que le bâtiment vogue à pleines voiles et sans danger, que la lune éclairant un immense horizon paroît sortir du cristal des eaux, que les vagues coupent son disque; tout repose dans la nature, excepté ce monstre qui n'est jamais rassasié qu'on appelle requin: . . . le pilote consulte sa carte, sa boussole et son sablier. Ses timoniers attentifs tournent la roue du gouvernail; il paroît commander à la mer: la frégate avance majestueusement, portée sur un lit de neige et de diamants, et le spectateur, dans un doux recueillement, promène ses regards dans l'horizon à dix lieues à la ronde (1, 155).

Les autres détails de la traversée semblent empruntés à un autre ouvrage que je n'ai pu retrouver. J'ajouterai que l'histoire d'Ange Pitou se termina de façon moins tragique que celle du pauvre chansonnier de Vigny. Grâcié par Napoléon, il rentra en France, donna des leçons, s'établit libraire et en 1807 il pouvait écrire à la fin de sa préface :

Je suis marié, établi, et, dans ma paisible médiocrité, je travaille, je ris, je chante, et je vends des livres après avoir vendu des chansons (1, 10).

GILBERT CHINARD

LODGE'S BORROWING FROM RONSARD

Before Greene's *Spanish Masquerado*, 1589, appear the following complimentary verses :

Le doux babil de ma lyre d'ivoire
Serra ton front d'un laurier verdissant,
Dont à bon droit ie te voy iouissant,
Mon doux ami, éternisant ta gloire.
Ton nom, mon Greene, animé par mes vers,

Abaisse l'œil de gens séditieux;
 Tu de mortels es compagnon de dieux
 N'est-ce pas grand loyer dans l'univers?
 Ignoti nulla cupido
 Thomas Lodge

These verses are printed with *The Spanish Masquerado* in the Grosart edition of Greene's works, 1881-86, but without comment of any kind, and without reference in the notes. The Dyce edition of Greene and Peele, 1861, has a brief note, p. 28: "Before our author's *Spanish Masquerado*, 1589, is the following sonnet." The text of the "sonnet" follows, without comment upon its possible source. The Churton Collins edition, 1905, has no mention of these verses.

A source is suggested, however, though not very definitely, by Edmund Gosse, in his memoir of Thomas Lodge, prefixed to the limited edition of Lodge's works, printed for the Hunterian Club, Glasgow, 1883. On page 22 of this introductory memoir, there is this brief comment:

Lodge, who must have been reading Ronsard or Baif, addressed an octett in French to Greene in 1589, as an introduction to *The Spanish Masquerado* of the latter poet, in which he addresses Greene as "mon Greene" and "mon doux ami."

Gosse does not reproduce these French verses, nor does he suggest a particular poem of Ronsard or of Baif which might in his opinion have served as a suggestion for them. Apparently he had in mind only a general influence of the two French poets upon these verses.

Students of French-English relationships have even less to say. Mr. Upham, in his *French Influence in English Literature*, p. 122, quotes the verses to Greene, but gives no source. Sir Sidney Lee, in his *The French Renaissance in England*, p. 227, quotes from Ronsard their principal source without mentioning the possibility of a connection between the two. *The passage from Ronsard which Sir Sidney Lee quotes is as follows:

Tousjours, tousjours, sans que jamais je meure,
 Je volerai tout vif par l'univers,
 Éternisant les champs où je demeure,
 De mes lauriers fatalement couvers,
 Pour avoir joint les deux harpeurs divers
 Au doux babil de ma lyre d'ivoire,

Que j'ay rendus Vandomois *par mes vers*.
 Sus donque, Muse, emporte au ciel la *gloire*
 Que l'ay gaignée, annonçant la victoire
Dont à bon droit je me voy jouissant,
 Et de ton fils consacre la mémoire,
Serrant ton front d'un laurier verdissant.

Odes, Book v, ode xxxii.

This passage is a part of Ronsard's translation of one of Horace's odes (Book III, ode xxx). A line-for-line comparison of these verses with those of Lodge quoted above betrays the fact that all but one of the rimes as well as more than half the words are borrowed from Ronsard's ode.

At the suggestion of Professor Lancaster, who considers the whole passage a tissue of Ronsardian words and phrases, I have made a search for the missing lines and half-lines. The results I give from the Laumonier edition as follows:

A moy semblables artisans
 Ont immortalisé leur gloire (II, 166);
 Ores donc ta renommé
 Voirra le monde, *amée*
 Par le labeur de mes dois (II, 109);
Mon doux plaisir, ma douce colombelle (I, 150);
 De ton nom, mon Thevet . . . (II, 19);
 Tu romps l'obscurité *des hommes vicieux* (II, 7);
 je n'eus onc envie
 D'*abaisser l'oeil* pour les voir seulement . . .
 Voila pourquoy l'Euterpe la sacrée
 M'a *de mortel fait compagnon des dieux* (II, 288).

Stripped of his borrowed plumes, Lodge has little left except *n'est-ce pas, ami*, and a few substitutions of words for others that closely resemble them. In spite of the literalness of his borrowings, however, the result is not correct French. He has not followed the thought expressed in the context of the borrowed passages, but inserted into a setting of his own words and phrases lifted arbitrarily from Ronsard. These he has altered just enough to make them incorrect. In the third verse, for example, he substitutes *te* for *me*, thereby forcing *éternisant ta gloire* into a wrong construction, so that Greene is eternalizing his own fame. Ronsard's figure, with its *lyre* and *harpeurs* is consistent; Lodge makes *babû serrer le front*, a manifest absurdity. Ronsard, too,

in his *l'Euterpe* . . . *M'a de mortel fait compagnon des dieux*, means that the Muse has raised him from the low estate of mere mortal to be as one of the gods. Lodge has tried to use the same verses to convey a different meaning: "thou of mortals art likest to the gods"; and thinking, apparently, that an *s* added to *mortel* would solve the difficulty, has made three mistakes in grammar in the same verse. *Tu*, separated from its verb, should be *toi* (*toi*); in both instances where Lodge uses *de* alone, the article is required.

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EDGAR LEE MASTERS AND JOINVILLE

It is quite conceivable that, within a few years, some candidate for the doctorate in English will select, or be given, for his dissertation: The sources of Edgar Lee Masters' Poems. The one poem that will, in all probability, most puzzle this hypothetical scholar is entitled: *Friar Yves*. It first appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, and was later included in the volume: *Toward the Gulf*, New York, Macmillan, 1918, pp. 235-242. As I suggested the subject of this poem to Mr. Masters, I will at once reveal its literary source.

It was in the spring of 1908, while I was calling with George Weston, now Professor at Harvard, on Professor Charles Eliot Norton, at Shady Hill, Cambridge, that Mr. Norton told a story taken from Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis*. In the de Wailly Edition¹ it runs as follows (Wailly's Modern French version):

Tandis qu'ils allaient de leur hôtel à l'hôtel du soudan, frère Yves vit une vielle femme qui traversait la rue, et portait à la main droite une écuelle pleine de feu, et à la gauche une fiole pleine d'eau. Frère Yves lui demanda: "Que veux-tu faire de cela?" Elle lui répondit qu'elle voulait avec le feu brûler le paradis, afin qu'il n'y en eût plus jamais, et avec l'eau éteindre l'enfer, afin qu'il n'y en eût plus jamais. Et il lui demanda: "Pourquoi veux-tu faire cela?" "Parce que je ne veux pas que nul fasse jamais le bien pour avoir la récompense du paradis, ni par peur de l'enfer; mais simplement pour l'amour de Dieu, qui vaut tant, et qui nous peut faire tout le bien possible."

¹ *Histoire de Saint Louis*, edited by Natalis de Wailly, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1874, pp. 243, 245.

This story stuck in my mind, both because of its quaint significance and in memory of Professor Norton. In the Spring of 1916 I happened to find Mr. Masters on a train going from Chicago to the Indiana Dunes. In speaking of his most recent volume, I congratulated him on his poem on *Saint Francis and Lady Clare*² and asked him why he did not treat oftener such mediaeval themes. He replied quite candidly that he did not do so simply because he knew nothing at all about the Middle Ages. I then said: "If I should tell you a quaint mediaeval story, would you make a poem of it?" He assured me that he gladly would, at which I repeated, from memory and possibly with a few involuntary embellishments, the story of the Frère Yves. This was the source of his *Friar Yves*.

The only embellishment, so to speak, added by me, not through wilful corruption of the text, but by virtue of inexact and imaginative recollection, concerned a possible conversation between Frère Yves and his wife,³ who was, naturally, very reluctant to have him go. To comfort her he told her how going to the Crusades could not be anything but profitable, inasmuch as, should he survive, he would return laden with glory, riches, oriental spices, etc., and should he not survive, his death in such a holy cause would doubtless bring eternal blessings to his soul, his widow and all their progeny. These details Masters interpreted in his first stanza:

If I survive, I shall return
With precious things from Palestine—
Gold for my purse, spices and wine,
Glory to wear among my kin.
Fame as a warrior I shall win.
But, otherwise, if I am slain,
In Jesus' cause, my soul shall earn
Immortal life washed white from sin.

Particularly in its further elaboration, however, the poem lost almost entirely its mediaeval quaintness and character. In fact, in his desire to overelaborate a very simple legend, Mr. Masters introduced elements which are alien and incongruous. For instance, through a long preamble, mysterious voices are heard, presumably angelic, giving vent to vatic oratory, not mediaeval,

² *Songs and Salires*, New York, Macmillan, 1916, pp. 4-9.

³ Brother Yves may not have been a celibate!

but vaguely reminiscent of the Great War; the old woman who, undescribed in the original, crosses the crusader's path, is portrayed by Mr. Masters as a semi-mythological enchantress, a grotesque mixture of Medusa and Polyphemus (Stanzas 9 and 10):

Her body was virginal, white, and straight
 And glowed like a dawning
 But to behold
 Her face was to forget the youth
 Of her white bosom. All her hair
 Was tangled serpents; she did wear
 A single eye in the middle brow.
 Her cheeks were shriveled, and one tooth
 Stuck from shrunken gums

The old woman does not merely threaten, as in Joinville's story, with her pails to burn heaven and quench hell, but actually does it, with results cosmically catastrophic! These details, added by Masters, are, it seems to me, both incongruous and irrelevant. They retard and clog, instead of quickening or enhancing the story. On account of this inopportune overelaboration and also on account of the lack of lyric beauty or effective feeling, this poem cannot even be placed among the best of Mr. Masters. Obviously it was too much to expect that the champion of *vers libre* in our twentieth-century America and the man who fathered the cynical *Spoon River Anthology* should be able to interpret with lyric beauty and mediaeval naïvete the legend told by Joinville.

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THREE GREY WOMEN

THE COMPANIONS

Three grey women walk with me,
 Fate and Grief and Memory.
 My fate brought grief; my grief must be
 With me through eternity;
 Such thy power, memory.
 Three grey women walk with me.
 —Adelaide Crapsey.

Not the least interesting point about this hitherto unpublished

poem of Adelaide Crapsey's is its insistence on the color grey; for this marks it strikingly as a part of its writer's personality. Grey was her color. Even as early as her boarding-school days she began to wear charmingly quaint grey dresses of the Kate Greenaway sort. Later, when she was teaching at Smith College, she wore grey altogether; grey dresses, grey coats, grey hats. She even brought to class a daintily sharpened grey pencil. She used grey writing paper. Thus her association of her favorite color, which she considered a part of herself, with death and fate, takes on a haunting beauty in this poem, as in the more mature "Fate Defied,"¹ which reads

As it
Were tissue of silver
I'll wear, O fate, thy grey,
And go mistily radiant, clad
Like the moon.

Equally characteristic of Adelaide Crapsey is an interest in form, which, in theory, appears in her *Study in English Metrics*, and in practice, in the precise cinquains. "The Companions" shows this attention to pattern, though possibly in an experimental way, in the use of the same rhyme throughout the six lines, and in the elaboration of the three words which make up the second line of the poem. The first and last lines, meanwhile, being identical, act as a setting for the whole, besides giving it its color. In tone the poem has the inevitable sadness which is characteristic of the *Verse*, and this note is emphasized, in the last line, by the return of the "three grey women" symbolic of fate.

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WHITMAN'S VERSE

Whitman's verse—with the exception that it is not metered—is farther removed from prose than is traditional verse itself, for the reason that traditional verse is, like prose, composed in sentences, whereas Whitman's verse is composed in lines. Structurally, traditional verse is but metered prose. It is written in sentences,

¹ Crapsey, Adelaide, *Verse* (third edition), New York, 1926, p. 51.

abounds in run-on lines, and, except metrically, the line itself is not a unit. This is just as true of the practice of Pope and his school as it is of any other English verse. The first sixteen-line stanza of *An Essay on Man* is a series of sentences which runs on from line to line and couplet to couplet. Between all traditional verse and prose there is no structural distinction except that of meter.

But Whitman's verse differs from both prose and traditional verse, and in the same way: it is composed in lines, not in sentences.

Something startles me where I thought I was safest,
I withdraw from the still woods I loved,
I will not go now on the pastures to walk,
I will not strip the clothes from my body to meet my lover the sea,
I will not touch my flesh to the earth as to other flesh to renew me.

A run-on line is rare in Whitman—so rare that it may be considered a "slip." The law of his structure is that *the unit of sense is the measure of the line*. The lines, in sense, are end-stopped. Whitman employed everywhere a system of punctuation to indicate his structure. Look down any page of *Leaves of Grass*, and you will find almost every line ending in a comma; you will find a period at the end of a group of lines or a whole poem. Syntactically, there may be many sentences in the group or the whole poem; there may be two or three sentences in one line. But Whitman was composing by lines, not by sentences, and he punctuated accordingly.

Nor is *Leaves of Grass* "prose poetry," which, as in the case of Ruskin, for example, is, like ordinary prose, written in sentences, not in lines.

Musically, the accumulative effect of a number of Whitman lines is that of the chant. Whitman often refers to *Leaves of Grass* as "these chants." And one might go on to cite his comparison of his rhythm with the rolling of the sea ("Had I the Choice"), or with the undulation of the mountain range ("Spirit that Form'd This Scene"). One might guess that *Leaves of Grass*, in its structure, was an answer to Whitman's desire for a loose form befitting what he felt to be the experimental spirit of the New World. But what has already been pointed out is the thing of importance.

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SOME AMERICAN REFERENCES TO BLAKE BEFORE 1863

In May, 1801, Washington Allston embarked for England. Upon his arrival there, he sought out Fuseli, and wrote back to Charles Frazer that the only painters in England worth mentioning were West, Fuseli, Opie, Lawrence, and Sir William Beechy; "as for the rest, they are the damndest stupid wretches that ever disgraced a profession."¹ He does not mention Blake, who then was laboring at Felpham under Hayley. It is too bad that Allston and Blake never met, as there was more than a streak of fantasy in the American, which would have responded with gusto to the work of the great Englishman. William Austin was also in London from 1802 to 1803, during the Felpham period; but though he also ran into Fuseli and others, he did not mention Blake in the *Letters from London*. Austin, fresh from Harvard, with leisure, taste, originality, and an imagination which was later to create *Peter Rugg*, would almost certainly have mentioned Blake had he met him or even heard an extraordinary anecdote. But Blake in those days had not sufficient reputation to be mentioned.

John Sartain was in London from 1808 to 1830, he heard of Blake through Varley, who had all the Job series framed, besides the famous "spiritual portraits" of William Wallace, King Edward, and the Flea. But when Sartain got round to looking the old man up, Blake had died—known of, though scarcely known, in his own city. Sartain did meet Mrs. Blake, who was then housekeeper for Tatham; he also met Henry Richter, who told Sartain the inside story of Cromek's double-dealing over the picture of the Canterbury Pilgrims.² But Sartain's experience did not spread Blake's fame in America, as his *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man* was not published until 1898.

In 1829, Thomas Cole visited London, whence in a letter to Dunlap, he confessed his disappointment over British art: "To colour and chiaroscuro all else is sacrificed. . . . There are few exceptions among the artists of England to this meretricious style";³

¹ Jared B. Flagg, *Life & Letters of Washington Allston*, New York, 1892, p. 45.

² See my *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*, p. 218.

³ Louis L. Noble, *The Course of Empire*, New York, 1853, p. 114.

and at this point, just when we expect—or hope—to see the name of Blake, the letter is abridged by the editor. But Blake was dead and probably forgotten by then.

It was Allan Cunningham's *Life of Blake*, in volume 2 of his *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1830) that first attracted the attention of Americans in general to this extraordinary man.⁴ The *New Jerusalem Magazine* (Boston) for January, 1832 (v, 192-199) published a "Memoirs of William Blake" based on Cunningham. The emphasis, as one might expect, is laid on the evidence for a supernatural world; his works in this world are treated as briefly as follows: "Mr. Cunningham then gives some account of Blake's sketches, and some specimens of his poetry, in which we see no great merit."

Apparently the first American poem to be inspired by Blake appeared in the *New-York Mirror* on June 21, 1831 (xi, 406). The *New-York Mirror* was then edited by George P. Morris, Theodore S. Fay, and Nathaniel P. Willis, perhaps one of these gentlemen wrote the poem, which is, however, signed merely "A." Under the heading of "The Fairy's Funeral," the author explains: "Reading, the other day, Macnish's very interesting volume on the 'Philosophy of Sleep,'⁵ I was much struck with his brief but very characteristic account of the painter Blake." Having described the fairy funeral, the author then proceeds to turn it into ten quatrains, of which the first is a sufficient sample:

The setting sun his rays had shed
In gold and purple o'er the sky,
When lo! a requiem for the dead
On zephyr's pinions floated by

For the next ten years, there seems to have been little interest in Blake. The *New Jerusalem Magazine*, perhaps on the recommendation of J. J. Garth Wilkinson, published "The Lamb" in its issue for September, 1842 (xvi, 40), without further comment

⁴ In this book Elihu Vedder first read of "Blake, the mad painter. Fancy the author of the illustrations to the Book of Job—*mad!!!*" (Elihu Vedder: *The Digressions of V.*, Boston and New York, 1900, p. 61). "But I never doubted his sanity" (*ibid.* p. 411).

⁵ Robert Macnish, *The Philosophy of Sleep*, First American Edition, New York, 1834, pp. 227-228. His account of Blake's visions is taken from Cunningham.

than that it was "Selected from Songs of Innocence, by William Blake." Apparently this is the first publication of any of Blake's works in this country; and by the act, the *New Jerusalem Magazine* atoned for its earlier criticism. Just a year later, the *Southern Literary Messenger* published Mrs. Elizabeth E. Eames's "Love's Last Work," a poem inspired by Blake's death-bed, as it reconstructed itself in her fancy, after reading Mrs. Heman's "The Painter's Last Work," which was frankly based on Cunningham.

The Hon. Job Durfee, LL. D., Chief Justice of Rhode Island, was the first non-Swedenborgian to be impressed by Blake's power of visualizing. Durfee's anonymous *The Panidea: or, an Omnipresent Reason considered as the Creative and Sustaining Logos* (Boston, 1846) ⁶ sprang from experiences of his own: the tone of his book is perhaps best indicated by a quotation of the passage on page 63, to which his reference to Blake furnishes a footnote.

I have known the visual imagery of dreams to retain, after waking, possession of the visual nerve, and to have an apparent *outness* (excuse the word), until external objects produced their full effect and obliterated the impression from within. But here the visual nerve must have been affected by a mere conception, or ideal image. I have heard one, in whose word I think I may place implicit confidence, observe, that he could, at any time, by fixing his eyes on a darkened portion of the room, give a faint apparent *outness* to the visual imagery of his mind. Now this can be done, only by the conceptions imparting their own image to the retinae, and so overcoming external impressions made on the same point, as to give the mental imagery to take their place.*

* William Blake, whose biography is given in Cunningham's *Lives of the most eminent British Painters and Sculptors*, must, I think, be regarded as affording an extraordinary instance of this power of the mind.

The *Harbinger*, published by the Brook Farm Phalanx, reprinted in their issue for Oct. 31, 1846 (Vol. III, no. XXI, p. 333) "On Another's Sorrow"; perhaps Wilkinson sent it to them, although his name does not appear in the *Harbinger* (of which I have not seen a complete file) until later.

⁶ Collected in his *Complete Works*, Providence, 1849, where it is called his masterpiece. It is one of the most intelligent of the essays in cosmology then being published: the list includes A. J. Davis's *Principles of Nature* (1847), Poe's *Eureka* (1848), and T. H. Chivers's *Search After Truth* (1848).

In 1847 appeared anonymously Whittier's *Supernaturalism of New England*, which contains a reference to the fairy funeral.⁷

In the next year, the *Harbinger*, now published by the American Union of Associationists, printed five poems from the *Poetical Sketches* in its issue for July 8, 1848 (VII, 73).⁸ These poems were "To the Evening Star," "To Morning," "How Sweet I Roamed," "My Silks and Fine Array," and "Love and Harmony Combine." Wilkinson, who contributed an article on Progress to the same issue, was no doubt responsible.

The first American commentary on a poem of Blake's appeared in W. H. Channing's *Spirit of the Age* for August 25, 1849 (I, 113-114). This article is signed "Y. S."—the terminal initials of Henry James, senior (identified in the Index), who thus won the honor of being the first man on this side of the Atlantic to recognize in print the intellectual quality in Blake's verse. His article is worth salvaging.

Every one who has read Allan Cunningham's *Lives of the Painters*, is familiar with the interesting sketch of William Blake. Cunningham was of too worldly a bent to do full justice to Blake's poems. Some of these for simple and natural pathos will never be surpassed. He who reads, however, must allow the author any amount of license with respect to syntax and prosody. I enclose you one of his poems, not by any means as a fair specimen of his muse, for it is not, but for its striking humanitarian strain.

[Here is printed "The Little Vagabond."]

It seems to me that this curious *morceau* involves much useful truth. "The Little Vagabond" evidently considers that worship will not be spontaneous, while the stomach is empty, and the back uncovered. He does not mean to say that worship will be impossible in that state of things, but only enforced or voluntary, not spontaneous. "When the lark soars and sings in the morning"—thus the ragged little philosopher reasons—"it is from the inspiration of a full crop. His song is a spontaneous gush of gratitude for the good breakfast God has given him. Line my crop and feather my back every day like the lark's, and I will give you both a matin's and vesper's, to which the lark's shall be no parallel. . . ."

But I had no intention of writing a commentary on poor Blake's muse.

⁷ Whittier's probable source is Cunningham, although the story was being repeated in various places; for example, in Walter Cowper Dendy's *Philosophy of Mystery*, London, 1841, p. 90. Dendy, by the way, was a classmate of Keats in surgery, and in his book has preserved for us a few valuable reminiscences.

⁸ Discovered by Dr. T. O. Mabbott (*N. & Q.*, 12 S. XI, 128).

I only wish to draw your attention to the verses, with a view to suggesting the important truth with which they are fraught, namely, that we shall have no worship acceptable to God until we have that which flows from us spontaneously, or whether we will or not, having its spring in the perfect bliss of our daily sensible experience.

Y. S.

The next American to discover Blake was none other than T. S. Arthur, still remembered as author of the novel, *Ten Nights in a Bar-room*. When he edited *The Brilliant; A Gift Book for 1850*, he included an unsigned article, "The Visionary Painter," which occupies pages 120-126. It is mostly quotations and paraphrases from Cunningham; the supernatural is emphasized; but the "Tyger" is quoted (in Cunningham's version), and the anecdote of Blake's painting a picture of his wife on his death-bed concludes the article. The full account of this death-bed, quoted (without acknowledgement) from Cunningham, appeared in *Arthur's Home Magazine* for March, 1854 (III, 220).

In 1855, James Russell Lowell printed fifty copies of his deceased wife's poems; in these forgotten yet exquisite lyrics of Maria Lowell's are the first poems which are written under Blake's spiritual influence.⁹ In the same year, the Gilchrists in England began their research into Blake's life and works; and when their *Pictor Ignotus* at last appeared, in 1863, Blake's name began to come into its own.

Thus Blake first became known in America as a visionary. He had realized that something must be done to float his hidden doctrines across the black sea of time, to the "young men of a future age," who could understand him; and in the *Island in the Moon* and the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* he had defended eccentric conduct on just such grounds. And his scheme worked.

But nobody seems to have called him mad: Swedenborgianism had prepared America for such marvels. Indeed, Swedenborgianism used Blake as a prominent witness to the existence of the supernatural worlds. A Swedenborgian magazine first published an account of his life; the same magazine was the first to publish a poem of his for its own sake; the Swedenborgian, Wilkinson, was writing about Blake to his radical friends in this country; and the Swedenborgian, Henry James, was the first man over

⁹ See my *William Blake*, p. 248.

here to find in a poem of Blake's a doctrine worth explaining at length.

The single source for information about Blake seems to have been Cunningham's life. The only other information that was accessible was the biographical sketch in John Thomas Smith's *Nollekins and His Times*; and this is never referred to.

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SOME NOTES ON BURNS'S READING

Though editors and biographers have freely admitted that Burns was widely read in the literature of his day, few have endeavored to trace that reading by identification of the numerous quotations in his letters. For most it has sufficed to cite the highly selective lists given by the poet in his autobiographical letter to Dr. Moore and elsewhere in his correspondence, and to annotate the obvious lines from Pope, Shakespeare, Thomson, Young, and Shenstone. The present paper makes no attempt either to discuss Burns's use of such standard authors as these or to rehearse such a topic as his intensive knowledge of eighteenth century song-books, which has been fully treated by J. C. Dick and other specialists. Its aim is merely to point out as succinctly as possible some little-noticed phases of Burns's reading which reveal several unrecorded "sources" of passages in his poems, to suggest that certain verses usually printed as quotations may in fact be Burns's own work, and to confess failure in the effort to identify a residuum of a dozen or so items.

Exclusive of Biblical references, proverbs and folk-sayings, repetitions, and quotations from his own published works, Burns's letters contain well over a hundred quotations, nearly all poetical. Thomson, Pope, Shakespeare, and Young head the list in the order named, but the total of fifteen separate passages from Thomson and nine from Young only hints at the frequency with which these two are cited in "favorite quotations" repeated *ad nauseam* by the poet in his more hortatory moods. Nothing especially individual appears in his choice of quotations from these and other standard authors. Somewhat surprising, in view of their great influence on Burns, is the fact that in the letters Ramsay is quoted but twice, and Fergus-

son once—and that once from the trite and uncharacteristic paraphrase of the third chapter of *Job*.¹ Burns had taken all that these men had to give him, and had made it his own, but he did not quote them when he was writing prose.

Similarly, he wholly ignored in his letters a portion of his early reading which seems to have been ignored also by scholars—namely, the popular chapbooks. One of these—*Jocky and Maggy's Courtship*, by Dugal Graham²—furnishes “sources” for two of the most indecorous passages which have been admitted into the standard editions of Burns. This rowdy work relates how Jocky, after his marriage to Maggy, is named by one Jenny, his mother's dairymaid, as the father of her expected child, and has to do public penance for his sin. The terms in which he at first tried to deny the charge obviously suggested to Burns the 28th stanza of “Death and Dr. Hornbrook”:

. . . Daft woman, I trow it'll be but wind, that hoves up the lasses wame;
she'll hae drucken some sour drink, raw sowens, or rotten milk, makes her
so ill.—

And again, after doing penance, his pious resolve of future good behavior furnished the poet with a highly indelicate phrase which he incorporated in the 7th stanza of “Holy Willie's Prayer”:

A black end on a' me, Sir, if ever I lay an unlawfu' leg upon a hissy
again, an they sud lie down to me, as long as our Maggy lasts . . .

Systematic investigation of all the extant chapbook literature would probably reveal that Burns had gleaned effective colloquial phrases here as often and as successfully as he did from the old song-books.

Among his unrecorded borrowings from more polite literature, no editor, despite the poet's frequently expressed admiration for Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, seems to have noted that the opening line of the Epigram on William Roddick,³ “Light lay the earth on Billy's breast,” is quoted verbatim from Chapter XX (the Bedlam

¹ Quoted to George Thomson, April, 1796; Chambers-Wallace *Life & Works of Burns*, iv, 264. The Ramsay quotations are in letters to Robert Aiken, 3 April, 1786 (*ibid.*, i, 317), and Richard Brown, 30 Dec, 1787 (ii, 235).

² Reprinted in vol. i of *John Cheap the Chapman's Library*, Glasgow, 1877.

³ Chambers-Wallace, iv, 117.

scene) of that lachrymose work. In the manuscripts Burns acknowledged the quotation. With the exception of the Indian's prayer in Chapter XXXIV (Edwards's story) that "the Great Spirit may bear up the weight of your gray hairs and blunt the arrow that brings them rest," which is twice used in the letters,⁴ it appears to be his only quotation from his favorite novel.

Another quotation, likewise acknowledged in the manuscripts, though most editors omit the marks, is the opening line of "A Mother's Lament,"⁵ "Fate gave the word—the arrow sped," which is shortened from the first line of John Brown's *Essay on Satire*, "Fate gave the word, the cruel arrow sped." Another phrase from this poem, "the daring path Spinoza trod," is quoted by Burns in his letter to James Candlish of 21 March, 1787.⁶

The pretentious letters to Clarinda contain, proportionately, more quotations than any other section of Burns's correspondence, and some of these when traced to their sources reveal a phase of his reading hitherto little recognized—his knowledge of the drama of his day. Shakespeare excluded, the only dramatic quotations noted by most editors are a couple from Otway in early letters,⁷ and those from Thomson which Burns himself identifies in the Dunlop correspondence. It is not surprising that a son of the eighteenth century should several times quote Addison's *Cato*; it is faintly surprising that so good a Scot as Burns should use no more than three quotations from Home's *Douglas*.⁸ A line from Bickerstaff's *Love in a Village*, "Hope, thou nurse of young desire, Fairy promiser of joy," is quoted to Clarinda on 19 January,

⁴ To Lady Elizabeth Cunningham, 22 Jan., 1789 (*ibid.*, III, 31), and to Mrs. Dunlop, 25 Dec., 1793 (IV, 69).

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 379.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 69. Brown's *Essay* is prefixed to Pope's *Essay on Man* in Warburton's edition of Pope.

⁷ To James Smith, 14 Aug., 1786 (I, 385) and to John Richmond, 1 Sept., 1786 (in *Burns Club Facsimiles*, St. Louis, 1908).

⁸ "As women wish to be who love their lords," (letter to Mrs. Dunlop, 10 July, 1788: *Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop*, London, 1898, 74); "The shallow fool of coward conscience," (to Agnes Dunlop, Nov. ? 1788: *Ibid.*, 114); "The needy man who has known better times," (to George Thomson, July, 1794: Chambers-Wallace, IV, 130). Scott Douglas failed to recognize this last as a quotation, and introduced a conjectural half-sentence to complete, as he thought, the sense.

1788,⁹ and "Oh, I have sins to Heaven, but none to you," used to the same lady a week earlier,¹⁰ is paraphrased from the first act of Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*.

Several other quotations, which fairly extensive search in the poetic drama of the eighteenth century has thus far failed to identify, are likewise pretty obviously dramatic. These are:

Hungry Ruin had me in the wind;¹¹
May I be lost, no eye to weep my end;
And find no earth that's base enough to bury me;¹²

But while we live,
But one short hour perhaps, between us two
Let there be peace;¹³

Speak, Sister, is the deed done?
Long ago, long ago, long ago;
Above twelve glasses since have run,¹⁴

Talbot's death
Was woe enough, though it had ended there;¹⁵
I dare to *sin*, but not to *lie*!¹⁶

The manuscript of the letter to James Smith of which Lockhart printed a fragment beginning "Against two things I am fixed as fate,"¹⁷ contains four hitherto unpublished lines of blank verse:

O Jeany, thou hast stolen away my soul!
In vain I strive against the lov'd idea:
Thy tender image sallies on my thoughts,
My firm resolves become an easy prey!

The first line is paraphrased from *Cato*, I, 6, but nothing in Addison remotely resembles the remainder. There are no quotation-

⁹ Chambers-Wallace, II, 257.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 20.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 257.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 278. This is subjoined to a quotation from *Cato*, V, 4, but is not Addison's.

¹⁴ *R. B. and Mrs. D.*, 150.

¹⁵ Chambers-Wallace, III, 55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 273. This may possibly be quoted from one of the two lost letters from Clarinda which Burns replied to in this letter of July, 1791, or from some other missing portion of the correspondence.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 312. MS in the Gribbel collection, Philadelphia.

marks in the manuscript. Unless Burns was quoting from some unknown dramatist who had stolen a line from Addison—an unlikely chance, for Burns could scarcely have had access to any very extensive dramatic library in Mauchline in 1786—we may assume these lines to be his own.

Again, in the letter to Clarinda of 19 January, 1788,¹⁸ we find a fragment of baroque blank verse:

Innocence

Look'd gayly smiling on; while rosy Pleasure
Hid young desire amid her flowery wreath
And pour'd her cup luxuriant, mantling high
The sparkling heavenly vintage, Love and Bliss.

In J. B. Reid's *Concordance*¹⁹ these lines are attributed to Burns. Reid gives no authority for his attribution, which subsequent editors have ignored—Wallace has no note to the lines, and they are not included in either G. A. Aitken's *Aldine Edition* or in Henley and Henderson. But again the absence of quotation-marks—though other poetic fragments in the same letter are quoted—suggests that Reid may be right in giving Burns the dubious credit of authorship.

Two quatrains, likewise, usually printed as quotations, are probably Burns's own. The first of these occurs in his letter to William Dunbar of 30 April, 1787²⁰:

Where Wit may sparkle all its rays,
Uncurst with Caution's fears;
[And] Pleasure, basking in the blaze,
Rejoice for endless years!

Once more quotation-marks are lacking in the manuscript—a fact in itself almost conclusive evidence, for Burns was as scrupulous in acknowledging his borrowings as he was in all the rest of his punctuation. On the other hand, the presence of quotation-marks cannot be taken as proof that he did *not* write any given passage, for he frequently uses them on quotations from his own works.

The second quatrain is in the letter to Mrs. Dunlop of 31 January, 1796²¹:

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 257.

¹⁹ *A Complete Word and Phrase Concordance to the Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, Glasgow, 1889.

²⁰ Chambers-Wallace, II, 97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 256. For a complete text of this letter, see an article by

When pleasure fascinates the mental sight
 Affliction purifies the visual ray;
 Religion hails the drear, the untried night,
 That shuts, for ever shuts, Life's doubtful day

Here the accompanying prose of the letter—written at the close of the severe illness which marked the definite breaking of Burns's health—gives us a clue to the origin of the lines. During his illness he had apparently been cheering himself by rereading Young's *Night Thoughts*, for part of the sentence just preceding the quatrain is directly paraphrased from a passage in *Night vi* ²²:

When on a moment's point, th'important die
 Of life and death spun doubtful, ere it fell,
 And turn'd up life.

Following this clue, it seems probable—quotation-marks again being absent—that the quatrain was suggested by, or paraphrased from, this passage in *Night ix* ²³:

Affliction is the good man's shining scene;
 Prosperity conceals his brightest ray;
 As night to stars, woe lustre gives to man

In all the foregoing instances, access to the holographs has made certain the presence or absence of quotation-marks. The letter to Robert Ainslie of 23 July, 1787,²⁴ is one which it has been impossible to trace. That letter also contains a quatrain usually printed as a quotation:

Tho' in the morn come sturt and strife,
 Yet joy may come at noon;
 And I hope to live a merry merry life
 When a' thir days are done.

The lines may really be taken from some unidentified old song, but they may equally well be Burns's own work, and, unlike most of the passages just discussed, not his worst work either. Unless the manuscript can be found it would be rash to include the lines in an edition of the *Poems*, but it would not be surprising if they were

the present writer, "New Light on the Burns-Dunlop Estrangement," *PMLA.*, XLIV, 1106 ff. (Dec., 1929).

²² Lines 36 ff.

²³ Lines 404 ff.

²⁴ Chambers Wallace, II, 136.

ultimately proved to be his. Many similar extempore fragments from his earlier letters have long been included in the canon of his poetry.

The letter to Clarinda of 20 January, 1788,²⁵ contains another dismal quatrain, this time in quotation-marks:

Sick of the world and all its joy
My soul in pining sadness mourns:
Dark scenes of woe my mind employ,
The past and present in their turns.

So commonplace are the lines that they might be the work of almost any minor versifier of the eighteenth century, but then—so are the acknowledged lyrics which Burns addressed to Clarinda in 1788.

This same lack of personality hamper's one's search for the origin of several other quotations, such as

Fools rush'd on fools, as waves succeed to waves;²⁶
O what is life, the thoughtless wish of all!
A drop of honey in a draught of gall,²⁷
Of Heaven's protection who can be
So confident as utter this:
Tomorrow I will spend in bliss!²⁸

The demons of despair and death
Ride on the blast, and urge the howling storm,²⁹
Praise from thy lips 'tis mine with joy to boast;
They best can give it who deserve it most.³⁰

This last might be paraphrased from Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*³¹:

The well-sung woes will soothe my pensive ghost,
He best can paint 'em who shall feel 'em most;

or from the closing couplet of Addison's *The Campaign*:

Raised of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those who paint them truest, praise them most.

The question is, who did the paraphrasing? Burns, or another?

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 262.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 261.

²⁷ To Clarinda, 6 March, 1788; *Ibid.*, 312.

²⁸ To Mrs. Dunlop, 9 July, 1790. *R. B. and Mrs. D.*, 266.

²⁹ In an unpublished portion of the letter to Dr. John Moore, 14 July, 1790 (Chambers-Wallace, III, 180).

³⁰ Letter to the Earl of Buchan, 7 Feb., 1787; *ibid.*, II, 47.

³¹ Lines 365-6.

There remain, finally, several miscellaneous passages of verse and prose which are marked as quotations but of which the provenance is even vaguer than in the foregoing instances. Chief among these are a fragment of an "auld sang"³²:

Who does me disdain, I can scorn him again,
And I'll never mind any such foes,

another line of verse³³:

While life's warm spirit beats within my breast;

and the following scraps of prose:

Oubliez moi, grand Dieu, si jamais je l'oublie!³⁴

My heart is not of that rock, nor my soul careless as that sea.³⁵

About the gloomy month of November, when the people of England hang and drown themselves.³⁶

These notes would be more satisfactory if they tracked all these items to their sources; in their present form, however, they at least serve to prove that we have still a good deal to learn about Burns's wide and varied reading.

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THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM ON HAZLITT AND COLERIDGE

Professors D. Nichol Smith and T. M. Raysor are both sceptical about the dependence of early nineteenth century Shakespeare criticism upon that of the late eighteenth century. The former

³² To Clarinda, 7 March, 1788, *ibid.*, II, 314.

³³ Unpublished note to Lady Henrietta Don, 26 March, 1787. In the Esty collection, Ardmore, Pa.

³⁴ Twice quoted: letter to Dalrymple of Orangefield, Feb., 1787 (Chambers-Wallace, II, 44); and autobiographical letter to Dr. Moore, 2 Aug., 1787 (*ibid.*, I, 21).

³⁵ Letter to Margaret Chalmers, 16 Sept., 1788, *ibid.*, II, 375.

³⁶ Letter to Col. Fullarton of Fullarton, 3 Oct., 1791; *ibid.*, III, 286. Wallace does not print the line as a quotation, but it is so marked in the original MS, now in the Birthplace Museum, Alloway.

scholar wrote in 1916: "There is nothing greater—perhaps nothing so great—in Coleridge or Hazlitt [as Morgann's *Essay*].¹ Forty years were to pass before they gave us the new criticism in all its strength, and they, to their loss, did not know Morgann."² This judgment he repeated, in 1928.³ And Dr. Raysor is almost as doubtful: "There is no absolute proof that Coleridge was indebted to his English predecessors, but it is highly improbable that a profound student of Shakespeare, who was naturally a voracious reader, could have entirely ignored the character-studies of the preceding period."⁴ He declares that Morgann's *Essay* "might easily have escaped his [Coleridge's] notice" but that "Richardson's study of Hamlet might . . . have been known to Coleridge."⁵ He admits, however, that "the eighteenth-century critics . . . certainly anticipated both him and the Germans in the new method of character-studies."⁶ So the field is thrown open for further investigation.

For the purposes of this article, it will be best to confine the discussion to the two most prominent critics, Coleridge and Hazlitt, but before they are treated in detail, an item of general interest should be noted. Beginning in 1810 the *Monthly Magazine* produced a series of articles on Shakespeare running through five volumes of the periodical and concluding in 1812 (Vol. XXXIII) with two articles, the last of which was signed "M. M." At first glance "M. M." looks like Maurice Morgann, but unfortunately it is not, for Morgann was dead.⁷ The article in volume XXXI (1811) refers directly to "the late Mr. Morgan," who wrote "A most able analysis" of Falstaff's "natural courage."⁸ Further, the next article in the same volume refers to the "celebrated"¹⁰ essay on Falstaff again. Hence Morgann's essay was apparently

¹ Maurice Morgann, *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* (London: Davies, 1777).

² Introduction to *Shakespeare Criticism* (Oxford, 1916), p. xx.

³ *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1928), p. 87.

⁴ *MLN.*, XLII (1927), 500.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 500. For Richardson's texts on Shakespeare, see *JEGP.*, XXVIII (1929), 117.

⁶ *MLN.*, XLII (1927), 500.

⁷ XXX (1810), 326; XXXI (1811), 112, 210, 322, 410, 422; XXXII (1811), 19, 112, 222; XXXIII (1812), 27, 218.

⁸ He died in 1802.

⁹ XXXI (1811), 211.

¹⁰ XXXI (1811), 325.

well known in the period, though the second edition did not appear till 1820. Now both Hazlitt and Coleridge knew the *Monthly Magazine*: Coleridge contributed poems to it in 1796¹¹ and 1797¹² and in a letter, December 12, 1796, remarked: "I receive about forty guineas yearly from the *Critical Review* and the new *Monthly Magazine*";¹³ and Hazlitt referred to it directly many times.¹⁴ Could both of them have missed both references to Morgann? At all events, these two direct references would seem to deserve more attention from students of Coleridge and Hazlitt than a mere indication of them here would imply.¹⁵

To return to the two men:—Hazlitt seems to be an open book. The Index to the Waller and Glover Edition shows that Hazlitt linked with Shakespeare, Addison,¹⁶ Cibber,¹⁷ Colman,¹⁸ Dodd,¹⁹ Farmer,²⁰ Garrick,²¹ Hanmer,²² *Heron's Letters* (Pinkerton),²³ W. H. Ireland,²⁴ Johnson,²⁵ Kemble,²⁶ Malone,²⁷ Pope,²⁸ William Richardson,²⁹ Ritson,³⁰ Rowe,³¹ Rymer,³² Steevens,³³ Voltaire³⁴ and J. White.³⁵ And the following periodicals also appear therein: *Anti-Jacobin Review*, *Critical Review*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Lady's Magazine*, *London Magazine*, *Lounger*, *Mirror*, *Monthly Magazine*, *Monthly Mirror*, *Monthly Review*, *Scots Magazine* and *Wit's Magazine*. This is a whole program of eighteenth century

¹¹ II (Sept., 1796), 647; II (Oct., 1796), 732 Both signed "S. T. Coleridge"

¹² IV (Nov., 1797), 374. Three sonnets signed "Nehemiah Higginbotham," but see *Letters* (ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1895), I, 251 n.

¹³ *Letters*, I, 185.

¹⁴ *Works* (ed. Waller and Glover), II, 175, 177, 192; VII, 230; X, 221, 222, etc. This text will be used *passim* for Hazlitt.

¹⁵ And there may well be references in other periodicals.

¹⁶ I, 370, 372.

¹⁷ I, 180.

¹⁸ VIII, 163 [a reference to the translation of Terence].

¹⁹ I, 257.

²⁷ II, 184.

²⁰ II, 188.

²⁸ I, 174, 176

²¹ I, 290.

²⁹ I, 171.

²² III, 405.

³⁰ II, 184.

²³ II, 181.

³¹ VIII, 287.

²⁴ VI, 354.

³² V, 297.

²⁵ I, 174-9, 270, 303, etc

³³ II, 184.

²⁶ I, 237, 299.

³⁴ II, 107, 166.

³⁵ VII, 37. For the works of all these men on Shakespeare, see *SP.*, Extra Series I (1929), 58-76.

study in itself, but Hazlitt adds another important man, with an error, however, as to his name: "A gentleman of the name of Mason, the author of a Treatise on Ornamental Gardening (not Mason the poet), began a work of similar kind about forty years ago, but he lived only to finish a parallel between the characters of Macbeth and Richard III, which is an exceedingly ingenious piece of analytical criticism."³⁶ This man is Thomas Whately.³⁷

In the light of these lists one need not question Hazlitt's knowledge of his predecessors. That he actually followed them a few examples will make clear. His analysis of Richard III and Macbeth, suggested above, is practically a direct repetition of Whately.³⁸ Apparently Hazlitt had not seen Kemble's rejoinder.³⁹ His reply to the critic who called Polonius inconsistent is directed, probably, against Richardson.⁴⁰ His analysis of Shakespeare's women in general may owe something to Richardson's essay of 1789, and his application of "the very religion of love"⁴¹ to Imogen, in particular, is a distinct echo of Richardson's essay of 1774 on Imogen. Similarly he is apparently trying to rescue Lady Macbeth⁴² from Richardson's horror at her, and possibly the description of Hamlet⁴³ owes something to Richardson. Further, is not Hazlitt directly attacking Steevens when he remarks, with regard to Hamlet: "The moral perfection of this character has been called in question, we think, by those who did not understand it"?⁴⁴ Falstaff, Hazlitt calls "a coward,"⁴⁵ in direct opposition to the Morgann tradition, but perhaps he comes closer to Morgann with his appreciation of the distinction between Lear's real and Edgar's assumed madness.⁴⁶ His psychologizing, as indicated above, is a direct imi-

³⁶ I, 171. On this same page is a direct reference to Richardson's *Essays*.

³⁷ T. Whately, *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakspeare*, 1785, 1808, 1839.

³⁸ *Ibid.* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1808), pp. 9 ff.

³⁹ J. P. Kemble, *Macbeth Reconsidered* (London: Egerton, 1786).

⁴⁰ I, 237. For Richardson, see fifth edition (1798), p. 388, of the *Essays*. My references will all be to this edition.

⁴¹ I, 182.

⁴² I, 188.

⁴³ I, 233. For a full discussion of Richardson's criticism of Shakespeare, see *JEGP.*, xxviii (1929), 117-36.

⁴⁴ I, 235. Compare Steevens' Edition (1773), x, 343-4 n.

⁴⁵ I, 279.

⁴⁶ I, 260.

tation of Richardson's method. In fact, he seems to be reacting a little against Richardson, for he writes: "It has been observed that Shakespear's characters are constructed upon deep physiological principles,"⁴⁷ but "The modern philosophy, which reduces the whole theory of the mind to habitual impressions, and leaves the natural impulses of passion and imagination out of the account, had not then [in Shakespeare's time] been discovered."⁴⁸ [He goes out of his way to attack Coleridge, apparently on the idea that Iago's "villainy is *without a sufficient motive*."⁴⁹ Hence it is fairly demonstrable that Hazlitt reacted on his individual predecessors and even, at times, on his contemporaries.⁵⁰

Coleridge presents a different situation, by no means so easy to solve. In T. Ashe's 541 pages, Coleridge links with Shakespeare Johnson (often),⁵¹ Hume,⁵² Pope,⁵³ Warburton,⁵⁴ Tyrwhitt,⁵⁵ Farmer,⁵⁶ Ayscough,⁵⁷ Whalley,⁵⁸ Cibber,⁵⁹ and Steevens.⁶⁰ In his *Letters* (now using the *Index*) he similarly mentions Johnson⁶¹ and William Jackson.⁶² The *Letters* also include references to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, *British Critic*, *Critical Review*, *Monthly Magazine*, and some literary periodicals. For example, Coleridge contrasts his *The Friend* with the *Spectator*: "Consider, too, the very different objects of 'The Friend,' and of 'The Spectator,' and above all do not forget, that these are AWFUL TIMES! that the love of reading as a refined pleasure . . . which it was one

⁴⁷ I, 244.

⁴⁸ I, 250.

⁴⁹ I, 206

⁵⁰ Compare his attention to Lamb, I, 194

⁵¹ T. Ashe, ed., *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare and Other English Poets* (London, 1883), pp 25, 45, 152, 163, 165, 364, 388, etc. My references will all be to this text.

⁵² Pp. 28, 350.

⁵³ Pp. 52, 378.

⁵⁴ P 295

⁵⁵ Pp. 301, 385.

⁵⁶ Pp. 303, 352.

⁵⁷ P 305.

⁵⁸ Pp. 409, 410.

⁵⁹ P. 447

⁶⁰ Pp. 14, 269.

⁶¹ II, 663.

⁶² I, 309 For the work of all these men on Shakspeare, see *SP.*, Extra Series I (1929), 58-76.

of 'The Spectator's' chief objects to awaken, has by that work, and those that followed (Connoisseur, World, Mirror, etc.) [*sic*] . . . been carried into excess."⁶³ Dr. Raysor, who discovered this reference,⁶⁴ mentions only the *Mirror*. It is obvious now that Coleridge knew eighteenth century Shakespeare critics, but with the exception of the names of Farmer, Steevens, and William Jackson, the men listed above will not help us much in tracing his direct background in late eighteenth century Shakespeare criticism. Hence Coleridge must be approached from other points of view—his interest in periodicals, for example, as indicated above in connection with his contributions to the *Critical Review* and *Monthly Magazine*—and his critical method in general.⁶⁵

But first some of Coleridge's possible direct indebtednesses to particular predecessors should be pointed out. His reactions to Johnson are too obvious to discuss and do not concern us in this article because Johnson is fundamentally outside the scope of it. But when in the Bristol Lectures the remark appears, "The lecturer alluded to the prejudiced idea of Lady Macbeth as a monster,"⁶⁶ one becomes suspicious, for both E. Taylor and W. Richardson were guilty of this "prejudiced idea."⁶⁷ Again when Coleridge declares, "The characters of the *dramatis personae*, like those in real life, are to be *inferred by the reader*,"⁶⁸ one cannot help recalling Morgann's words: "he [Shakespeare] boldly makes a character act and speak from those parts of the composition, which are *inferred* only, and not distinctly seen."⁶⁹ Then Coleridge adds a few lines about "your impression will be right,"⁷⁰ "our passive impressions,"⁷¹ and "prove to our feelings, even before the word is found which presents the truth to our understandings."⁷² All of this is a direct

⁶³ II, 557.

⁶⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 500.

⁶⁵ In his *Letters* he refers directly to the loss of a "Stockdale's Shakespeare" (II, 484), but the notes in this one-volume edition (1784) are of no value in tracing Coleridge's background. They are almost wholly from Johnson and Steevens—*i. e.*, textual.

⁶⁶ P. 469. Compare pp. 375-6.

⁶⁷ Taylor, *Cursory Remarks on Tragedy, on Shakespear, etc.* (London: Owen, 1774), p. 66. Richardson, *Essays* (1798), p. 66.

⁶⁸ P. 241. The italics are mine.

⁶⁹ *Op cit.*, p. 62 n.

⁷⁰ P. 241.

⁷¹ P. 504.

⁷² P. 508. Compare p. 507.

echo of Morgann. Or to turn to Richardson for a moment, Coleridge's original lecture prospectus contained the announcement: "a philosophic Analysis and Explanation of all the principal *Characters* of our great Dramatist."⁷³ Compare this with the title of Richardson's first series of essays: *A Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of Some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters*. It will not be feasible to go into this comparative development in further detail here, but Coleridge's ideas on Shakespeare's women,⁷⁴ on psychologizing in general,⁷⁵ on morality,⁷⁶ Lear,⁷⁷ and Polonius⁷⁸ should be compared with Richardson's; also Coleridge's linking of Richard III and Falstaff on the basis of intellect⁷⁹ should be referred to a similar comparison in the *Lounger*, 69; his remarks on poetical genius⁸⁰ should be compared with those in *The Bee*, v (1791), 177; and his attack on the porter scene in *Macbeth*⁸¹ should be aligned with F. Gentleman's similar attack.⁸² All in all, there seems to be some reason to believe, by virtue of comparative evidence, that Coleridge used several of his predecessors.

But the method of the *Lectures* suggests the debt even more clearly. "It has been stated, from the first, that one of my purposes in these lectures is, to meet and refute popular objections to particular points in the works of our great dramatic poet";⁸³ "To the objection that Shakspeare wounds the moral sense by the unsubdued, undisguised, description of the most hateful atrocity . . . I . . . answer . . . not guilty";⁸⁴ "This part of the scene after Hamlet's interview with the Ghost has been charged with an improbable eccentricity";⁸⁵ "Mr. Coleridge combated the opinion held by some critics that the writings of Shakspeare were like a

⁷³ P. 5.

⁷⁴ P. 278.

⁷⁵ Pp. 84, 87, 95-7, 225.

⁷⁶ P. 273.

⁷⁷ P. 329.

⁷⁸ Pp. 354-5.

⁷⁹ P. 147.

⁸⁰ P. 218.

⁸¹ P. 368. His defence (pp. 347-8) of "not a mouse stirring" in *Hamlet* and his praise (p. 367) of Act V, Scene 1, of the same play were perhaps directed against Voltaire.

⁸² *Dramatic Censor* (London: Bell, 1770), i, 90.

⁸³ P. 150. Compare pp. 225-6.

⁸⁴ P. 370.

⁸⁵ P. 357. See also p. 473.

wilderness";⁸⁶ "I cannot agree with the solemn abuse which the critics have poured out upon Bertram."⁸⁷ But the climax of this method appears in his remark on Hamlet: "The seeming inconsistencies in the conduct and character of Hamlet have long exercised the conjectural ingenuity of critics."⁸⁸ Why that "long exercised," which was apparently repeated from the Bristol Lectures, if Coleridge did not know something of the rise of what may be termed the Romantic Heresy of Hamlet, beginning with F. Gentleman in 1770, and continuing through Steevens, Richardson, Mackenzie, Harris, Craig, Robertson, and the like?⁸⁹ In short, the method in itself implies knowledge of the directly preceding criticism, though Coleridge did not, like Hazlitt, directly refer to the critics by name.⁹⁰ ..

And this now leads us back again to the periodicals that Coleridge knew. The most important here are the *Critical Review* and *Monthly Magazine*: "I receive about forty guineas yearly from the *Critical Review* and the new *Monthly Magazine*."⁹¹ This is

⁸⁶ P. 476.

⁸⁷ P. 536.

⁸⁸ P. 343. The same remark appears on p. 471, in the Bristol Lectures.

⁸⁹ It will be recalled that he knew Steevens and the *Mirror* (in which Mackenzie's articles appeared). And why not also then the *Lounger*, in which Craig's paper (no. 91) was published? F. Gentleman's attack on Hamlet appeared in the *Dramatic Censor*, I, 55. For Harris, see the *London Magazine*, L (1781), 534 (from the *Dramatic Speculations*). Robertson attacked Hamlet in the transactions of the Edinburgh Society in 1788.

⁹⁰ Compare again his obvious attacks (pp. 347-8, 367) on Voltaire, though the Frenchman's name is not mentioned at all.

⁹¹ *Letters*, I, 185. Arthur W. Craver of the Johns Hopkins University has very kindly referred me to G. Greever's publication of four reviews by Coleridge in the *Critical Review* for August, 1794; Feb., 1797; June and Aug., 1798 [*A Wiltshire Parson and His Friends*, London, 1926, pp. 168-200]. But there was no important Shakespeare criticism in 1794 and 1795, except possibly W. Whiter's *Specimen of a Commentary on Shakspeare* (London: Cadell, 1794), which was primarily a textual study and was reviewed in the *Critical Review*, LXXXIII (1795), 99 ff. The *Critical Review* for 1796 and 1797 is discussed below (footnote 106). The volumes for 1798 and 1799 contain nothing of importance with reference to Shakespeare criticism, but Coleridge's "Ode on the Departing Year" appeared in XC (1797), 343, and there were references to Coleridge's poems in XCIII (1798), 266; XCIV (1798), 197; and CXVI (1799), 472. Coleridge's "Conciones

December 12, 1796, and in that year at least two poems of Coleridge had been printed in the latter periodical.⁹² Three sonnets also were published in it in 1797.⁹³ Meanwhile in these two particular volumes (II and IV) appeared also notices of White's *Falstaff's Letters*,⁹⁴ Plumptre's *Observations on Hamlet*,⁹⁵ the Exeter Society *Essays*,⁹⁶ the W. H. Ireland *MSS.*,⁹⁷ Jackson's *Letters*,⁹⁸ Plumptre's *Appendix* to his *Observations*,⁹⁹ and an account of "Kaimes" (the latter in the same month in which Coleridge's sonnets appeared).¹⁰⁰ It is unfortunate that the second of these volumes contains no reference at all to W. Richardson's fifth edition, published in 1797, and reviewed that year by both the *Monthly Review*¹⁰¹ and the *British Critic*.¹⁰² The latter periodical, however, Coleridge referred to in 1801,¹⁰³ so that he may have seen its review of Richardson in 1797. *The Critical Review*, also, contains no review of Richardson's fifth edition, but in the third volume of the *Monthly Magazine* appeared further reference to the Ireland papers¹⁰⁴ and to Chalmers' *Apology*,¹⁰⁵ and another notice of the Exeter Society *Essays*, this time with a direct reference to Iago and Shylock.¹⁰⁶ Coleridge could hardly have missed all this

ad Populum" had appeared in LXXXVI (1796), 216, and there was a review of "Poems on Several Subjects" in LXXXVII (1796), 209 ff.

⁹² See above, footnote 11.

⁹³ See above, footnote 12.

⁹⁴ II (1796), 570.

⁹⁵ II (1796), 487.

⁹⁶ II (1796), 812. Coleridge therefore probably saw Richard Hole's defense of Iago. Is he reacting against Hole?

⁹⁷ II (1796), 488

⁹⁸ IV (1797), 137. Also some "Observations on Shakspeare" (pp. 127-8), with a reference to Dr Berkenhout

⁹⁹ IV (1797), 511.

¹⁰⁰ IV (Nov., 1797), 359

¹⁰¹ XXXII (1797), 101.

¹⁰² X (1797), 86.

¹⁰³ *Letters*, I, 350

¹⁰⁴ III (1797), 58

¹⁰⁵ III (1797), 58.

¹⁰⁶ III (1797), 48. There was also a notice of Plumptre's *Appendix* on p. 468. The *Critical Review* in 1796 and 1797 also had items on W. H. Ireland in LXXXVI (1796), 361; LXXXVII (1796), 131, 235; on W. Parr's *Story of the Moor of Venice* in LXXXVIII (1796), 70; on the Exeter Society

material, but he never referred to it; hence he may have known other late eighteenth century criticism of Shakespeare to which, also, he did not directly refer: it was not apparently his method.¹⁰⁷

Study of these periodicals should be continued briefly into the early nineteenth century, on the assumption that Coleridge probably retained his interest in them, though it is obvious from his remarks already suggested that he was interested also in others. On Feb. 6, 1797, for example, he wrote, "If . . . I could get engaged by any one of the *Reviews* and the new 'Monthly Magazine.'"¹⁰⁸ The latter in 1803 gave an account of Farmer's Essay,¹⁰⁹ in 1807 printed a letter of William Richardson,¹¹⁰ in 1810 one of Mrs. Montagu,¹¹¹ in the same year had three essays on Falstaff signed "A. B. E."¹¹² (not one of which, unfortunately, mentions Morgann), and began a whole series of articles on Shakespeare in general, which have already been referred to above and which did mention Morgann twice.¹¹³ These essays were largely concerned with Johnson and Warburton and therefore should be closely compared with Coleridge's lectures. No attempt will be made now to follow through the *British Critic* and the *Critical Review*, but inasmuch as Coleridge wrote for one and was interested in the other, they also should be studied carefully throughout the early nineteenth century. For, as has already been said, Coleridge must have known a great deal of late eighteenth century criticism to which he never directly referred. Some of this he apparently incorporated in his own criticism; the rest of it he rejected—all without specific comment.¹¹⁴

In conclusion, therefore, the scepticisms of Professors Raysor and

Essays in LXXXVIII (1796), 273, 307, and XC (1797), 188; and on White's *Falstaff*, XC (1797), 234.

¹⁰⁷ Incidentally how could he have missed Hazlitt's direct reference to Richardson in 1817 (I, 171)?

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 215.

¹⁰⁹ XV (1803), 35.

¹¹⁰ XXIV (1807), 223.

¹¹¹ XXX (1810), 435.

¹¹² XXX (1810), 204; XXX (1810), 9, 225.

¹¹³ XXXI (1811), 211, 325

¹¹⁴ That he believed he knew much of it appears from his disgusted remark that "His [Shakespeare's] critics, among us, during the whole of the last century, have neither understood nor appreciated him" (p. 129). No wonder he did not mention them specifically!

Nichol Smith should probably be respectfully questioned. For is it certain now that the latter was right when he remarked that "his [Hazlitt's] patriotic task would have been easier, and might even have appeared unnecessary, had he known that many of Schlegel's acute and enthusiastic observations had been anticipated at home"?¹¹⁵ He probably did know it, though he may not have been proud of it, and so, probably, did Coleridge.

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A POSSIBLE FIRST REVIEW OF WORDSWORTH'S POETRY

In the issue of *Modern Language Notes* for May, 1929, Mr. J. A. S. Barry calls attention to the review of *An Evening Walk* and *Descriptive Sketches* which, though it appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1794, had been written in the previous September, and thus antedated the notice in the *Monthly Review* for October, 1793. But certainly neither of these magazines contains the first review of Wordsworth's poems. Both *An Evening Walk* and *Descriptive Sketches* were discussed in the *Analytical Review* for March, 1793; that is, presumably within a few weeks of the time of their first publication. As these reviews seem to have been entirely overlooked, and as they contain some sensible remarks about Wordsworth's poems, I give the texts in full. The first deals with *Descriptive Sketches*, the second with *An Evening Walk*.

Certainly nothing can be conceived better adapted to inspire sublime conceptions, and to enrich the fancy with poetical imagery, than a tour of the Alps. The present poem, as we learn from the dedication, is the result of such a tour, made by the author with a single companion on foot; and our traveller has not been an indolent spectator of the magnificent and varied scenes through which he has passed. The diversified pictures of nature which are sketched in this poem, could only have been produced by a lively imagination, furnished by actual and attentive observation with an abundant store of materials. The majestic grandeur of mountains, the rich and varied scenery of lakes and vallies, the solemn gloom of ruined monasteries and abbeys, and the different aspect of Alpine scenes in the morning and evening, during a storm, and in other

¹¹⁵ Introduction to *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare* (Glasgow, 1903), p. x.

atmospherical changes, are described with studied variety of imagery, the piece is occasionally enlivened with human figures, and the whole is rendered instructive by the frequent introduction of moral reflections. At the same time we must own, that this poem is on the whole less interesting than the subject led us to expect; owing in part, we believe, to the want of a general thread of narrative to connect the several descriptions, or of some episodical tale, to vary the impression; and in part also to a certain laboured and artificial cast of expression, which often involves the poet's meaning in obscurity. But our readers will be best able to judge of the nature of this performance, and the degree of entertainment it is likely to afford them, from a specimen. We shall select the description of the lake of Uri, and a stormy sunset . . . [lines 284-347]. We fancy there are few readers, whose imagination will be sufficiently glowing, to bear this last image, without pronouncing it extravagant. Perhaps too, some others may be disposed to censure, as degrading the subject to which it is applied, the image of the sun "shaking his flashing shield from behind the clouds." But it will not be denied, that the scenery of the hermit's hut is well conceived and described, and that Freedom is poetically exhibited as an allegorical person. The subject of freedom the poet resumes, in the following pleasing lines . . . [lines 719-39].

This descriptive poem is so nearly of the same character with the preceding, that it is only necessary to remark in general, that it affords distinct and circumstantial views of nature, both inanimate and animate, which discover the eye of a diligent observer, and the hand of an able copyist of nature. We give the following picturesque passage. . . .¹

Whether this is actually the first review of Wordsworth's poems no one can say dogmatically. At least it antedates by a good six months the other notices which appear to have been striving for the primacy.

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ZUR TEXTGESCHICHTE VON HERDERS *KRITISCHEN WÄLDERN*.

Das Titelblatt des ersten Bandes der *Kritischen Wälder*, 1769, liegt bekanntlich in doppelter Fassung vor:¹ A) mit Sokrates-Kopf als Vignette, und Motto aus Logau; B) ohne Vignette, und mit

¹ Here follow twenty-eight lines, the first of which is line 279 in the final edition of the poem.

² Schon in der fast gleichzeitigen Rezension von Klotz (*Deutsche Biblio-*

dem Motto aus Quintilian. Die Abnutzung der Platte wird als Grund für die Änderung angesehen: jedenfalls gilt die Fassung A als die frühere.

Der eigentliche Text des Bandes scheint durchweg von demselben Satze zu sein, wenigstens habe ich in den beiden Exemplaren in meinem Besitz nicht den kleinsten Unterschied bemerkt. Am Schluss des Textes hat jedoch der Druck A ein weisses Blatt, welches in B durch ein Kartonblatt mit Druckfehlern ersetzt ist.² In seiner Einleitung zu den *Kritischen Wäldern* beschreibt Suphan die beiden Drucke (Herders *Sammtliche Werke*, 3. Bd., Berlin, 1878, S.v. VI); auf der ersten Textseite wird ferner der Titel A mit der Fassung B verglichen—nirgends wird jedoch das Druckfehlerverzeichnis erwähnt, welches also mutmasslich den von Suphan benutzten Exemplaren fehlte.

Der Herausgeber der ersten kritischen Herder-Ausgabe musste also auf eigene Faust emendieren. Von den dreissig im Verzeichnis vermerkten Druckfehlern war etwa die Hälfte solcher Art, dass ein aufmerksamer und kundiger Leser sie von selbst bemerken und verbessern konnte; so z. B.: S. 9, 4 *Ilystus*; 15, 14 spielen; 19, 21 *anna*; 44, 28 Ehre; 48, 20 hier; 67, 3 SkävoPomie; 72, 23 Pontomime; 85, 22 eine; 85, 28 Herren; 108, 25 Zeit folgen; 155, 14 Schulerposition; 176, 13 lange; 101, 24 der Worte; 201, 27 sittlich; 249, 20 *ov*. Diese Stellen hat Suphan in seinem Text verbessert, meistens stillschweigend; die fehlerhafte Lesart des Originals ist deshalb aus Suphans Apparat nicht zu ersehen.

Zehn Druckfehler wurden jedoch von Suphan nicht erkannt: Inhalt, Zahl 12 (Suphan S. 4, 21) anstatt *Attributen von Horaz* lies: *Attributen. Von Horaz* Inhalt, Zahl 20 (Suphan 5, 21) anstatt *Wo sie* lies *Ob sie* S. 17, 23 (14, 7 f.) anstatt *zurück-*

thek der schönen Wissenschaften, Dritter Band, S. 335, 1769) heisst es: „Hr. H. scheint sich sehr um ein Motto bekümmert zu haben, das er auf sein Tittelblatt setzen konnte. Denn er hat uns mit einem gedoppelten Denkspruche beschenkt.“

² Auch im Katalog der Auktion Wolff (J. Baer & Co., 1912) wird unter No 702 ein Exemplar des Druckes A mit weissem Blatt beschrieben; ähnlich wird für das Exemplar der Auktion Deneke (J. Baer & Co., 1909) No. 592 das weisse Blatt angegeben. Dagegen enthält nach Schulte-Strathaus, *Bibliographie der Originalausgaben deutscher Dichtungen im Zeitalter Goethes*, S. 36 ff., das Münchener Exemplar A das Blatt Druckfehler Auch Goedeke², IV, 1, 724, 27) kennt das Druckfehlerverzeichnis.

haltendem Heldenmuthe lies *Zurückhalten des Heldenmuthes* 31, 4 (22, 22) anstatt *um der Ehre wegen* lies *der Ehre wegen* 45, 7 (32, 12) anstatt *getrennt* lies *getrennt waren* 48, 11 (34, 33) anstatt *Rand* lies *Rand sein* 55, 18 (40, 3) anstatt *nichts* lies *nicht* 78, 3 (55, 1) anstatt *Staat* lies *den Staat* 213, 20 (146, 1) anstatt *Coexistiven* lies *Coexistenten* 271, 22 (184, 15) anstatt *korperlich* lies *zu körperlich*: an dieser Stelle bemerkt Suphan, dass Heynes Text die Lesart *zu körperlich* aufweise, unterlasst es jedoch, sie in seinen eigenen Text aufzunehmen.

An anderen Stellen hat Suphan die Textverderbnis zwar erkannt, seine Konjekturen trifft jedoch nicht das Richtige: S. 191, 13 (130, 31) steht in A: *Exempel mogen auch erklären*; nach dem Druckfehlerverzeichnis ist *nich* anstatt *auch* zu setzen, Suphan bemerkt: „wahrscheinlich fehlt: dies.“ Ähnlich 219, 16 (150, 1) wo in A das Verbum *zu schildern* ausgefallen ist, während Suphan vermutet: „Ausgefallen ist etwa: „vorzustellen.““ Seite 248, 3 (169, 12) hat A: *die γελουον*, welches im Druckfehlerverzeichnis verbessert wird: *das γελουον*. So liest auch Suphan, der aber noch dazu die Konjekturen wagt: „die γελουοιτης?“ Seite 255, 21 (174, 12) hat A die Lesart *Homer*, die im Druckfehlerverzeichnis verbessert wird: *Homerist*. Suphan behält den Druckfehler *Homer*, in seinem Apparat hat er die Konjekturen *Homerist*, mit Fragezeichen.

Etwa im Jahre 1879, also bald nach dem dritten Bande der Suphan'schen Herder-Ausgabe, erschien der entsprechende Band 20 der undatierten Hempel-Ausgabe. In seiner Einleitung berichtet Düntzer, der Herausgeber (Seite v): „Das ziemlich ansehnliche und doch nicht erschöpfende Druckfehlerverzeichnis scheint erst später mit Gesamttiteln nachgeliefert worden zu sein; denn diese finden sich nicht bei allen Exemplaren.“ Die angezeigten Druckfehler sind also von Düntzer verbessert worden, und zwar stets im Sinne des Druckfehlerverzeichnisses.

Etwa im Jahre 1890 veranstaltete Lambel eine neue Ausgabe der *Kritischen Walder*, in Bd. 76, 2 von Kürschners Deutscher National-Literatur. Über sein Verfahren berichtet der Herausgeber: „Die Originalausgaben sind selbstverständlich durchweg neu verglichen worden, auch das erste Kritische Waldchen nicht ausgenommen, wiewohl bei diesem wieder nur ein geringer Ertrag zu erwarten stand“ (S. LX). Auch die kritische Ausgabe Suphans

hat Lambel genau verglichen, wie schon aus den Druckfehlern hervorgeht, die er in derselben entdeckt und in der Anmerkung S. LX verzeichnet hat. Ab und zu wird ebenfalls die Ausgabe Duntzers zitiert: dessen Einleitung kann Lambel jedoch nicht gelesen haben, sonst hatte er von dem Vorhandensein des Druckfehlerverzeichnis der Originalausgabe A erfahren müssen. Von diesem weiss Lambel nichts: die von Suphan schon verbesserten Stellen übernimmt er, die von Suphan nicht bemerkten hat auch Lambel nicht entdeckt. Nur an der ersten in Betracht kommenden Stelle im Inhalt verbessert Lambel (S. 4, 1) die Interpunktion: *Attributen; von Horaz*, trifft aber nicht das Richtige, denn nach dem Druckfehlerverzeichnisse wäre zu setzen: *Attributen. Von Horaz*, wie auch Duntzer liest. An einer anderen Stelle (Suphan 184, 15, Lambel 167, 12) hatte Suphan schon auf die richtige Lesart Heynes hingewiesen, die nun in den Lambel'schen Text aufgenommen wird.

Interessant sind Lambels Bemerkungen zu Suphans (falschen) Konjekturen. Seite 130, 31 seines Textes hatte Suphan die verderbte Lesart *auch* beibehalten, mit der Bemerkung: „Wahrscheinlich fehlt: dies.“ Diese Lesart setzt Lambel (S. 118, 15) in seinen Text, mit der Bemerkung: „ich bedachte mich nicht diese Ergänzung Ss. als die wahrscheinlichste Besserung in den Text zu setzen. Duntzer ändert *auch* in *mich*.“ Tatsächlich hat Duntzer die richtige, im Druckfehlerverzeichnis angegebene Lesart. Ähnlich die Stelle 219, 16 (nach A, bei Suphan 150, 1): hier bemerkt Lambel (135, 30): „*Darzustellen* fehlt A: daß ein Verbum ausgefallen ist, darüber kann so wenig ein Zweifel sein als über den Sinn der Ergänzung: unsicherer ist der Wortlaut derselben. Duntzer setzt ein: *zu schildern*, Suphan vermutet „etwa: *vorzustellen*.“ Auch hier hat Duntzer, der dem Druckfehlerverzeichnisse folgte, das Richtige: die Konjekturen Suphans und Lambels sind gegenstandslos. Ähnlich 255, 21 (nach A), wo Suphan (174, 12) den Druckfehler *Homer* beibehalten, dazu aber die Konjekturen *Homerist* (?) gemacht hatte. Diese Lesart setzt Lambel (158, 17) in seinen Text, mit der Anmerkung: „ich bedachte mich nicht die vom Zusammenhang gebotene Verbesserung, die auch S. mit einem (?) anmerkt, mit Duntzer in den Text zu setzen.“ Duntzer folgte natürlich auch hier dem Druckfehlerverzeichnisse.

Nur noch ein einziges Beispiel, wie der „kritische“ Text Sup-

hans in den neueren Ausgaben weiterlebt. Ernst Naumann, der Herausgeber der Bong'schen Herder-Ausgabe in 15 Bänden (Berlin, ca. 1912) berichtet in seiner Einleitung (Bd. 1, S. 9): „Die Ausgabe beruht auf der kritischen Ausgabe von B. Suphan (Band 1, 1877), neben welcher andere herangezogen wurden.“ Für andere Bände der Ausgabe mag diese Behauptung eventuell gelten: was die im Druckfehlerverzeichnis der *Kritischen Walder* vermerkten Stellen betrifft, so lässt sich nicht erkennen, dass Naumann neben der Suphan'schen Ausgabe irgend eine andere zu Rate gezogen habe: wo Suphan einen Druckfehler verbessert, folgt Naumann, wo Suphan den Druckfehler nicht entdeckt, steht er noch im Naumann'schen Texte. Nicht nur Suphans Konjekturen, sondern sogar dessen augenfällige Druckfehler, auf die schon Lambel auf S. lx seiner Einleitung hingewiesen hatte, werden von Naumann ohne Bedenken mit übernommen. Zum Beispiel: S. 21, 7 liest A, wie auch Düntzer und Lambel, richtig: *aufs Theater hineinfällt*; dagegen hat Suphan (16, 16) und mit ihm Naumann (Bd. 2, S. 32, 25) den Druckfehler *hinfallt*. S. 170, 21 erwähnt A die *Clarkisch-Ernestinische Ausgabe des Homer*, was Suphan (116, 28) ohne irgendwelche Begründung umwandelt in: *die Clarkisch-Ernestische Ausgabe des Homers*—auch hier wiederholt Naumann (113, 23) einfach den Suphan'schen Text. S. 215, 10 hat A die unzweifelhaft richtige Lesart: *Lage des gefällten Steinbocks*—so auch Lambel S. 132, 36: dagegen hat Suphan (147, 4) und mit ihm Naumann (137, 18) den Druckfehler *Lager*. S. 229, 13 hat A die Lesart: *jedes ausführliches Gemälde*; so auch Lambel (142, 1): dagegen ändern Suphan (156, 22) und Naumann (144, 39): *jedes ausführliche Gemälde*. Dass dies ein Druckfehler, und keine beabsichtigte Emendation ist, lehrt die ähnliche Lesart: *jedes einzelnes Ding* (Suphan 154, 12), in welcher alle Ausgaben, einschliesslich Naumann (143, 8), übereinstimmen.

W. KURBELMEYER

A NOTE ON PLAY XXX OF THE YORK CYCLE

It is well known that the interest felt by a gild in its particular trade was often reflected in the miracle plays. Occasionally a piece of byplay was designed to call the attention of the crowd to the goods manufactured by the gild, rather than to advance the action

of the play, in what might be called early examples of advertising. An amusing instance occurs in the York *Dream of Pilate's Wife*.¹ It is difficult to see why Pilate makes such ado about retiring. He asks to be aided gently to his couch which is a part of the furnishings of his judgment hall. He admonishes the attendant to tuck him in evenly. Thus with care and ceremony Pilate composes himself for slumber.

Pilate:

Tyme is, I telle þe, þou tente me untill,
And buske þe belyve, belamy, to bedde þat y wer broght.
And loke I be rychely arrayed.

Bedellus:

Als youre seirvaunte I have sadly sought,
And þis nyght, sir, newe schall ye noght,
I dare laye, fro ye luffely be layde.

(*Pilate goes to his couch.*)

Pilate:

I comaunde þe to come nere, for I will kare to my couche,
Have in thy handes hendely and heve me fro hyne,
But loke þat þou tene me not with þi tastyng, but tendirly
me touche,

Bed. A! sir, yhe whe wele!

Pil. Yha, I have wette with me wyne.

Yhit helde doune and lappe me even [here], (*Is laid down.*)

For I will slelye slepe unto synne.

Loke þat no man noi no myron of myne

With no noyse be neghand me nere.

(ll. 127-140.)

The reason for this bit of action becomes clear, however, when one realizes that the play is produced by the Tapiteres and Couchers who take the opportunity at this point to direct the attention of the audience to their wares.

In the chamber of Pilate's wife, Dame Percula is also retiring on the eve of her fateful dream. Here special attention is called to the beautiful covering of the bed.

Ancilla:

Yhe are werie, madame, for-wente of youre way,
Do boune you to bedde, for þat holde I beste.

¹ *York Mystery Plays*, Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith (Oxford, 1885), pp. 275, 276.

Filius:

Here is a hedde arrayed of þe beste.

Domina:

Do happe me, and faste hense ye hye.

Ancilla:

Madame, anone all dewly is dressid.

Filius:

With no stalking nor no striffe be ye stressed.

Domina:

Nowe be yhe in pese, both youre carpyng and crye.

(ll 152-158)

Probably the coverlids were waved about and displayed to fullest advantage as Dame Percula was being covered, and thus, for a moment or so, the commercial instincts of the craft were given free play before the story was continued with the entrance of Satan bringing his warning dream to Pilate's wife.

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ECCLESIASTICAL SATIRE IN CHAUCER AND ERASMUS

There is an interesting parallel to the Pardoner's description of his preaching¹ in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*,² which I give below in a not too liberal translation:

But if any one should anger these hornets, then they will fittingly revenge themselves in public assemblies, and will point out the enemy in covert words so cleverly that no one fails to recognize who is meant, except

¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Students Chaucer*, Oxford, pp. 556-557: ll. 329-31, 392-99, and 412-419.

² 1780 Edition, Basileae, Typis G. Haas, pp. 252-3:

"Quod si quis hos crabrones irritarit, tum in popularibus concionibus probe ulciscuntur sese, & obliquis dictis hostem notant, adeo tecte, ut nemo non intellegat, nisi qui nihil intellegit Nec prius oblatrandi finem faciunt, quam in os offam objeceris. Age vero quem tu mihi comoedum, quem circulatorem spectare malis, quam istos in concionibus suis rethoricientes omnino ridicule, sed tamen suavissime imitantes ea quae rhetores de dicendi ratione tradiderunt? Deum immortalem ut gesticulantur, ut apte commutant vocem, ut cantillant, ut jactant sese, ut subinde alios atque alios vultus induunt, ut omnia clamoribus miscent."

him who knows nothing. Nor do they make an end of barking until you throw a bone in their mouth. Come now, what comedian, what mountebank would you sooner look at than those fellows spouting their stuff so ridiculously, and yet most sweetly imitating those things which the real rhetoricians have handed down concerning the art of speaking? Good Lord! how they mimic, how aptly they alter the voice, how they make their voices ring, how they throw themselves about, how from time to time they make this expression and that one, how they throw everything into confusion with their din!

We know that Erasmus' knowledge of English was quite limited, though he may have heard of Chaucer. The truth of the matter probably is that both were describing familiar contemporary characters, or were drawing upon a common literary source.

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COLERIDGE AND SIR JOHN DAVIES

In Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, ll. 414-419, one of the spirits says:

Still as a slave before his Lord,
The ocean hath no blast;
His great bright eye most silently
Up to the moon is cast—
If he may know which way to go;
For she guides him smooth or grim.

In Sir John Davies' little known poem *Orchestra* (stanza 49, Grosart's 1876 ed.) we read:

For lo the Sea that fleets about the Land,
And like a girdle clips her solid waist,
Music and measure both doth understand;
For his great crystal eye is always cast
Up to the Moon, and on her fixed fast;
And as she danceth in her pallid sphere,
So danceth he about his Center here.

In view of Coleridge's wide reading in sixteenth and seventeenth century poets, the likeness seems worth recording.

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SMOLLETT'S FIRST COMEDY

Professor H. S. Buck has recently called attention to an interesting passage in Walpole's *Memours of the Reign of George II*, concerning Smollett's work as a dramatist:

Smollett was bred a sea-surgeon, and turned author. He wrote a tragedy, and sent it to Lord Lyttelton, with whom he was not acquainted. Lord Lyttelton, not caring to point out its defects, civilly advised him to try comedy. He wrote one, and solicited the same Lord to recommend it to the stage. The latter excused himself, but promised, if it should be acted, to do all the service in his power for the author.¹

Buck rightly says that this cannot possibly refer to Smollett's sea-play, *The Reprisal*, and has since ruled out his own suggestion that the comedy submitted to Lyttelton is that recorded in Chetwood's *British Theatre* as *Charles XIIth king of Sweden, or the Adventures of Roderic Random, and his Man Strap*.²

Scanty but definite information about the lost play is to be found in "A Catalogue of Books in Quires, and Copies; Being the entire Stock of Mr. Tho. Woodward, Deceas'd. Which will be Sold at Auction at the Queen's-Head Tavern in Pater-noster-Row, on Thursday the 12th Day of March 1752." Appended is a list of "Books and Copies left unsold at Mr. John Osborn's Sale," and Lot VII is thus described:

The Absent Man, a Comedy, wrote by Mr. T. Smollet, half the Copy-right, and Profits in the Acting. The Copy is in the Possession of Mr. Smollet, and the Purchaser is to run all risks of its being ever acted, or printed.

A copy of the Woodward catalogue is preserved in the archives of the publishing house of Rivington, to which I have had access through the kindly courtesy of Mr. G. C. Rivington. The catalogue of John Osborn's sale, November 14 and 19, 1751, is also in the Rivington collection; but though it records all the other works known to have been undertaken by Smollett up to that time, it does not list *The Absent Man*, which was evidently not judged to be a very valuable piece of literary property. I interpret the

¹ London, 1847. III, 259. Quoted by H. S. Buck, *A Study in Smollett, Chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle'* (New Haven, 1925), p. 100.

² "A Roderick Random Play, 1748," *MLN*, XLIII (1928), 111-12.

item quoted above to mean that Smollett wanted to keep half the copyright for himself, and that he still had hopes that the piece would be produced and published at some one else's risk. As far as I know, these hopes were vain. But for the student of Smollett's early career, the fact that he wrote a comedy—no doubt a comedy of humours—between *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle* is of considerable importance, and the recovery of the play itself would be a most happy stroke.

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THE DATE OF NOTA'S *LA CREOLA DI LUIGIANA*

La Creola di Luigiana, a rather melodramatic play filled with improbabilities, the scene of which is laid in New Orleans, was one of the last plays written by Alberto Nota (1775-1847). There has been some doubt as to its date.

Fritz Baumann, in his Munich dissertation, *Alberto Nota—eine Quellenstudie*, printed at Erlangen in 1907, does not discuss this play. However, he mentions in a note (pp. 7-8) that the edition of Nota's plays published by Pomba in Turin (1842-43) gives 1839 as the date of *La Creola*, and goes on to say that this conflicts with what Giuseppe Costetti says in his book *La Compagnia Reale Sarda e il teatro italiano dal 1821 al 1855* (Milan, 1893): "Jene Aufgabe gibt als Entstehungszeit das Jahr 1839 an, während Costetti p. 187 von einer Aufführung durch die Comp. Reale Sarda im Jahre 1836 berichtet und einen Achtungserfolg verzeichnet."

Turning to Costetti's work, we find no reference to *La Creola* on page 187. On page 117, however, we find 1838 given as the year in which the play was first presented.

The *Rivista Europea* of Milan gives (Anno IV [1841], Parte III, pp. 352-356) a long summary and criticism, the first two sentences of which I quote here.

Nello stesso mese d'aprile del 1840, la drammatica Compagnia al servizio di S. M. Sarda produsse sulle scene del nostro Teatro Re *La Creola della Luigiana*, nuova commedia in cinque atti, senza nome d'autore. Eccone, per darne un'idea adeguata, l'estratto abbastanza diffuso, quale noi leviamo letteralmente da un'appendice della *Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano*.

Following this long summary of the play taken from the *Gazzetta*, the *Divisa* offers a short but excellent criticism which closes with the sentence:

La Gazzetta di Milano tradì quindi poco dopo il segreto serbato nell'avviso, come notammo, proclamando il nome del cavaliere e barone Alberto Nota, che ci rese troppo esigenti colla *Lusinghiera*, colla *Noiella Sposa* e colla *Fiera*, perchè rimanessimo paghi della *Creola della Louisiana*

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THE DWARF ON THE GIANT'S SHOULDERS

Historians of the Idea of Progress or the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns¹ have failed to indicate any evidence of this notion in the twelfth century. They pass from Saint Augustine directly to Roger Bacon, supposing the idea of progress to be quite foreign to the Middle Ages. The twelfth century marks a high point, however, in the Classical Renaissance of that time. An enthusiastic revival of interest in Latin literature is accompanied by an ardent admiration for the great authors of antiquity.

In spite of this deep respect for the colossal geniuses of Greece and Rome, there was at least one independent spirit who felt all the self-assurance, the desire for fame, and the confident hope of winning it that characterize the Ronsards and Du Bellays of the later Renaissance. Chrétien de Troyes says at the beginning of his romance, *Erec et Enide* that he is writing a story:

24 Qui toz jors mes iert an memoire
Tant con durra crestiantez;

and at the beginning of *Oligès* that he prays to God that France may so maintain the sum of learning, art, and chivalry that passed from Greece to Rome and from Rome to France that his own country may always lead the world in the future:

¹ H. Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, 1856; A. Michiels, *Histoire des idées littéraires en France au XIX^e siècle et de leurs origines dans les siècles antérieurs*, 1842; J. Delvaille, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de progrès jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, 1911; H. Gillot, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes en France*, 1914; J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress; An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth*, 1920.

30

Ce nos ont nostre livre apris,
 Que Grece ot de chevalerie
 Le premier los et de clergie
 Puis vint chevalerie a Rome
 Et de la clergie la some,
 Qui oie est en France venue . . .
 Mes des Giezois ne des Romains
 Ne dit an mes ne plus ne moins;
 D'aus est la parole remese
 Et estainte la vive brese.

French authors will carry on the torch of intellectual and artistic achievement. The idea is one of steady advance. This opinion that the highest merit in learning and art (*clergie*: cf. *doctrine* of the later Renaissance) is in France and that the Greeks and Romans are out of the race for superiority assumes the notion of natural equality on the part of moderns that the later Moderns had to argue.

A belief in the general advance of humanity accompanied by a feeling of natural inferiority is expressed by the famous saying of Bernard of Chartres that the people of his time are like dwarfs seated on the shoulders of the ancients, who are to be regarded as giants. This comparison indicates the admiration and respect for the ancients that was fostered in the schools, maintained there, and instilled into the minds of students with varying forcefulness in spite of opposition from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. From their vantage point, however, the dwarfs see farther than the giants.

This saying was passed on by Bernard to his followers. William of Conches and Richard l'Evêque were his students and taught John of Salisbury,² to whom they probably communicated the comparison of the dwarf and the giant. He uses it in his *Metalogicus* in praise of the ancients, whom he defends against the "Cornificiani," as he called those who decried the literature of classical antiquity:

Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos, gigantum humeris incidentes, ut possumus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii

² See H. O. Taylor, *Mediaeval Mind*, II, 132, and Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1921), I, 531, 539. He states (*Metalogicus*, II, 10): "... consulto me ad grammaticum de Conchis transtuli . . . Postquam vero Ricardum cognomento episcopum . . ." in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, Vol. 199.

visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.³

This saying has been often repeated ever since. It might be interesting to note some of the authors who have used it as evidence of their belief in progress, their respect for the ancients, or both before the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns at the end of the seventeenth century.

John of Salisbury's younger contemporary, Peter of Blois, repeated it in praise of the ancients:

Quidquid canes oblatrent, quidquid grunnant sues, ego semper æmulabor scripter veterum: in his erit occupatio mea; . . . Nos, quasi nani super gigantum humeros sumus, quorum beneficio longius, quam ipsi speculamur, . . .⁴

Montaigne had the same idea. He expressed it by means of a very different figure but retained a few words of the original saying:

Nos opinions s'antent les unes sur les autres. La première sert de tige à la seconde, la seconde à la tierce. Nous eschelons ainsi de degré en degré. Et vient de là que le plus haut monté a souvent plus d'honneur que de mérite; car il n'est monté que d'un grain sur les épaules du pénultième.⁵

The survival of Bernard's figure in medical faculties is proven by the statement of Ambroise Paré, a famous surgeon of the sixteenth century, who tells us that his teacher, "le bon père" Guidon, taught "que nous sommes comme l'enfant qui est sur le col du Géant: c'est à dire que par leurs écrits nous voyons ce qu'ils ont vu, et pouvons encore voir et entendre davantage."⁶

Du Souhait, who translated Homer's *Iliad*, cites Pliny (cf. Gillot, p. 240):

Nostre Homère, selon Plin, ne cessoit de crier que les hommes estoient abrutis, n'estans plus que des Pigmées, en esgard aux anciens qui avoient et l'esprit affiné et le corps colossal.⁷

³ Migne, *loc cit.*, col. 900. Referred to, *MLN.*, xxxvi (1921), 258, note 10; *RR.*, xiv (1923), 290; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ix (1868), 147.

⁴ Migne, *op cit.*, Vol. 207, col. 290.

⁵ *Essais* (ed. Strowski, III, 366), Bk. III, Ch. xiii. See Gillot, p. 79, note 2.

⁶ *Œuvres I, Au lecteur*, 8. Cited by Gillot, p. 96.

⁷ *Discours en forme de comparaison sur les vies de Moïse et d'Homère*

He misquotes Pliny somewhat, extending his opinion in regard to physical degeneracy to the mind as well. Du Souhait thinks that all writers are inferior to Moses and Homer.

In his *Anatomy of Melancholy* Robert Burton says: "Though there were many giants of old in physick and philosophy, yet I say with Didacus Stella, *A dwarf, standing on the shoulders of a giant, may see farther than a giant himself*; I may likely add, alter, and see farther than my predecessors."⁸ He cites Stella as follows in note u: *In Luc. (i. e. In sacrosanctum Jesu Christi Domini nostri evangelium secundum Lucam etc. 1599-1600) 10 tom. ii: Pigmæi gigantum humeris impositi plusquam ipsi gigantes vident.*⁹

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Honoré d'Urfé recommended the adaptation of poetry to the progress of the time, although he admitted the superiority of the great authors of antiquity over the writers of his own time:

. . . car tout ainsi qu'un Nain, estant sur la teste d'un Géant, verra quoy que plus petit plus loin que ce grand colosse, de mesme ayant les inventions de ces grands Anciens et par ainsi estans sur leurs testes, nous voyons sans doute plus avant qu'ils n'ont pas fait.¹⁰

In 1640, George Herbert included this saying in a collection entitled *Outlandish Proverbs* and known since the second edition by the title, *Jacula Prudentum*.

Pascal may have known the comparison. He writes:

les premières cognoissances qu'ils nous ont données ont servy de degrés

(1604). Pliny (vii, 16) mentions some skeletons of giants that have been discovered and says: ". . . in plenum autem cuncto mortalium generi minorem in dies fieri propemodum observatur . . . Jam vero annos prope mille vates ille Homerus non cessavit minora corpora mortalium quam prisca conqueri."

⁸ *Democritus to the Reader* (1813), i, 12.

⁹ The works of Diego de Estella (1524-78) are inaccessible to me.

¹⁰ *Sylvanire, Au lecteur* (1627); mentioned by Gillot, p. 205. Although he includes the *Sylvanire* of d'Urfé in his bibliography, Gillot omits the author's name from his index of proper names. This omission led Professor H. C. Lancaster, who cites this passage in his *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, i, 259, to state incorrectly that d'Urfé had never been mentioned before in connection with the dispute of the Ancients and Moderns. Professor Lancaster also states that d'Urfé is apparently the first to use this comparison. Misled by an incorrect quotation on the part of Rigault (see below), he says that this figure is used by Fontenelle.

aux notres [see Montaigne, above], et . . . dans ces avantages nous leur sommes redevables de l'ascendant que nous avons sur eux; . . . Nostre veue a plus d'estendue . . . et nous voyons plus qu'eux¹¹

Mersenne supplements Pascal's passage with the following:

Comme l'on dit, il est bien facile et même nécessaire de voir plus loin que nos devanciers, lorsque nous sommes montés sur leurs épaules: ce qui n'empêche pas que nous leur soyons redevables . . .¹²

Rigault incorrectly attributes the following sentence to Fontenelle in his *Digression sur la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: "Et même, nous autres modernes, nous sommes supérieurs aux anciens; car étant montés sur leurs épaules, nous voyons plus loin qu'eux." He apparently adds this sentence in order to continue, in the next paragraph, with the criticism:

La question n'est pas si simple à résoudre . . . D'abord si le pygmée monté sur les épaules du géant voit plus loin que le géant, c'est la grandeur du géant qui le fait voir si loin.¹³

Rigault apparently considers Fontenelle a pygmy in comparison with the ancients. Fontenelle, however, says: "Nous voilà donc tous parfaitement égaux, anciens et modernes, Grecs, Latins et Français."¹⁴

FOSTER E. GUYER

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A SPANISH VERSION OF THE "MATEO FALCONE" THEME

The genesis of the "Mateo Falcone" story has been treated by G. Courtillier.¹ In 1903 Ramón del Valle-Inclán published in

¹¹ "Fragment d'un traité du vide" in *Oeuvres*, VIII, 310 Cf. Delvaille, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de progrès*, p. 193.

¹² *Questions harmoniques*, p. 262, cited by Delvaille, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note 2.

¹³ "Histoire de la querelle etc." in *Oeuvres* (1859), p. 179.

¹⁴ *Oeuvres* (1818), II, 355. These words close Fontenelle's paragraph to which Rigault adds the above mentioned sentence, which occurs in none of the editions known to me, including that of 1790 which Rigault used (as can be determined by citations) and the *Poésies pastorales avec un Traité sur la nature de l'Eglogue et une digression sur les anciens et les modernes*, 1688, which he used for his citations from the *Digression*.

¹ "L'Inspiration de 'Mateo Falcone,'" *RHL.*, XXVII, 161-193. This

Madrid a collection of short stories under the title *Jardín umbrío*. In this volume appeared a tale, *Un cabecilla*, which is no more than a version of the same theme as that used by Germanes, Gaudin, Benson, Renucci, and Mérimée.² The action of Valle-Inclán's story is as follows:

A guerrilla chieftan in the second Carlist war unexpectedly returns home to find all in a state of wreckage and his wife tied to a post. The Civil Guards have been there. By the actions of his wife the husband learns that under cruel treatment she has betrayed to them the hiding place of his band. He cuts her bonds and orders her to follow him. On reaching a turn in the road where there is a shrine, the chieftan commands his wife to pray, and hands her a rosary blessed by the bishop with indulgence for the hour of death. The prayer over, she turns to her husband. On seeing him raise his gun to his shoulder, she runs toward him with a scream, only to fall in the middle of the road with a bullet through her head.

The theme is the same as that employed by the five authors already mentioned—punishment of a member of a family by death for betrayal to the enemy or the authorities. Its treatment, however, differs in many details; the chief ones are that in the Spanish version the victim is a wife instead of a son, that she has yielded to mistreatment and not to a bribe, and that the setting is in the mountains of northern Spain. Other differences in Valle-Inclán's story are lack of descriptive detail, no elaboration of plot, no mention of customs of region, absence of interest in the neighborhood and its inhabitants, and no reference to the family or its position. As in so many of the same author's tales, the sole interest is in the tragedy. *Un cabecilla* is short and every word is made to accentuate the horror of the end. On the other hand there are several points of resemblance to previous treatments of the same theme, especially Mérimée's, in the reading of which it is very likely that Valle-Inclán found his inspiration.

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study has been corrected with respect to Mérimée's story by Gustave Charlier: "La Source principale de 'Mateo Falcone'" (*Ibid.*, xxviii, 340-345).

² Summaries of the versions of the first four of these men, which appeared prior to that of Mérimée, are given by Courtillier. (*Ibid.*, xxvii, 164.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Massinger's The Roman Actor Edited by WILLIAM LEE SANDIDGE, JR. Princeton University Press, 1929. Pp. 161. \$2.00.

There is scarcely any variety of subject which offers so satisfactory an answer to the momentous question "What shall I choose for a thesis?" as the editing of an old play. There is the text and its relations, the date of writing and acting, at times problems of authorship, of source, ordering of material, position in the canon of the playwright, and much more. There is perhaps, under ordinary conditions, not much nowadays really to "discover," but the intensive study of any piece of literary work, diligently prosecuted, the viewing it anew in its relations of time and place in its literary environment and the formation of a fresh judgment on all this is a thing always worth the doing and often fruitful in results. Mr. Sandidge has presented Massinger's well-known tragedy in an orderly and competent introduction, dealing thoroughly with the various topics involved. It is interesting there to have recorded how Massinger's tragedy was approved in an altered version, after the custom of the eighteenth century, emasculated, and far later, in 1830, bowdlerized "for family reading." Such attentions to an old play declare its vitality, however misguided we may now think such manipulations of the accepted classics with their notable parallels in the plays of Shakespeare.

Several things conspire to give to *The Roman Actor* an unusual interest. First, this is the one of his works which the author picked from among the rest to declare "the most perfect birth of my Minerva." And the reason, aside from any intrinsic quality, is not far to seek. For *The Roman Actor* is more than one of the many rescripts of ancient story adapted to the stage; it is really a defense of the actor's profession before the world, and this perhaps as much, if not more than the play's undoubted intrinsic merit, will account for its revival by Betterton in the age of Dryden, by Kemble in 1781 and again in 1795, and by Kean in 1822. Mr. Sandidge adds to his list of English performances of Massinger's tragedy Hackett's reading of Paris, the actor's, lines in New York in 1827. Since that date apparently *The Roman Actor* has not been revived either here in America or in England.

No consideration of an Elizabethan drama could ever be considered complete without a look, more or less searching, in the reading whence the author derived what we call his material. This pleasant game of *cherchez-la-source*, these dignified *quellen-studien*, have gone on now merrily from the days when Rowe and Theobald

and Pope began it for Shakespeare. And, like any other game, it has sometimes been played excessively or none too well. Mr. Sandidge has examined the sources of *The Roman Actor* well and sufficiently. Massinger, like most of the cultivated people of his day and very unlike most of ours, read his classics, "with his feet on the fender." The happy Elizabethans at least were never troubled with the modern necessity of tagging each literary product as either "classic" or "romantic." And when a story like this comes his way based, as it is, on scandal of the great, the adventures of an actor raised by the lust of an empress to a momentary grandeur and equality with his lord, the emperor of the Roman world, Massinger accepted what we call its romantic possibilities and frankly treated his material from that point of view. Interesting as this story of lust and tyranny and manly courage is, as already intimated, it is its nature as a defense of the stage that distinguishes it from amongst its fellow plays. Throughout the reign of James there had been a steady growth in the Puritan animosity towards the stage. As Puritanism rapidly changed from a bias in religious belief to an active and hostile political power, the attacks upon the stage became more and more frequent and violent. Mr. Sandidge has set this forth, so far as it is pertinent to his topic, with directness and brevity, calling attention to the interesting parallel to Massinger's stage defence exhibited in Heywood's well known *Apology for Actors*, a prose pamphlet of great worth and interest evoked somewhat earlier by the same conditions.

As to text, Mr. Sandidge bases his edition on the quarto of 1629, which he quotes somewhat reverently as "the Princeton quarto," although, as a matter of fact, this quarto is no very rare book. He has consulted a copy of this book, the property of the late Sir Edmund Gosse, which, on the high authority of Mr. W. W. Greg, is enriched with Massinger's own corrections: and these Mr. Sandidge has judiciously used, as he has with equal propriety considered the several later editions and reprints of Massinger. Of one thing only does the present reviewer feel critical as to this well-edited text, and that is the effort to amend the punctuation. As Mr. Percy Simpson some time since well made out for us, the Elizabethan system of punctuation is not ours; and we can do one of two things, accept it wholly or substitute ours completely. Take for example the following, which I quote from the quarto of 1629 before me—though not "the Princeton Quarto":

What good man

That is a friend to truth, dares makes it doubtful,
That he hath Fabius stay'd usse, and the courage
Of bould Marcellus, to whom Hanniball gave
The stile of Target, and the sword of Rome.
But he has more a very touch more Roman
As Pompey's dignitie, Augustus state,
Antonius bountie, and great Julius fortune.

Is it any possible improvement to suppress the period after "Rome" and put the words "to whom Hanniball gave the stile of Target, and the sword of Rome" in parentheses?

FELIX E. SCHELLING

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English Comic Drama, 1700-1750. By F. W. BATESON. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. viii + 158. \$2.50.

THIS volume of essays on Cibber, Steele, Centlivre, Gay, Carey, and Fielding is a companion volume to Dobrée's *Restoration Comedy*, lacking, however, some of the distinction that marks that volume in its analysis of the spirit of the time. It represents the newer attitude toward the neo-classical period, which recognizes that the age, like any other, is complex, and contains elements of sentimentalism as well as of classicism, and that it is not altogether bad because it does not contain all the elements demanded by the romantic critics of a century ago. Both Dobrée and Bateson fail to recognize the sentimental forces which existed to some extent throughout the Restoration period.

It is with the historical account of the growth of sentimentalism that one must differ. No study of the growth of sentimental elements in the comedy before Cibber and Collier has been published, but moral and moralizing tendencies are present in comedy for many years before Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*. The Marcella-Fillamour action in Mrs. Behn's *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679) and many comedies of intrigue contain qualities that lead to the later sentimental comedy. To give credit to Cibber for writing the first sentimental comedy, or to state that the "rise of 'sentimentalism' coincided with the attacks of Jeremy Collier and his fellow moralists" is to overstate their place in the movement. There is still need of a definition of sentimental comedy, and until there is substantial agreement as to its qualities, discussion of this topic must remain somewhat vague.

With Bateson's evaluation and appreciation of the plays there can be no quarrel; his critical judgments are sane and present a delightfully stated summary of the dramatists he discusses. The best of these essays is that on Gay, whose work is approached with freshness of view, though it is questionable if all the ascription of sentimentalism to *The Beggar's Opera* will stand the test of unprejudiced analysis. The transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries is well summarized in the introduction, and in the conclusion the part played by the middle classes and by the changes in the theatres themselves is given its proper weight. The bibliography is selective. Under each dramatist there is a list of his plays,

the best collected edition, and biography and criticism. Under the collected editions of Cibber it would have been better to have given the five volume edition of 1777, rather than the three volume edition of 1760.

DE WITT C. CROISSANT

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James Nelson Barker 1784-1858. With a reprint of his comedy Tears and Smiles. By PAUL H. MUSSER. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. Pp. 230. \$3.00

In 1923, Dr. A. H. Quinn studied the extant plays of a former mayor of Philadelphia, James Nelson Barker, and assigned them a place in literary history, together with those of John Howard Payne, as the most significant dramatic writing of American authorship during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Further, he allowed to Barker the distinction in his field which belongs to Freneau in poetry, Irving in the story-essay, and Brown and Cooper in the novel, the right of priority in the literary use of native themes. The scope of his investigation did not include other types of writing nor the detailed study of Barker's life in its political, social, and personal relationships.

So well considered were these claims that the extensive researches of Dr. Musser have not been able to add anything really significant to them, nor to dispute them at any important point. Barker's "ten plays" turn out to be nine complete and two incomplete works, five of which still exist, and three of which are now available in modern texts. The reprinting in this volume of *Tears and Smiles*, with *Superstition* (reprinted 1917) and *The Indian Princess* (reprinted 1918), completes the list of Barker's plays on American themes, leaving only *Marmion* and *How to Try a Lover* still comparatively difficult to obtain. Dr. Musser's careful and detailed excursions into the problems of the sources of Barker's plots tend to raise our estimates of the dramatist's originality and of his technical skill in adapting his stories to the requirements of the stage. But the critical examinations of the plays themselves add little. Except for the report of a reasonably successful amateur revival of *Superstition* ("The best American drama composed until that date"), in 1928, no convincing evidence is adduced to reverse our necessarily qualified estimate of Barker's intrinsic merits as a dramatist.

Dr. Musser's original work does not, however, aim primarily at this problem. His search of the archives of the local and national departments in which Barker held official posts, his examination of a limited amount of the political party press of the day, and his

discovery of many unpublished letters to and from the dramatist, point rather toward a personal and political biography. Only the identification of a series of anonymous dramatic criticisms, starting in the issue of the *Democratic Press* (Philadelphia) for December 18, 1816, concerns the playwright directly, and the connection of the opinions and the plays is casually indicated. No detailed correlation is attempted.

There is much new material in this volume, however, which bears directly upon the problem of America's cultural adolescence. Five months before Barker's best play was produced in Philadelphia, C. J. Ingersoll delivered before the American Philosophical Society of that city a discourse in which he remarked, "In the literature of imagination, our standard is considerably below that of England, France, Germany, and perhaps Italy . . . In the literature of fact, of education, of politics, and perhaps even science, European pre-eminence is by no means so decided."¹ It is no wonder that, with the definition of the word "literature" so broad and so vague in the educated mind of that day, Barker, like many of his contemporaries, confused patriotism with aesthetic standards and divided his life between literary and political pursuits. He attained dignity and some distinction as a politician of the Jacksonian stamp; and the mass of factual information which Dr. Musser has collected explains, even before interpretation is attempted, this typical relationship of an early American with art and with his times. The identification of much mediocre writing in the forms of occasional verse and critical prose presents further testimony upon the same point. Barker's choice of native themes was no accident; it was a part of the widespread effort of an awakening national consciousness to find literary expression without sacrificing any part of its vigorous and hopeful materialism. One of the most characteristic expressions of this state of mind is the resentment which Americans felt at the slightest hint of European criticism of their crudity. The irritation which provoked the *Inchiquin Letters* (1809) is expressed by Barker in the prologue to his *Tears and Smiles* (1807):

But, if some humble beauties catch your sight,
Behold them in their proper, native light,
Not peering through discol'ring foreign prisms,
Find them but hideous, rank Columbianisms.

These wider implications are not always evident to Dr. Musser, in spite of the thoroughness of his work. His detailed and critical analyses of Barker's dramatic work fail to absorb this revealing but not obviously related material. The political position of a minor Jacksonian Democrat is rightly judged as of little inherent

¹ C. J. Ingersoll, *A Discourse Concerning the Influence of America on the Mind*, Philadelphia, 1823.

importance. The family and personal life of the author rarely penetrates through the wall of external facts. Some magic of amalgamation was needed and not enough of it was acquired, in spite of a narrative style which, at its best, is firm and fluent. An objective historical method serves its purpose in arraying available material in proper sequence, but the larger view, dependent upon perspective, is not always clear.

ROBERT E. SPILLER

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The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton (EETS., Orig. Ser., No. 176). By W. J. CROUCH. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1928. Pp. clxiii + 115. \$6.00.

The present metriculous reprint of Caxton's numerous prologues and epilogues will be of great value to the student of Caxton, of fifteenth-century letters, and of the history of literary criticism. Published alone these significant and interesting excerpts from the writings of our first English printer would compose a useful volume and in fact supplant for scholarly purposes the equivalent material in the Appendix (pp. 223 ff.) of Miss N. S. Aurner's *Caxton: Mirror of Fifteenth-Century Letters* (Boston, 1915). Despite the prefatory statement the texts do not seem to be reproduced line for line with the original, and the conventional slanting bar (/) is regularly employed.

But Mr. Crouch has generously and with much talent done far more than edit a careful reprint, and in an Introduction of 163 pages presents a biography of Caxton based on earlier research, substantially supplemented by private investigation and interesting discoveries in the records of England and the Low Countries. The Appendix to the Introduction brings together 30 documents in the original or in translation from English and Flemish sources. The sections—really chapters—of the Introduction devoted to the history of the Merchant Adventurers and the Hansards over the period when Caxton was so significantly associated with the latter will attract the attention of economic historians. The pages emphasize—and apparently not unduly—Caxton in the rôle of a prominent man of affairs, an esteemed leader in trade, a commercial diplomat. On pp. lxxxvi-vii the editor makes out what seems to be a strong case in favor of the view that Caxton actually learned the art of printing at Cologne and not from his later associate Colard Mansion of Bruges.

The Bibliography of Printed Books (pp. xx-xxiv) offers a useful short-title check-list of pertinent works; a really definitive Caxton bibliography would have been even more valuable. Caxton's language is not treated, nor is there a glossary.

In general Mr. Crotch's volume supplements in an important way Blades' and kindred works whose focus of interest lies in the direction of typography and Miss Aurner's study where literary relations are stressed.

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.

Harvard University

La Tragédie Religieuse en France. Les Débuts (1514-1578). Le Mystère des Actes des Apôtres. Par RAYMOND LEBÈGUE. Paris: Champion, 1929. Deux volumes distincts (thèse principale et thèse complémentaire pour le Doctorat). Pp. 549 et 262.

Mr. Lebègue se limite aux débuts de la tragédie religieuse, mais il prend en considération le théâtre en latin, dont, en ce qui concerne les origines du théâtre moderne, le rôle est considérable. Avant Jodelle et La Péruse les voies avaient été ouvertes par des traducteurs de pièces anciennes et aussi des auteurs modernes de tragédies en latin. Ainsi l'Italien Stoa, dont le *Theoandrothanatos* (la première tragédie moderne éditée en France) est déjà classique par le nombre des actes, l'unité d'action, l'absence du comique, l'imitation de Sénèque. Ainsi encore Barthélemy, dont le *Christus Xylonicus* ou le *Christ Vainqueur par le Bois de la Croix* est la première pièce composée par un Français qui porte le nom de tragédie et aussi "la dernière Passion composée par un lettré." L'Écossais Buchanan fut le précurseur et le maître de chœur, dit Mr. L., des tragédiens entre 1553 et 1560. Son *Jephtes* surtout, dont Mr L. donne une analyse très fouillée et qui fut publié en 1554, "a appris aux auteurs de tragédies chrétiennes à rapprocher d'un sujet biblique une situation analogue tirée du théâtre ancien."

Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605) est peut-être "le créateur de la tragédie psychologique en France" avec son *Abraham Sacrifiant* écrit en français et publié et joué en 1550. C'est la première tragédie française qui ne soit pas une traduction des anciens. Elle a des parties de chef-d'œuvre, un style émouvant par son peu d'apprêt, un sens de l'action simple, rapide et poignante. On ne retrouve guère ces qualités chez le disciple de Bèze, Des Masures, qui en 1563 publia *La Trilogie de David*. Et pourtant ce Des Masures avait l'étoffe d'un dramaturge. Mais il ne s'y est taillé qu'un habit de prédicant. Avec Jean de La Taille nous avons à faire avec un dramaturge vrai. "L'agencement de la pièce, dit Mr L., le développement d'un caractère, la lutte des personnages entre eux ou contre le destin l'occupent beaucoup plus que la diffusion d'une doctrine religieuse." Robert Garnier a éclipsé Jean de La Taille, mais ce dernier n'était pas oublié même au 17ème siècle et

70 ans après la publication de son *Saul* furieux Du Ryer, comme l'a montré Lancaster, s'en est servi dans le troisième acte de son *Saul*.

Après Jean de La Taille le genre de la tragédie religieuse est formé. Les auteurs "choisiront des héros et des situations qui rappelleront ceux des tragédies anciennes." Ce qui dominera ce sera l'influence de Sénèque. Cette domination de l'influence de Sénèque voilà un fait crucial! On peut le regretter. En effet la fusion intime d'éléments médiévaux avec des éléments plautiniens ou térentiens et des souvenirs du drame grec était peut-être la bonne voie. Si on avait su maintenir discrètement dans le drame les droits du Familier, du Comique, on aurait fait l'économie du Romantisme dramatique hugolien et on aurait humanisé un peu nos "divins" classiques. Au fait, est-ce que cette fusion dont je parle plus haut n'est pas au moins eu partie réalisée par le drame Claudelien? Ce dernier renouerait ainsi à sa façon l'une des deux traditions de la Renaissance? C'est l'autre tradition qui a prévalu avec les Classiques. Mais qui nous dit que c'était la bonne? Oui, tout en admirant par métier les inflexibles beautés de la route "classique," ne pouvons-nous jeter sur l'autre route un regard curieux et nostalgique?

Une autre réflexion qu'inspire l'ouvrage de Mr L. c'est que les protestants ont "failli" nous donner en France un grand poète tragique avec La Taille comme un grand poète épique avec d'Aubigné. Mais ils se sont arrêtés en chemin.

La thèse complémentaire de Mr L. porte sur le *Mystère des Actes des Apôtres*. C'est bien réellement comme l'annonce le sous-titre une contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme et du protestantisme français au XVIème Siècle. Le mystère en question a été écrit pour le roi René entre 1452 et 1478. On le donne généralement à Simon Gréban mais il pourrait, comme le montre Mr L., être de Jean du Prier. Il en subsiste 5 textes et Mr L. lui-même en a découvert un Ms fait pour Marguerite de Navarre et qui contient 4 parties sur les 9 dont se compose l'ensemble. (Il s'agit en effet d'une bagatelle de 60,000 vers!). Par l'étude des interpolations qu'il décèle suivant la méthode ingénieuse des rimes chevauchantes quadruples, par l'analyse et la comparaison des Ms et de l'Édition Princeps (1538) et par l'historique des deux grandes représentations de Bourges et de Paris, Mr L. nous fait suivre les divers courants littéraires et religieux dans le deuxième quart du XVIème Siècle.

Souhaitons que Mr Lebègue pousse son excellente étude jusqu'à ce point du temps où Lancaster a pris sur ses robustes épaules la Tragédie Religieuse et tout le reste avec.

LOUIS CONS

Goethes Vater. Sein Leben nach Tagebuchern und Zeitberichten.

Von RUDOLF GLASER. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1929. xi, 321 pp. Mk. 10.

Das Hauptverdienst der Glaserschen Biographie ist der ausführliche Bericht über Johann Kaspar Goethes italienische Reise und die reichlichen Auszüge aus seiner Reisebeschreibung. Es ist eigentlich eine erstaunliche Tatsache, daß dies hier zum erstenmale unternommen wurde; sie erklärt sich vielleicht daraus daß diese Aufzeichnungen, von denen eines viel Größeren überschattet, uns heute recht ledern anmuten. Immerhin bleiben sie psychologisch von Wert, und Glaser hat recht, wenn er die vielseitigen Interessen beider Manner in Parallele setzt. Aber man vergleiche z. B. die Stelle, in der Johann Kaspar seinem Fuhrer nicht begreiflich machen kann, daß es möglich ist, sich durch Sammeln von Bachgeröll 'eine Vorstellung von jenen ewig klassischen Höhen des Erdaltertums zu verschaffen' oder auch seinen Bericht von einer Marmorsammlung mit der knappen, fachgemäßen Charakterisierung von Marmorstücken, über die der Sohn am 18. November aus Rom schreibt (116), und der Unterschied der beiden Manner tritt bezeichnend hervor. Goethes tiefdringender Schau, die überall den Dingen auf den Grund geht und mit ihrer Beschreibung zugleich ihr innerstes Wesen erobert, steht gegenüber die etwas selbstgefällige Art, mit der der Vater als 'curious traveller' stets seine geistige Regsamkeit zur Schau stellen muß, steht sein Besserwissen mit einem "die Wahrheit ist," "es ist wahrlich," "es ist wirklich." "Aufrecht wie ein Stock" bleibt er unter knieenden Anbetern stehen (112). Bei der Einkleidung zweier Nonnen 'kann er sich nicht enthalten' einer Dame darüber seine Bedenken zu äußern (131). 'Es wurde ihm den Leib zerbrechen, wenn er nicht' betreffs der Aktmodelle der venezianischen Malerakademie seine moralistischen 'Gedanken hervorbrächte' (133).

Dabei wechselt er trotz seines konsequenten Rationalismus auch einmal den Standpunkt und wird zum empfindsamen Reisenden, wenn er sich gegen die historische Gelehrsamkeit seines Fuhrers zu gunsten einer Frühlingslandschaft auflehnt (116), oder wenn er eine zu enge Aufklärungssucht ablehnt, welche Geistererscheinungen völlig ausschlosse (127). Wo man indessen Beweise für seine abweichende Meinung erwartet, läßt er die Dinge dahingestellt sein.

Es ist bemerkenswert, daß der junge Goethe, der in Leipzig doch eine ganz bedenkliche Neigung zur Altklugheit an den Tag legt und zu des Vaters Art, seine Meinung außerordentlich wichtig zu nehmen, dieses Erbteil (oder war es nur Anerziehung) so schnell abgeschüttelt hat. Mit Humor waren beide nicht übermäßig begabt, so hat der Sohn den Alten dann später oft mit einer gutmütigen Ironie gesehen.

Leider fehlt auch dem Biographen der Humor, der die Gestalt

des Goethevaters bedeutend ertraglicher machen wurde und der von der abgedruckten Liebeskorrespondenz mit der Mailänderin, einem Muster pedantischer Geschraubtheit, direct herausgefordert wird. Glaser glaubt den Alten sogar gegen irgendwelchen Vorfall des Sohnes in Schutz nehmen zu müssen (265, 277) und sieht seine pädagogischen Maßnahmen durch Goethes eigene Mißgriffe August gegenüber später gerechtfertigt (319). Das Verhältnis von Vater zu Sohn (wie meist bei uns Deutschen) ist kein unproblematisches Kapitel; aber auch das Eheleben Johann Kaspars ist nicht so unproblematisch, wie es hier erscheint. Und wenn Glaser immer wieder betont, daß Johann Kaspars ganzliche Abwendung von öffentlichen Dingen mit den unerquicklichen und unsittlichen Frankfurter Regierungsverhältnissen zusammenhängen müsse, so hat sich dieser gerade und ehrliche Mann doch anderseits nicht gescheut, dem Gesetz zuwider sein Haus unter dem Mantel eines Umbaus von unten bis oben erneuern zu lassen.

Die Tragik seines Alters indessen kommt in Glasers Schlußkapiteln gut zum Ausdruck; die eigentliche Größe seines Sohnes, an dessen Erziehung er sich ohne Zweifel verdient gemacht hat, durfte er ja nicht mehr erleben.

ERNST FEISE

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El Papiamento. La lengua criolla de Curazao. La gramática mas sencilla. Por el Dr. RODOLFO LENZ. Santiago de Chile: Balcells & Co., 1928. [Reprinted from *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, 2a. Serie, año IV, 1926, and V, 1927.]

The language of the Dutch Antilles, and more particularly its capital, Curaçao, appears to be exceptional among Creole dialects in not only having achieved fixity, but in being able to serve the needs of a relatively high Western culture: it is taught in the Roman Catholic schools, used in the native religious services, printed in newspapers, and spoken by the upper and lower classes in familiar intercourse. Its importance for linguistic study is now emphasized by a monograph which shows it to be, not a combination of European languages with an exotic system of grammar, but a vocabulary of Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese words combined with a minimum system of grammar, almost completely logical, basically European in origin, and which the author believes to be the simplest in existence.

In how far this claim is founded is a question to be discussed by students of general linguistics. The material, although comparatively scanty, seems adequate enough; namely, a series of documents, letters, tales, and poems, furnished to the author by an intelligent native and phonetically transcribed, and, besides, a

number of publications, mainly devotional booklets, school-books, vocabularies, and practical grammars, mostly printed in Curaçao. Incidentally, the full title of the second item in the bibliography should read: *Ewanhelie di San Matheo, poeblikado abau di direksjon di Domini C. Conradi*. Curaçao, 1844, 8°. To the third section may be added a booklet by S. van Dissel, treating also of the language, and entitled *Curaçao Herinneringen en Schetsen*, Leyden, 1857.

While throughout the book the reader recognizes the customary sound method, industry, and penetration of the author, one cannot help wondering at the apparently somewhat sketchy nature of his Dutch studies (p. 7). Perhaps aware of this, he intentionally limits his identification of Papiamento words to "indicaciones vagas de procedencia," merely, it would seem, because Kramer's *Neues Taschenwörterbuch* proved insufficient (p. 224). It is difficult not to conclude that in a certain sense the whole book, and particularly the third part, entitled (in Dr. Lenz's spelling): *Estudio etimológico i semántico del diccionario curazoleño* (pp. 207-260), with its statistical tables, hereby loses some of its scientific value. A few of the following cursory notes will illustrate this observation.¹

P. 213. The substantive *hâp* is referred to Dutch *gaab* (read *gaap*), wrongly translated as *regueldo*, *eruoto*, instead of *bosteso*. Dutch *oprisping*, on the other hand, does translate *regueldo*, while *hipo*, given as an equivalent for *oprisping*, should be referred to D. *hik*. P. 215. Among words denoting kinship classified as 'castellanos seguros,' *suéger* = *suegro*, etc., seems to show the influence of D. *swager*, all the more because its meaning of, not only *suegro*, but also *verno*, points to archaic provincial Dutch *swager* = *schoonzoon*, *verno* (Van Dale, *Groot Woordenboek*, s. v.). P. 218. *hadrei* or *wadrei*, written *gadrij* or *adrei*, should be referred to D. *gaanderij*, formed by popular etymology out of *galerij*;—The *b* of *kâmbér* may well point to Fr. *chambre* rather than D. *kamer*. P. 220. On the other hand, *biroschi* or *potret* need not be derived from the French, but directly from current D. *bureau* and *portret*.—Whether *kanika* = "pitcher" corresponds to the 'venezolanismo' *caneca*, seems at least doubtful, in view of D. *kanneken* (de Vries en te Winkel, VII, 1199). P. 222. The word *bulyon* comes probably directly from *bouillon*.—*Yorki* or *jorki*, is almost surely, as the author suggests, the same word as Chilian *charqui*, but perhaps through the medium of the American English *jerky* = "jerked meat," "meat dried in strips." P. 226. The word *apelsma* is accounted for by the popular D. *appelsien*, as against the more formal *sinaasappel*. P. 231. For *bichu*, instead of Cast. *bicho*, in view of the ending, D. *beestje* might be suggested. P. 233. As to *rôti* = *zanja*, this may well derive, not from Cast. *arroyo*, but from D. *rooi*, OFr. *roie*, Mod. Fr. *raie* = "stripe," hence probably "grove," "ditch." P. 237. It might be preferable to refer *bôtêl*

¹ The author makes no mention (p. 36) of the Negro Creole speech of the former Danish, now American, Antilles, in which a New Testament was printed as early as 1781. *Die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creols Tael*, Copenhagen, 1781; second ed., 1818.

to English *bottle*, rather than to the rather unusual D. *bottel*, and *envelop* to the common D. *enveloppe* instead of to English *envelope*. P. 247. It seems strange that *trom* should be either the D. *tol* or Cast. *trompo* = "whipping top," instead of D. *trom* = Cast. *tambor*. P. 248. The form *flou*, instead of going back to *floho* < *flojo*, might well derive from D. *flauo*. P. 255. For *kishiki* = *cosquillar* one might suggest at least the influence of D. *kitselen*. P. 256. D. *snikken* = *sollozar*, has evidently been confused with *stikken* = *asfiuar*.

It would not be difficult to increase the number of these remarks. But they would not, all told, affect more than a relatively small percentage of the words and constructions discussed, and should not diminish our appreciation of the valuable results which the author, by virtue of long-acknowledged abilities and wide experience, has been able to achieve. All in all, there is little doubt that this treatise will be recognized as the most important contribution in its field since Schuchardt's *Kreolische Studien*.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

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Papers on Shelley, Wordsworth, and Others. By J. A. CHAPMAN.

New York, Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. 171. \$2.25.

The Profession of Poetry, and Other Lectures. By H. W. GARROD.

New York, Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. x + 270. \$4.50.

Mr. Chapman's *opus* may be briefly dismissed. This slim book of literary essays—on Wordsworth, on Coleridge, on "Poetry and Experience," on the "Greatest Poetry," on the "Future of English Poetry," etc.—offers no new or stimulating criticism. The author is imitating Matthew Arnold (and Professor Garrod) without Matthew Arnold's power; the result is a collection of such undeniably truthful statements as that Messrs. De la Mare, Wordsworth, and Browning did not see eye to eye with Byron on the subject of women (pp. 107-8), such inept characterizations as that of the *Ancient Mariner* as "childish" (p. 50) and of the *Shropshire Lad* as mere "picture-book poetry" (p. 52), and such dangerous superlatives as, "The loss of a man's child is of all human experiences the very ghastliest" (p. 135).

One cannot, however, treat Professor Garrod so casually, although his volume of apparently unrevised lectures, is uneven in quality, and lacks continued interest. The lecture and the essay, after all, are two distinct forms: just as the essay when read aloud is apt to seem more difficult than it really is, so the lecture in cold print frequently appears extremely discursive. So here: at their worst (for example, the essay on Byron), these essays, which were doubtless pleasant to hear, lead the reader astray by a

rambling exordium, carry him, still puzzled, through several pages of inconclusive and loosely articulated discussion, and leave him at the end vaguely wondering what his destination was supposed to be. At their best, however (as in "The Place of Hazlitt in English Criticism"), they have all the compactness and unity of the critical essay conceived as such.

To make a conspectus of such varied material is almost impossible, but one can divide it into, first, the expression of Professor Garrod's general poetical creed, and, second, his criticism of particular poets. To him Matthew Arnold ("the most famous of my predecessors in this Chair") is a major prophet. To the dictum that "poetry is the criticism of life" he pays "the proper homage of a truism—not to argue it." He does defend it, however, to the extent of observing that Arnold was no protagonist for didactic poetry, and in another passage he vigorously denies that the function of literature is to preach or to endeavor "consciously to make men better . . . Literature is a criticism of life exactly in the sense that a good man is a criticism of a bad one." He follows, moreover, Arnold's doctrine of "touchstones." "Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Dickens, Scott—Scott of the Novels [he says]—just these four, I have sometimes thought, these four so oddly unlike, are enough. Steep your critic in the greatness of these four, and I will chance his judgment upon any greatness in literature." As to exactly what true poetry is, he is never very clear: it is for him not quite the "bloodless universalism" of Aristotle, not quite the "romantic sensationalism" of Wordsworth, but something in between, something that opens up to us "a world of knowledge not opened up by the ordinary processes of judgement and inference," something that we recognize only by swift intuition. "Something is said; and all the intricate wards at once of the infinitely mysterious mechanism of our human nature, turn; all the parts of us meet decisively, yet softly, falling into place with that swift noiseless *click* which is the unresisting assent of the totality of what we are."

In Professor Garrod's treatment of individuals one is particularly struck by his liberality and his fairness. Though he is a classicist by training and long experience, and though he is no poetic ultra-modernist, admitting, as he does, an "innocent trust in 'good verses' which makes me like them better when they scan," he ranges in this volume from Massinger to Mr. Humbert Wolfe, and does one of his very best essays on Rupert Brooke. In fact he regards it as not the privilege but rather the obligation of the critic to take stock of those writers whose reputations are still to be established. "With the general habit of mind [he says] which remits to posterity the judgment of all great causes and all considerable reputations I feel, in fact, no sympathy at all. I hate it

for its timidity; and I suspect that, in the complex of its motives, may be discovered, often enough, jealousy and disappointed vanity. There are two characters of criticism without which I account it dead. First, it must have a gay courage; and this comes to it only with the sense of living multitude . . . And secondly, all good criticism is magnanimous. It has noble partialities, and it takes generous risks. After all, the end of criticism is, not to be right, but to do right by whatever seems great or like to greatness."

These words sum up the spirit in which Professor Garrod has written. Admittedly they imply the lack of certain qualities one might like to find in criticism—particularly a certain brilliance and clarity of thought and statement that seems inevitably associated (though perhaps by a false physical analogy) with a hard and ruthless temper. One looks in vain here for any flashing critical epigram; one even sometimes looks in vain for a firm structure. But one never looks in vain for the generous enjoyment, the honest enthusiasm, of the critic who regards humane letters not as a cadaver for scientific dissection, not as a battle-ground for Tweedledum and Tweedledee over pet theories, but as one of the experiences of the good life.

G. D. STOUT

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Goethe's *Faust*. Part I. Translated by WILLIAM PAGE ANDREWS, edited and revised by GEORGE M. PRIEST and KARL E. WESTON. Princeton University Press, 1929. Limited edition. Pp. xiii, 210. \$4.00.

This attractively bound and printed volume contains, in addition to the unannotated translation of the first part of *Faust*, an explanatory Foreword by Mr. Weston as Literary Executor of the translator, who died in 1916, and a Preface and Introduction by Mr. Andrews, the former dealing with Goethe's views on translation and annotation, the latter with Goethe's comments on the "Faust-Motif." From the Foreword it does not appear just how much "revision" the editors felt to be requisite; but since it is stated that they "attempted to carry out Mr. Andrews' ideal of suitable and expressive prosody with literalness of translation," it seems proper to treat the translation as deriving solely from Mr. Andrews.

I suppose that in all the literature of the world there is no single work which offers the translator a more formidable set of problems

than Goethe's *Faust*: problems of diction and style, of prosody and rhyme, of mood and atmosphere, of philosophic and ethical idea. The difficulties are so great, indeed, that they may in one sense be called insuperable; which is another way of saying that there can be no such thing as an "ideal" translation of such a work. Even the best possible translation is bound to fall short of the charm and power of the original to such an extent that there will always be other translators who will endeavor to take one step closer to the ideal goal.

In the last analysis, the translator of *Faust* always stands before an inexorable dilemma. It would be possible to reproduce the metric-rhythmic structure of the poem to the last detail—if one were not bound by the *sense* of Goethe's lines. Conversely, a skillful writer could cope successfully with all the difficulties of Goethe's thought, i. e., viewed as a series of expressible concepts, if he were absolved of all regard for any fixed pattern of rhythm or rhyme. One attempt to do exactly that has indeed been made, and the translation of Abraham Hayward, published in 1833, was republished as late as 1908. But Goethe himself uttered the truth by which Hayward and all other prose translators of a poetic work are to be judged; and Mr. Andrews quotes it in his Preface: "Form is necessarily united with the interior existence of the material. Poetic forms have great and mysterious effects. Reflection will demand that form, material, and content be adapted to each other, and that they interpenetrate each other."

Not only must *Faust* be translated into verse, and rhymed verse at that, if the infinite variety of Goethe's style and mood—the beauty of his impassioned lyricism, the grandeur of his soaring flights, the rich humor of his earthliness, the poignancy of his tragedy—are to be even faintly reproduced; but the prosody must follow his own, as closely as the translator's skill and the refractory tongue he speaks will permit. And so we have our long series of bold but mostly abortive attempts to perform that miracle of transmuting Goethe's gold into an equally precious but different metal; to do full justice to Goethe's thought while retaining his precise form throughout.

Somewhere, as I have already intimated, this attempt will lead to a compromise in the case of most translators: a Shelley will sacrifice Goethe's thought to the sweep of his own poetic line; an Andrews, determined to follow Goethe's substance at all costs, cannot but lapse into something very like prose. For it takes more than learning to produce literature, and poetry is not the daughter of patience. This translation is the work of a scholar, one who had probed deeply into Goethe's thought and the meaning of his *Faust*, and whose version will rarely if ever stray from the correct inter-

pretation of Goethe's lines, but one to whom poetry was principally prosody, i. e., a given pattern of accents and rhythms with a prescribed rhymic punctuation. It is with no desire of mere fault-finding that I set forth the blemishes in Mr. Andrews' translation of *Faust*: whoever aspires to scale the highest peak on earth takes his life in his hands, and the translator who essays a new version of *Faust* courts more than mere polite assay.

Mr. Andrews' struggles with Goethe's form sometimes lead him into rather questionable wordings, in which even the sense of the original is blurred or distorted. Take for instance the *Dedication*: I wonder whether the lines

My plaintive song's uncertain tones are turning
To harps aeolian murmuring at will

really render the thought of Goethe's

Es schwebet nun in unbestimmten Tönen
Mein lispelnd Lied, der Aolsharfe gleich.

Or take the lines from the *Vorspiel auf dem Theater*:

Wo Lieb' und Freundschaft unsres Herzens Segen
Mit Götterhand erschaffen und erpflegen.

Is it adequate to say:

Where Love and Friendship give the heart their blessing,
With godlike hand creating and progressing.

The following line (869), for my feeling, comes close to error:

To splitting heads they well may come,

For Goethe's words,

Sie mögen sich die Köpfe spalten,

surely mean: "Let them split each other's heads (for all of me)"

On the formal side, as was to be expected in view of the translator's preoccupation with the full interpretation of the original, there is much to criticize. For example, Goethe begins the *Vorspiel auf dem Theater* with four *Knittelverse*, followed up with rhymed iambic pentameters; Mr. Andrews has three pentameters, then a tetrameter, and subsequently two more tetrameters. The result is an unsettled feeling which Goethe's verses do not give. More serious than this, we find not a few lines which hardly scan at all:

67 Ah, what'er from the bosom's depths sprang flowing,
296 No, Lord! As always I find there a sorry sight.

- 318 I thank you for that; with the dead I've never got
 366 True, I am cleverer than all the silly creatures,
 398 Woe! am I still stuck in this prison hall
 459 Ye gush, ye suckle, and shall I thus languish here in vain?
 480 I feel my heart is thine e'en to the uttermost

Throughout I note a marked reduction in feminine endings, and an unfortunate frequency of broken lines like the following:

- 424 The power of your soul, as when
 One spirit to another speaks. 'Tis vain

This is blank verse technique, not Goethean.

It would be unfair to Mr. Andrews if I were to close without citing at least one passage in which he appears to good advantage. I choose for this purpose the following:

- 981 Good Doctor, this is fine of you,
 That you don't scorn us here today,
 And now 'mid all this common crowd,
 So learned and so wise you stray.
 Hence take also the finest jug,
 That we with fresh, cool wine have filled,
 I pledge you in't and wish aloud,
 Not only that your thirst be stilled:
 The sum of drops that it conveys,
 May it be added to your days!

In the final analysis, however, it is the reviewer's regretful opinion that the publication of this translation will neither redound to the glory of Mr. Andrews nor contribute signally to a better appreciation, on the part of the English-speaking public, of the poetic merit of Goethe's *Faust*.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Enjoyment of Literature. By JAY B. HUBBELL. New York, Macmillan, 1929. xii + 289 pp. A manual addressed to those who 'are uncertain of their own taste and judgment.' Like the etiquette books it begins with withering questions: 'Do you ever read poetry purely for pleasure? Do you dislike all big books? All old books?' Then follow the *dos* and *don'ts*.—Where but in America?

FREDERICK M. PADEL FORD

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LA CANDIDATURE DE SAINTE-BEUVE A L'ECOLE NORMALE EN 1834

On sait qu'en 1858, quand l'Ecole Normale se rouvrit, sous la direction de Nisard, Sainte-Beuve accepta le poste de maître de conférences et que, pendant trois ans, il vint causer à la rue d'Ulm. On sait moins que Sainte-Beuve avait déjà brigué ce même poste, un quart de siècle plus tôt, en 1834. C'est de Mme Lenormant que les biographes du critique ont reçu leur version de cette candidature. Herriot la résume exactement:

Lorsque [Sainte-Beuve] voulut entrer dans l'enseignement et remplacer Ampère¹ à l'Ecole Normale, Mme Lenormant² se chargea d'agir auprès de Guizot; l'impatience de Sainte-Beuve fut cause que l'affaire ne put se conclure. . . .³

Mme Lenormant avait été l'intermédiaire officiel d'Ampère auprès du ministre. Son témoignage a donc grand poids. Néanmoins il propage une erreur. On en découvre d'autres en remontant aux documents originaux déjà publiés. Nous comptons nous borner à éclairer quelques points de cet épisode très complexe. Il

¹ Ampère venait de succéder à Andrieux au Collège de France. Il désirait publier son cours. Sa tâche de maître de conférences était un obstacle et un fardeau. Voir les allusions dans sa lettre du 21 sept. 1834 à Mme Récamier (A.-M. Ampère et J.-J. Ampère, *Corr. et Souv.* [Nous désignerons cet ouvrage dorénavant ainsi: *Corr. des Ampère*], II, p. 61): "vie douloureuse; torture physique et morale; épreuve où mon cerveau pourrait bien rester" Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Lundis* (3^e éd. 1874), XI, 483 (Notes et Pensées, CI): "J.-J. Ampère—cet homme d'esprit qui causait avec tant d'agrément et qui professait d'une manière si pénible."

² Nièce de Mme Récamier, et femme de l'archéologue Ch. Lenormant, alors suppléant de Guizot à la Sorbonne.

³ E. Herriot, *Mme Récamier et ses amis* (2^e éd. 1906), II, 311.

faudra les situer dans le cadre de la biographie générale du maître des *Lundis* pour en saisir la pleine signification.

La première phase de l'affaire de Sainte-Beuve, comme on disait, fut celle des négociations de Mme Lenormant.⁴ Ampère avait offert sa démission, mais en stipulant que Sainte-Beuve lui succéderait. Or celui-ci n'était pas du tout l'homme que Guizot rêvait pour l'Ecole Normale. Le ministre négligeait la question politique;⁵ il voulait bien ne tenir nul compte de ce que le candidat collaborait encore au *National*, organe des républicains qui l'attaquaient chaque jour. Mais il ne pouvait oublier le thuriféraire de l'école romantique, celui qui, selon le mot de Heine, avait couru devant Hugo, annonçant partout le "Buffle de la poésie". Il se souvenait de Joseph Delorme, qu'il avait surnommé lui-même un Werther jacobin et carabin. Guère l'homme à qui confier la formation des futurs professeurs! Son *Ronsard* et son *Tableau du XVI^e siècle*, qu'étaient-ce sinon les pièces les plus ingénieuses d'une machine d'assaut lancée par derrière sur l'hémistiche vénérable: "Enfin Malherbe vint"! Bref Guizot omettait le folliculaire politique, mais il tenait au polémiste littéraire . . . afin de l'écarter.

Ampère était décidé à quitter sa place, mais il refusait à Guizot sa démission pure et simple et résistait en faveur de Sainte-Beuve, qui n'aurait eu aucune chance de se faire agréer sans lui. Au début de septembre, une quinzaine après le départ d'Ampère pour l'Italie, où il passa ses vacances, on lui transmit une offre de compromis ainsi conçue:

Si au roman de *Volupté*,⁶ M. de Sainte-Beuve (*sic*) fait succéder un travail sérieux et réalise son plan de l'*Histoire littéraire de Port-Royal*⁷ il

⁴ Suivre le détail de cette première phase dans les correspondances suivantes: 13 août, de Fauriel à Mohl; 15 août, de Mohl à Fauriel (*Corr. de Fauriel et de Mary Clarke*, 1911, p. 393, 394); 5 sept., de Sainte-Beuve à Ampère (*Corr. des Ampère*, II, p. 58; reproduite dans la *Corr. de Sainte-Beuve*, 1877, I, 23); 21 sept., de Fauriel à Mohl (*Corr. de Fauriel*, p. 394); 21 sept., d'Ampère à Mme Lenormant (*Mme Récamier et les Amis de sa Jeunesse*, 1874, p. 292); 21 sept., d'Ampère à Mme Récamier (*Corr. des Ampères*, II, 61).

⁵ Voir le beau témoignage d'Ampère, dans sa lettre du 21 sept. à Mme Lenormant (cf. note précédente).

⁶ Paru le 19 juillet 1834.

⁷ Première mention, que je sache, du futur grand œuvre.

établira, aux yeux de tous, ses droits universitaires et autorisera M. Guizot à le faire entrer à l'Ecole Normale. Pour le moment sa nomination est impossible; consentez donc à continuer la conférence pendant une année, et M. le Ministre offre à votre ami la chance de vous remplacer. Il ne peut faire plus et ne doit accepter aucune condition.⁸

On ne nous a pas dit qui était l'auteur de cette note. Ballanche avait écrit à Ampère, dans le même sens, de la part de Mme Récamier; mais, au tour officiel du style, on croit reconnaître la main de l'intermédiaire officiel, Mme Lenormant. Non moins significatif, le contraste établi entre *Volupté* et "un travail sérieux"; il semble venir d'elle. Impressionnée par un titre spécieux, la mère si bien élevée de Mme Récamier a-t-elle jamais lu *Volupté*? Cet ouvrage que Lamennais et "la plupart des catholiques de ce temps-là", selon l'abbé Brémond, appelèrent une *œuvre de charité, une œuvre de chrétien*,⁹ en connut-elle autre chose que ce que lui apprirent les potinages de salon sur les clés de *Volupté*, qui coururent bientôt jusqu'en province?¹⁰ Quarante ans après l'événement, elle croyait encore que Guizot s'étant "refusé à une nomination immédiate qui eût semblé la récompense d'une œuvre à coup sûr peu morale" et qu'il demandait qu'Ampère "laissât au spirituel critique le temps de produire un livre plus en harmonie que *Volupté* avec la gravité du professorat."¹¹ On croirait entendre *Pancirole*¹² en personne, au lieu de sa digne veuve!

Mais, au fait, Mme Lenormant dit vrai peut-être. *Volupté* venait de paraître. Les ennuis du gouvernement étaient sérieux. Guizot, fort occupé, était-il mieux renseigné qu'elle? Avait-il trouvé le loisir de se plonger dans ces deux volumes de prose serrée? On en vient à soupçonner que le sort de Sainte-Beuve fut, en ce cas, discuté par deux personnes qui jugeaient un écrivain

⁸ *Corr.* des Ampère, II, p. 60.

⁹ Le mot est de Lamennais: H. Brémond, *Le Roman et l'Histoire d'une Conversion—U. Guttinguer et Sainte-Beuve*, 1925, p. 157. L'auteur note, p. 163, que *Volupté* a passé pour un livre dangereux dans les milieux antichrétiens de 1834.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹¹ *Mme Récamier et ses Amis* (2^e éd. 1906), p. 292. C'est moi qui souligne.

¹² Voir sous ce nom un portrait-caractère de Ch. Lenormant dans les *Lundis* (6^e éd.), XI, 414.

sans avoir connaissance de la production la plus significative de son talent, celle où se manifestaient les tendances profondes (et si "sérieuses"!) de sa nature et de son esprit. Cet accident n'est pas nouveau dans le chemin de la fortune. Mais ne nous plaignons pas. Ce fut Guizot qui exigea de Sainte-Beuve son travail de maîtrise, *Port-Royal*. Sainte-Beuve n'eut pas le poste; mais il écrivit le livre. Veut-on savoir le danger qu'un Guizot mieux informé nous aurait fait courir? Au lieu de *Port-Royal*, nous aurions eu cette *Histoire de la littérature française* (il y en a tant!) qu'il pensa tirer de ses notes de cours, après 1861. Les *Nouveaux Lundis* ne lui en laissèrent pas le loisir. Au reste, la fatalité a ses raisons de produire les *Histoires de la littérature*; on le sait en mille choses. Celle que Sainte-Beuve aurait, sans doute, écrite, devait être écrite et le fut, mais par un homme dont le talent se montra admirable dans la composition d'un manuel. Nous serions moins riches de ne pas l'avoir. C'est l'œuvre de D. Nisard. Car il succéda à Ampère: il fut l'homme du choix de Guizot.

Ce rival heureux de Sainte-Beuve, je ne sais pourquoi, n'a jusqu'ici attiré l'attention de personne, en cette occurrence. Nisard a pourtant laissé des *Souvenirs*, qui furent publiés par sa famille et que l'on ne saurait négliger.¹³ Le récit de sa nomination à l'Ecole Normale, avec l'histoire de ses premiers rapports avec Sainte-Beuve, occupe le premier chapitre, daté (tous les autres chapitres ne le sont pas) de 1870. Comme Sainte-Beuve est mort en 1869 et que Nisard lui a dû "le plus grand chagrin de sa vie" (la perte de la direction de l'Ecole Normale à la suite des troubles occasionnés par le discours de Sainte-Beuve au Sénat sur les Bibliothèques populaires, en 1867), ce morceau a tout l'air d'être un des plus anciens que le vieil universitaire ait composés, un des premiers auxquels il ait pensé, pour cette sorte de déposition, *pro domo sua*, que font les auteurs de mémoires devant la postérité.¹⁴

¹³ D. Nisard, *Souvenirs et Notes biographiques*, 2 vols., 1888.

¹⁴ La réputation de Nisard, en 1834, était toute récente. En décembre 1833, il s'était distingué par une sortie contre la *littérature facile* et avait soutenu une polémique brillante avec J. Janin. En avril, il avait fait paraître en deux volumes, ses *Etudes de Mœurs et de Critique sur les Poètes latins de la Décadence* (parues dans les Revues depuis 1830). Nisard s'était ainsi créé, trois mois avant *Volupté*, un titre universitaire,

Nisard raconte qu'il hésita quand le ministre lui offrit de venir professer ses doctrines à l'Ecole Normale. Il demanda l'avis de Carrel. Le rôle du fameux journaliste dans cette affaire mérite d'être observé de près. On sait que, sur la fin de septembre, Sainte-Beuve s'était brouillé avec le *National* (le journal de Carrel) à la suite des avanies qu'il essuya¹⁵ pour son article sur Ballanche (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 sept.). Carrel, inculpé politique, vivait alors détenu dans une maison de santé. Les "fâneurs de haute hâblerie républicaine" qui poursuivaient Sainte-Beuve, l'invoquaient sans cesse comme arbitre. Ce Bayard du journalisme — dont l'année précédente Sainte-Beuve vantait la "conduite si généreuse," la "constance morale et la loyauté qui, chez M. Carrel, ne varient pas plus que le talent"¹⁶ — se déroba dans un silence obstiné. Sainte-Beuve fut outré. Il ne remit plus les pieds au *National*, même pour réclamer le solde des articles qui lui étaient dûs. Cette brouille eut deux effets importants. Sainte-Beuve quitta tout à fait la politique et se rejeta vers les lettres. Mais d'abord, il ambitionna le poste de l'Ecole Normale avec une ardeur redoublée; il veilla qu'Ampère, malgré ses vacillations, tint bon en sa faveur. Le succès de sa candidature, c'était non seulement la consécration officielle de son mérite, mais une double victoire d'indépendance et vis-à-vis de Guizot qui l'excluait et vis-à-vis du *National* qui le répudiait.

au sens où Guizot l'entendait. Il n'y manquait même pas un certain air de riposter au *Tableau du XVI^e siècle*. Nisard démontrait, textes en main, que rien ne décèle les progrès de la décadence d'une littérature comme l'abus des formes du langage et les excès de la description pittoresque. Mais jusqu'à *Volupté* les divergences d'opinion n'empêchèrent pas la bienveillance d'exister entre les deux hommes, tous deux enfin collaborateurs littéraires au *National*. Nous nous réservons de traiter les rapports de Nisard et de Sainte-Beuve dans un travail beaucoup plus complet, en préparation.

¹⁵ Cf. *Portr. Cont.* (1869), I, 137, note (1), app. à l'art. Béranger. *Ibid.*, II, 46, app. à l'art. Ballanche

¹⁶ Chronique litt., 15 févr. 1833 (*Prem. Lundis*, 1833, p. 159, 162). La lettre que Bastide et Raspail lui envoyèrent au nom des "hommes de cœur" (*Portr. Cont.*, 1869, II, p. 47), est peut-être un rappel d'un passage de l'article du 4 février 1833 sur Carrel, au sujet de son duel avec Laborie. Sainte-Beuve avait écrit: "Pour ceux qui connaissent son caractère de droiture et de franchise . . . , ceux qui, etc. . . . , les *hommes de cœur* enfin" (*Prem. Lundis*, 1833, III, 365).

Carrel, consulté donc par Nisard, ne lui permit pas l'hésitation "voyant qu'il s'agissait de beaucoup de travail, d'un enseignement très sérieux devant des auditeurs difficiles, d'un traitement¹⁷ à peine égal à celui d'un bon ouvrier dans l'article Paris." Guizot, cette fois du moins, dit-il, "ne méritera pas le reproche d'avoir voulu amortir un journaliste." Et, dit Nisard, *il se chargea* de faire approuver la chose par ses lecteurs. Dans le numéro du 1^o décembre, à l'endroit même où les plus violentes vitupérations auraient accueilli sa nomination, Sainte-Beuve put lire une eulogie de son rival, de la plume de celui dont il n'avait pu obtenir un mot de justice.

La chronologie du récit de Nisard devient tout à fait incohérente, au moment précis où il nous donne la clé de l'insuccès inexplicable de Sainte-Beuve. Inexpliqué: Ampère, malgré ses répugnances, n'avait-il pas accepté (21 sept.), afin d'accommoder tout le monde, de reprendre pour un an encore son enseignement à l'Ecole Normale? Ayant passé de Florence à Rome, il reprit en novembre le chemin du retour. Dès le mois d'octobre, tout semblait avoir été réglé. Pourquoi Nisard fut-il nommé en décembre?

Jusqu'ici, les biographes, négligeant Nisard, répondaient: Sainte-Beuve n'avait pas un caractère commode; il perdit l'Ecole Normale par impatience.¹⁸ On va voir dans un instant que l'impatience ne faisait rien à l'affaire. Mais voici comment, je crois, la légende s'est créée.¹⁹ Mme Lenormant dépouillait la correspondance de Mme Récamier et d'Ampère; après la lettre du 21 septembre, à elle-même adressée,²⁰ elle ne trouvait plus qu'une seule allusion, insignifiante, à la "négociation pour M. Sainte-Beuve," dans une lettre de Mme Récamier, du 15 octobre. Cependant elle

¹⁷ 2500 fr.: *Souv. et Notes biogr.*, I, 11.

¹⁸ C'est la thèse de tous les biographes d'Ampère, de Mme Récamier et de Sainte-Beuve, à deux exceptions près. Michaut, généralement bien informé, dans *Sainte-Beuve avant les Lundis* (1903) comme dans *Sainte-Beuve* (Les Gds. Ecr. fr.) (1921), suit la documentation Lenormant, mais passe sous silence l'impatience de Sainte-Beuve, comme s'il n'y croyait pas. L. de Launay, dans *Un Amoureux de Mme Récamier. Le Journal de J.-J. Ampère* (1927) a donné un exposé enfin correct des faits, mais en courant, et seulement dans la mesure où ils intéressaient Ampère.

¹⁹ Il ne s'agit pas de nier que Sainte-Beuve ait été impatient (voir plus bas, le billet de Guizot), mais que cela ait eu une influence décisive sur sa candidature.

²⁰ Cf. note 4.

conservait, dans ses propres papiers, un billet de Guizot, non daté,²¹ qui se rapportait à l'affaire. Elle le publia entre les deux lettres que je viens de mentionner, avec un mot de remarque :

Voulez-vous, madame,²² dire à M. Sainte-Beuve de venir me voir après-demain entre onze heures et midi ? Je causerai avec lui de mon mieux, et puis, s'il n'accepte pas ma bienveillance, j'accepterai son humeur.

Mille tendres respects

Guizot.

L'irascible et spirituel critique aima mieux renoncer à la chaire que de consentir à l'attendre six mois. Ampère donna sa démission et se consacra . . . à son auditoire du Collège de France. . . .²³

Pour d'Haussonville, ce billet représente toute l'affaire. Il déclare que "ce fut Sainte-Beuve qui refusa" d'écouter Guizot. Qu'en sait-il ? Rien, je le crains, sauf la déduction imprudente qu'il tire d'une phrase de Mme Lenormant, laquelle est fausse. Sainte-Beuve ne renonça nullement à sa chaire : elle lui échappa ; et quand elle fut perdue pour lui, il écouta Guizot et accepta sa bienveillance. Certaines raisons étaient plus fortes que son humeur.

Nisard raconte qu'entre le 1^o décembre (date de la note de Carrel sur sa nomination) et son entrée en fonction (dans la seconde quinzaine de décembre), il se produisit "un incident assez

²¹ L'ordre de publication de Mme Lenormant ne crée qu'une présomption, assez peu solide, puisqu'elle avait oublié le reste de l'affaire et l'imagina à la vue de ce billet. Deux dates s'offrent avec une plausibilité égale. Guizot aurait demandé Sainte-Beuve, après avoir fait transmettre à Ampère la proposition de continuer une année encore ; donc, au début de septembre. (Serait-ce le 3 septembre ? Guizot s'était exprimé nettement sur le compte de Sainte-Beuve avec Cousin, Villemain, Vitet et Mme Lenormant. Sainte-Beuve put s'en fâcher. Il écrivit à Ampère, le 5 septembre : "J'ai vu Guizot. . . . Avec moi, il a été plus *accommodant*, très *pol* et *obligeant*.") Ou bien Guizot aurait écrit après l'échec définitif, en décembre. Voir à la fin de cet article comment Guizot entendait manifester sa bienveillance.

²² D'Haussonville, *Sainte-Beuve* (Les Gds Ecriv. fr.), 1875, p. 94, se figure que le billet est adressé à Mme Récamier, qui évita soigneusement de se mêler aux négociations (voir sa lettre du 15 août, à Ampère, *Mme Récamier et les Amis de sa Jeunesse*, p. 295). C'est évidemment Mme Lenormant qui devait se charger de convoquer Sainte-Beuve.

²³ *Mme Récamier et les Amis de sa Jeunesse*, p. 294.

plaisant." Guizot, cédant devant la résistance d'Ampère, avait dû avouer à Nisard qu'il lui avait offert une place qui n'était pas libre.

Les choses en étaient là quand le cabinet dont il était membre fut remplacé par le ministère dit des "trois jours."²⁴ M. Teste y succédait à M. Guizot. Ampère, qui revenait d'un voyage en Italie, en reçut la nouvelle à Marseille. Le nouveau cabinet ne lui plaisait pas. Il en voulut faire sa cour à Guizot, et, prenant la plume, il adressa au nouveau ministre sa démission, cette fois sans condition. Tandis que sa lettre était en chemin, un revirement rappelait aux affaires les ministres sortants, et la démission, adressée à M. Teste, tombait aux mains de M. Guizot, réintégré.

Le jour même il m'écrivit qu'il m'attendait. "La conférence de littérature française est libre cette fois pour de bon, me dit-il; je suis heureux de pouvoir vous l'offrir de nouveau. Mais j'y mets à mon tour une condition; c'est que vous commenciez tout de suite et que vous permettiez à mon fils de suivre vos leçons." Je fis ce qu'il désirait. . . .²⁵

Ce fut, en effet, par ce tour digne du vaudeville, que la candidature de Sainte-Beuve échoua. Seulement cet incident plaisant s'était produit *un mois plus tôt!* Le 17 novembre, Ampère, de Marseille, où il venait d'arriver, avertissait Mme Récamier qu'il envoyait sa démission "sans entrer dans aucune explication." Ses motifs, il les lui exposait et annonçait qu'il rentrait incontinent en Italie, avec Rome pour destination dernière. Il terminait sur ces mots:

²⁴ Le ministère présidé par le vieux duc de Bassano. On ne trouvait pas de premier ministre pour remplacer le maréchal Gérard. Les ministres, Thiers et Guizot en tête, assurés de la pénurie d'hommes, démissionnèrent le 5 novembre afin de forcer le Tiers-Parti, à la tête duquel était Dupin l'aîné, à former un cabinet. Ils se préparèrent à rire. Le Tiers-Parti était la masse encombrante, raisonneuse et bruyante des bourgeois dont le cens faisait tout le mérite politique. Le ministère Bassano exista du 11 novembre au 14, et se couvrit de ridicule. Dès le deuxième jour, voyant la pile des démissions grossir toujours, les ministres y joignirent la leur, sans même avertir leur chef. Le 14, au soir, les journaux annonçaient la dissolution du ministère, et le 18 l'ancien cabinet reprenait sa place, avec le maréchal Mortier au fauteuil (Il devait périr l'année suivante sous la machine infernale de Fieschi). La déconsidération à laquelle on avait exposé le gouvernement, rejaillit sur le régime. C'était, sauf erreur, la première fois que la France, en pleine tranquillité, se voyait sans gouvernement.

²⁵ *Souv. et Notes biog.*, I, p. 14-15.

Pour Sainte-Beuve, si M. Sauzet est nommé,²⁶ il aura Lamartine.²⁷ Je regrette bien de n'avoir pas pu, aux dépens de son repos d'un an, assurer celui de son avenir.²⁸

L'erreur de Nisard est plus sérieuse qu'une simple méprise de date. Passons sur le rôle qu'il fait jouer à Guizot. A l'en croire, le *National*, journal d'opposition violente, aurait annoncé la nomination d'une de ses rédacteurs à une place gouvernementale avant que celle-ci fût même vacante ! C'est absurde. Néanmoins, deux jours après nous voyons que les *Débats* félicitent encore Nisard ; puis c'est le tour de la *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Non, n'en doutons plus, Nisard était bel et bien dûment nommé. Mais ici un petit mystère se découvre.

Nisard, en écrivant ses souvenirs, a dû s'aider de la lecture de quelques documents. Pour le récit de "l'incident assez plaisant," il a dû en avoir deux, particuliers, sous les yeux : la *Correspondance* des Ampère, publiée en 1875 (Nisard y apprit qu'Ampère regut la nouvelle du ministère des trois jours à Marseille) et la *Correspondance* de Sainte-Beuve, en deux volumes, publiée en 1877. La lettre XIV de cette dernière collection est la reproduction littérale d'une lettre de Sainte-Beuve à Ampère que la *Correspondance* des Ampère avait publiée la première²⁹ avec la date suivante ; *Paris*,

²⁶ Teste, ministre du Commerce, s'était borné à l'intérim de l'Instruction publique. Le titulaire était Sauzet : il ne fut ministre que dans la chaise qui l'amenait en hâte de Lyon.

²⁷ Cette phrase est une énigme.

²⁸ *Corr.* des Ampère, II, p. 66.

²⁹ P. 67-69. Reproduite dans la *Corr.* de Sainte-Beuve, I, 28-30. Cette lettre est constamment citée pour souligner deux faits : 1. la première mention de *Port-Royal* de la main de Sainte-Beuve ; 2. son assiduité à l'Abbaye-aux-Bois : "Je vais à l'Abbaye deux ou trois fois par semaine" dit-il à Ampère. On a souvent cru que c'était la preuve pour ainsi dire numérique d'une intimité remarquable dans ces années-là entre Sainte-Beuve et le monde de Chateaubriand. J'offre mes suppositions pour ce qu'elles valent. Je crois que le soin de sa candidature explique en grande partie cette assiduité, qui n'a dû se manifester que pendant une courte période, après le retour de Mme Récamier de Clamart. Après l'échec (dont la date coïncide avec la reprise des lectures des *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*), on a lieu de croire que Sainte-Beuve se fit rare, très rare. C'était son genre ("Savez-vous, mon ami, que vous êtes un *singulier pistolet* ?" lui écrivait G. Sand, en juillet 1833. Je vous ai laissé opérer votre *éclipse*,

18 décembre 1834. Non seulement Nisard a accepté cette date sans défiance, mais il a essayé d'y plier les faits. Feuilletant la *Correspondance* de Sainte-Beuve, il était tombé, un peu plus haut, sur la lettre du 5 septembre adressée à Ampère, et elle lui avait remis en mémoire ce détail que Guizot tenait à faire suivre la conférence de français à son fils aîné. Voilà la source de la jolie phrase de Guizot, dans les "Souvenirs" de Nisard: ". . . Mais j'y mets à mon tour une condition: c'est que vous *commenciez tout de suite*³⁰ et que vous permettiez à mon fils . . ." Ces aimables propos, eussent-ils été prêtés à Guizot, sous cette forme, si la date de la lettre de Sainte-Beuve avait été plus ancienne que Nisard ne le croyait? S'il y avait eu trois semaines, par exemple entre la nomination de Nisard et son entrée en fonction, le ministre l'aurait-il prié de commencer *tout de suite ses leçons*?

L'erreur de date est patente. Le second éditeur de la lettre de Sainte-Beuve semble confirmer le premier parce qu'il le copie sans critique. Il faut ramener cette lettre à sa date probable par les échelons suivants.

On va nommer à l'Ecole aujourd'hui ou demain, écrit Sainte-Beuve, et

mais voilà, je crois, un mois que cela dure. . . ." G. Sand, *Lettres à Musset et à Sainte-Beuve*, 1897, p. 116). Il est remarquable de constater que Mme Lenormant, dans les *Souvenirs et Correspondance de Mme Récamier* (1859), pour les "premières années qui suivirent la révolution de Juillet" (5^e éd., p. 486), ayant à mentionner Sainte-Beuve, encore vivant à cette date, n'ait retenu que ce détail, dont elle profita pour donner au critique une légère leçon de civilité: ". . . Vous le voyez souvent, vous vous flattez qu'il y trouve lui-même quelque plaisir; mais tout à coup, vous le perdez, il vous échappe (*Cela dut frapper Mme Lenormant, car, après tout, elle avait travaillé pour lui*). Quoiqu'il en soit, l'époque dont je m'occupe est une de celles où M. Sainte-Beuve vint le plus assidûment à l'Abbaye-aux-Bois" (p. 492). J'admire la mansuétude du poète, je veux dire Sainte-Beuve, qui put laisser croire à Mme Lenormant qu'il se plaisait à son commerce, maintenant que je sais que cette dame a toujours cru que *Volupté* n'était pas un livre sérieux! Voir dans Ch. Maurras, *Trois idées politiques (Romantisme et Révolution*, éd. déf. 1922, p. 256) une page admirable sur la signification des fuites de Sainte-Beuve quand elles étaient définitives.

³⁰ C'est moi qui souligne: en effet, du 18 décembre à la rentrée, il n'y aurait eu que quelques jours.

je crains presque, si je suis nommé,³¹ d'être détourné de cette cellule que je me creusais pour l'année.³²

La nomination de Nisard (voir plus haut) était de notoriété publique dès le 1^o décembre.—La lettre mentionne la candidature de Scribe à l'Académie, contra Ballanche:³³ Scribe fut élu le 27 novembre.—Enfin, la date est bien indiquée, sinon précisée, au début:

Nous recevons vos lettres au moment où un nouveau revirement ici a remplacé le ministère et ses hommes au même point que devant; mais vous ne deviez rien prévoir de la comédie de cette *semaine des dupes*³⁴ et vous avez bien fait de retourner à cette Rome éternelle . . . etc.

C'est le 18 novembre, à trois heures, que le Roi signa les ordonnances. Les journaux du soir publièrent la nouvelle. Sainte-Beuve n'a pas pu écrire avant de les avoir lus. La lettre a donc été écrite avant le 27 novembre et pas plus tôt que le soir du 18: cette dernière date est la plus probable. Sainte-Beuve avait hâte d'avertir Ampère et de prévenir toute décision brusque de sa part.³⁵ L'édi-

³¹ Il est étrange que Sainte-Beuve se crût encore un candidat possible, puisque Ampère avait accepté de continuer une année de plus. Avait-on travaillé Guizot au point d'espérer un changement d'attitude? Les conventions passées avec Mme Lenormant n'avaient qu'un caractère préliminaire. Sainte-Beuve parle ici de l'acte officiel. Peut-être la question posée offrait-elle une alternative, qui allait être tranchée: soit conserver Ampère, à des conditions nouvelles que celui-ci avait acceptées; soit prendre Sainte-Beuve à sa place. Ce dernier se croyait, en tout cas, une chance (au moins théorique) de succès.

³² Cette "cellule," c'était l'étude de *Port-Royal*.

³³ La candidature de Ballanche, surgit après celle de Sainte-Beuve tint l'Abbaye très occupée cet automne-là. Un familier, A. Barbier, l'auteur des *Iambes*, les a confondues dans ses *Souvenirs* (1883). Il prétend qu'en 1834 Sainte-Beuve s'assurait l'appui de Mme Récamier parce qu'il songeait à entrer à l'Académie! (p. 315, 322). Il avait bien assez de peine à entrer à l'Ecole Normale! Il ne passait alors que pour un poète littérateur: c'est comme critique qu'il entra à l'Académie, dix ans plus tard. Il y fallut ce *Port-Royal* que Guizot lui réclamait pour établir ses droits universitaires *aux yeux de tous*. La lecture du 1^o volume, en 1839, dans le salon de Mme Récamier, posa sa véritable candidature (J. Turquan, *Mme Récamier*, p. 411). L'échec des deux candidatures de l'Abbaye en 1834, fortifia la confusion dans la mémoire de Barbier.

³⁴ Doudan fit circuler dans le cercle des de Broglie un mot bien plus joli: *la journée des Dupins* (*Lettres*, 1883, I, 33).

³⁵ Il savait qu'Ampère faisait un gros sacrifice en sa faveur, en acceptant

teur de la *Correspondance* des Ampère, Mme H. C. déroutée peut-être par les pattes de mouches de Sainte-Beuve ou par les cachets illisibles de la poste, s'est laissée guider, je pense, par l'allusion au retour à Rome. C'est la faute de Sainte-Beuve; sa phrase est emberlificotée en grande partie par un effort maladroit pour cacher à Ampère l'importance qu'avaient pour lui les événements et de garder l'attitude de poète nonchalant qu'il avait prise vis-à-vis de son ami. Mais il doit s'agir d'une visite à Rome faite *avant* le retour à Marseille. Le 18 décembre eût été une mauvaise date de toute façon. Ampère, ce jour-là, n'était nullement de retour à Rome. Il avait fait naufrage sur la côte de Toscane, et subissait, sous bonne garde, une quarantaine réglementaire contre le choléra. Libéré, il accourut le 24 décembre à Livourne, plein d'angoisse, cherchant à savoir s'il serait possible à son courrier d'arriver à temps à Paris pour rassurer ses amis. Le consul le calma. Ampère ne semble pas l'avoir reconnu. C'était Stendhal.

Et le petit mystère? Nisard a donc utilisé pour un chapitre de "souvenirs" écrit en 1870 des documents qui n'ont paru qu'en 1875 et 1877. Il est hautement improbable qu'on lui les ait communiqués en manuscrit. Texte en main, on acceptera peut-être ma conclusion. Le chapitre s'est d'abord arrêté sur la note de Carrel; il contient vraiment des souvenirs rédigés en 1870. Mais, plus tard, travaillé du souci de se justifier, surtout contre feu Sainte-Beuve qui avait traversé sa vie comme un mauvais génie, Nisard ajouta un post-scriptum habile que lui suggéraient des lectures récentes. La date: 1870, ne demande qu'à être glissée à sa place, entre la note du *National* et le récit de "l'incident assez plaisant."

Nisard avait son intention en composant le post-scriptum. Reprenons le texte. (Guizot a dû annoncer à Nisard que la place n'était pas libre.)

A ce moment je me représentai les difficultés auxquelles j'échappais, et la douceur de reprendre mon indépendance, et je parus plutôt soulagé que désappointé. M. Guizot voulut bien me témoigner quelque peine de

de reprendre la conférence, et qu'il se demandait d'ailleurs si ce sacrifice en valait la peine. Voir sa lettre à Mme Récamier, du 21 sept. (cf. note 4): "Si du moins j'étais parfaitement sûr que ce supplice prolongé mènera à quelque chose. Mais plus tard M. Guizot sera-t-il ministre? Le livre de Sainte-Beuve sera-t-il fait? etc."

ce contre-temps; je me donnai le plaisir de le consoler. Il alla plus loin; il parla de dédommagement, et il m'offrit de m'attacher à la publication des *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de France*. Rien dans les travaux qui avaient appelé quelque attention sur moi ne préparait le public à me voir tout à coup marcher sur les brisées des élèves de l'Ecole des Chartes. J'en fis la remarque à M. Guizot; il n'insista pas.³⁶

Scène élégante, touchante, édifiante même; scène plausible aussi. Elle évoque une autre scène dont Sainte-Beuve ne nous a pas laissé de souvenirs et où il dut entendre des paroles semblables de Guizot. Ce fut après la nomination de Nisard. Le dépit de Sainte-Beuve était grand. Le *National*, Nisard, Guizot, Ampère même, tout le monde était satisfait à ses dépens. On n'a jamais bien expliqué pourquoi Sainte-Beuve devint secrétaire du Comité des Travaux historiques et écrivit des mémoires pour Guizot, sous la signature duquel l'un d'eux fut publié. Il affecta toujours de la désinvolture à propos de cet emploi. En 1835, il se plaignait du temps qu'il y perdait. Pourquoi l'avait-il pris? Pour faire la nique à Carrel et au *National*, je le crains.

Seulement, si Sainte-Beuve souscrivit aux propositions bienveillantes du ministre, celui-ci n'eut pas l'heur d'entendre une seconde fois les belles raisons probantes qui lui avaient fermé la bouche devant l'autre candidat. C'est le fin du fin. Nisard aurait pu se contenter de nous faire savoir que Sainte-Beuve, le grand Sainte-Beuve, avait accepté autrefois, avec empressement, ce que lui, Nisard, avait préféré laisser pour compte au ministre. Mais Nisard cherchait une satisfaction plus subtile. Et il donna une *leçon de conduite POSTHUME* à Sainte-Beuve! Voilà ce qu'il aurait dû dire, et voilà ce qu'il n'a pas dit!

Sainte-Beuve n'avait pas attendu si longtemps pour faire sentir sa griffe à Nisard. Au bout de deux ans, en 1836, il le prit à partie dans une étude impitoyable, insérée par la *Revue des Deux Mondes*.³⁷ Michaut³⁸ reconnaît que Sainte-Beuve avait des rancunes personnelles à exercer sur Nisard. Mais il ne relève que celles sur lesquelles Sainte-Beuve a bien voulu s'exprimer, et son analyse se termine sur ces mots :

³⁶ *Souv. et Notes biogr.*, II, 14.

³⁷ 4^e série, t. VIII, 1^o nov. 1836, p. 270-286.

³⁸ *Sainte-Beuve avant les Lundis*, p. 342.

'Critique régulier et restrictif,' il sera. (Sainte-Beuve le dit avec assez de netteté, en terminant) non pas un vrai critique, mais un simple pédagogue.

Michaut tombe fort juste. La conclusion est claire. Mais si Sainte-Beuve exprima son idée avec "assez de netteté," il se garda bien de la formuler. Il était trop fin pour rien écrire qui rappelât le candidat évincé dans une affaire que l'on oubliait déjà.

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GOLDSMITH AND THE *PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE*

In the *London Mercury* for October, 1924,¹ Mr. Iolo Williams supplements his previously published bibliography of Oliver Goldsmith² by a discussion and a bibliographical description of a work entitled the *Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, published by a group of booksellers in 1768.³ The present paper, besides furnishing one more example of eighteenth-century book-making methods, will, I think, establish even more firmly the attribution of this work to Goldsmith.

Some hundred pages of the *Present State*—the section devoted to a description of the British Empire in America—are transferred almost without change from Burke's⁴ *Account of the European Settlements in America*, first published in 1757.⁵ The borrowings may be listed as follows:

¹ X, 637-38.

² *Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies*, pp. 117-77.

³ These were W. Griffin, J. Johnson, W. Nicoll, and Richardson and Urquhart. The work is advertised in the *London Chronicle and Lloyd's Evening Post* for May 11, 1768.

⁴ Both Edmund and William Burke are supposed to have been concerned in this work.

⁵ In the copy I have used the first volume is of the second edition (1758) and the second volume of the third edition (1760).

*Present State**Account*

pp. 257-59	I, 203-08, Chapter I of Part III. the chapter heading being <i>A General Description of America</i> .
pp. 259-76	I, 167-201, comprising Part II, on <i>The Manners of the Americans</i> . ⁶
pp. 276-87	II, 60-84, a portion of Part VI, <i>The English Settlements</i> .
pp. 287-346	II, 173-292, including a large section of Part VII, on <i>British North America</i> .
pp. 346-50	II, 25-34, Chapter IV of Part V, <i>The French Settlements</i> .

An example of the use the author made of his source is afforded by a comparison of the following passages in which the town of Louisburg is described. It will be remembered that between 1757 and 1768 Louisburg had passed from French to English hands, and the italics will show that the transference of territory caused less trouble to the compiler than to the high contracting parties:

Account

The only town in this island [Cape Breton] is Louisbourg. It stands upon one of the finest harbours in all America. This harbour is four leagues in circumference, landlocked every way but at the mouth, which is narrow; and within there is fine anchorage every where in seven fathom water. The town itself is of a tolerable size, and well built and fortified. *The harbour is defended by batteries of cannon and forts, which secure it at this day, perhaps too effectually.* This harbour is open the whole year. The French ships that carry goods to Quebec can very seldom get their full loading there, therefore on their return they put into Louisbourg, and there take in a quantity of fish, coal, and some lumber, and then sail away to the French islands in the West-Indies, where they vend these, and soon compleat their cargo with sugars. It is needless to observe that this island was taken by us in the late war, but restored by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in which we certainly were not in such a condition as to entitle us to prescribe the terms.⁷

Present State

The only town in this island *was* Louisbourg *now an heap of ruins*. It stood upon one of the finest harbours in all America. This harbour is four leagues in circumference, landlocked every way but at the mouth, which

⁶ This section contains one of the most nauseating descriptions of Indian torture I have ever seen. It may be compared with the experiences of Lismahago in *Humphry Olinker*.

⁷ II, 34.

is narrow; and within there is fine anchorage every where in seven fathom water. The town itself *was* of a tolerable size, and well built and fortified. [] The harbour is open the whole year. The French ships that *carried* goods to Quebec very seldom *got* their full loading there; therefore on their return they put into Louisbourg, and there *took* in a quantity of fish, coal, and some lumber, and then *sailed* away to the French islands in the West-Indies, where they *vended* these, and soon *compleated* their cargo with sugars. It is needless to observe that this island was taken by us in the late war, and *finally ceded to us by the last treaty of peace*.⁸

Such literary piracy differs from Goldsmith's usual method in his hack-work⁹ chiefly perhaps in the extent to which it is here carried. In the *Present State* even the shuffling of the parts seems to have cost very little effort. At one point the author concludes a paragraph on Jamaica as follows:

But of the government I shall say little, until I speak of the government of the rest of the plantations, to which this is in all respects alike.¹⁰

He then proceeds with the next paragraph, ostensibly still on the subject of Jamaica:

The commodities which the country yields are principally mast, and yards, for which they contract largely with the royal navy; pitch tar, and turpentine; . . . Indian corn and pease; . . . They have a very noble cod fishery upon their coast, which employs a vast number of their people. . . .

The explanation of cod fisheries in Jamaica lies in the author's having suddenly skipped over eighty-nine pages of his source,¹¹ and without a hint of any break in the context, having listed as the products of Jamaica those which Burke assigns to New England. Well might the critic in the *Monthly Review* complain, "The accounts of our American settlements are confusedly given."¹²

⁸ Pp. 349-50. A few similar changes occur elsewhere. Thus a concluding paragraph is added to the account of Hudson's Bay (cf. p. 346 and *Account*, II, 292, 25). Alterations like those above occur at page 346 (cf. *Account*, II, 25) and 348 (cf. *ibid.*, II, 30).

⁹ Cf. R. W. Chapman and R. S. Crane, *TLS.*, June 13, 1929, p. 474; C. F. Tupper, *MLN.*, XLV (February, 1930), 71-77; and Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith* (1837), II, 436.

¹⁰ P. 287.

¹¹ See *Account*, II, 84, 173.

¹² *Monthly Review*, XXXIX (November, 1768), 405-07.

This reviewer has pointed out shortcomings elsewhere in the book as it finally appeared, for he remarks that the author

in his preface, refers his readers to a map, as the easier information [upon topographical matters]; would not the reader then expect a map, or rather maps, for him to consult? no one however was to be found in the copy we purchased, nor does the title (and titles seldom omit the mention of such appendages) promise any. Again, he observes, p. 8. on another reference to the map, to excuse the mention of the boundaries and extent of the countries, 'we are resolved at all times to sacrifice method to perspicuity, and avail ourselves of those advantages that serve to lessen the reader's labour, as well as our own.'¹³

That this sacrificing method might lessen the labour, he was easily perhaps convinced; but that it would tend to perspicuity, or lessen the labour of his readers, if they read for information, may not be quite so evident to others. . . . In brief, this volume appears altogether to be a hasty, injudicious piece of manufacture.

The foregoing evidence should go far towards removing the difficulty which Mr. Williams sees in the fact that in 1767, when he had become famous, Goldsmith seems to have received only ten pounds for writing or compiling a work of four hundred and eighty-six pages.¹⁴ If, as we may suppose, the rest of the work was clipped and pasted in the same fashion as the section on America, ten pounds was high pay for such a compilation. Whether, as Mr. Williams suggests, Goldsmith merely supervised the work, I know no means of determining. The text certainly shows no very clear trace of his hand. That this work, however, is the *Present State* for which Goldsmith received ten pounds from Newbery in 1767, there can be no reasonable doubt. In support of the attribution we have not only the Newbery memorandum, dated some ten months before the work finally appeared,¹⁵ and the evidence advanced by Mr. Williams, but also the testimony of an

¹³ This sentence is nearer to the style and sentiment of Goldsmith than perhaps any other in the book. It is obvious that the publishers who secured the book from Newbery contributed, by omitting the maps, to the general chaos of the work.

¹⁴ See the *London Mercury*, X (October, 1924), 637-38.

¹⁵ See Prior, *op. cit.*, II, 155. The entry is dated July 13, 1767. The attribution of the work to J. Goldsmith (see Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana*) can hardly be correct. "J. Goldsmith" seems to have been the pseudonym of Sir Richard Phillips, writer, among other things, of school books, who was not born until 1767.

apparently well informed contemporary. An anonymous detractor in the *London Packet* for March 31-April 2, 1773, in discussing some of Goldsmith's works which he regards as "no objects for pomposity," charges him with having "extracted a Present State of the British Empire."

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TRUTH AND FICTION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEWSPAPERS

Professor Frederick Pottle has recently called attention to the probable unreliability of eighteenth-century newspapers as sources of information concerning persons and events, both in England and abroad.¹ Interesting confirmation of his doubts is to be found in two dramatic pieces of the 1770's—Samuel Foote's *Bankrupt*² and Arthur Murphy's *News from Parnassus*.³

The nearest Foote ever came to sentimental comedy was when he thus dramatized the distress of Lydia Riscounter, who came near ruin through the machinations of a step-mother who inserted a false and scandalous paragraph about her in one of the newspapers edited by Matthew Margin. Margin is shown (III, ii) in conference with his assistants. Roger Rumour and Phelim O'Flam collect paragraphs. Pepper and Plaster are the political writers, pro and con, writing on opposite sides in alternate years. Fibber and Forge'em devote their time to the composition of paragraphs to supplement those which Rumour and O'Flam bring in. Rumour brings in a false paragraph on European political entanglements, and another on city politics. Then enters Sir Thomas Tradewell, who has come to deny that he is dead, as O'Flam had reported, and Sir Riscounter, who seeks revenge for the slander of his daughter, Lydia. Margin is quite willing to publish paragraphs

¹ In a paper on "Boswell and 18th Century Journalism", read before the English VIII Section of the Modern Language Association, on December 31, 1929.

² First played at the Haymarket, July 21, 1773; published in 1776.

³ Performed as an "introductory piece" at the opening of Covent Garden Theatre, September 23, 1776; first published in Murphy's *Works*, London, 1786, iv, 389-424.

of denial, for they too fill space and make more news! But he continues his trade unreformed. It should be noted that this play was written and acted before Foote had suffered so severely from the scandalous paragraphs in Jackson's *Public Ledger*.

Murphy's satiric piece is even more to the point. He had edited a periodical some twenty-five years earlier,⁴ and had had a busy career as an actor, lawyer, dramatist, essayist, and reviewer. No man of his time was more familiar with the practices of publishers and their hacks.

To the apartment of Boccalini, a visiting foreign critic, said to have "news from Parnassus", comes Vellum, a bookseller, of whom Boccalini makes inquiries concerning his profession.

Boccalini. You print a newspaper?

Vellum. I do, Sir.

Boccalini. A newspaper is an extraordinary manufacture, but I can form no idea of the process. Bees make wax; worms produce silk; and spiders weave their webs: but what kind of animals engender a newspaper is beyond my skill.

Vellum. You foreigners know nothing of the matter: we owe it all to liberty. How do you think it is done?

Boccalini. News from all parts of the kingdom! private intelligence from families! accounts from every quarter of the globe! I suppose to do all this, you have correspondents abroad, who may be depended upon. If a sudden event happens in a private family, they to be sure give you notice.

Vellum. Not a tittle of this. A printing house is like a bee-hive: some drones are there; the busy fly and buzz abroad in the morning, and return loaded at noon: but they never bring enough; we supply the rest. Troops in America! a letter from thence is writ in my garret. We have in the Merchants Directory, a full list of all the principal names in the city. Now in a dearth of news, we send half a score to Tunbridge, another flight to Margate; a third group to Brighthelmstone. We rob this man on the highway; we kill another at a city feast; and we stop payment for a great house, just as we like.

Boccalini. And all false?

Vellum. Every syllable. At the St. James's end of the town, we used to be hard put to it: but difficulties are now removed; their names are all on the street doors; we take them down in our list, and then deal with them as we like. We ruin the eldest son at play, and sometimes shoot him: we ravish the daughter, put the mother to bed with the coachman, hang the father up in the stable, and make a Lord steal half a dozen tea-spoons out of a silver-smith's shop.

⁴*The Gray's-Inn Journal*, published weekly, October, 1752, to October, 1754.

Boccalini. Don't you observe some degree of probability in your stories?

Vellum. Oh! no; the incredible goes down best in this country.

Boccalini. But won't the falsehood be found out?

Vellum. After some noise; our end is answered first. A newspaper, Sir, is a great school of science: most of the modern authors have never been at any other. With a good genius for lying, a tolerable stock of malice, a store of envy, and not a grain of literature, they write in the Journals, for three or four years; then set up for men of great talents, and from their garrets, or the Fleet, come forth novels, histories, plays, essays upon spirit and matter, whole reams in praise of themselves, and a torrent of abuse against every species of merit.

Boccalini. But the plough is defrauded by this.

Vellum. That may be: the staining of paper is our object. Now to give you a true idea of the matter; no man can go out of town; or stay at home; or pay his tradesmen, or not pay 'em; live or die, be or not be; marry or continue single; no lady can look handsome, be a good wife, a virtuous daughter, or an affectionate mother, but we in our paper turn all topsy turvey, right or wrong, true or false, no matter for that; we kill the living, bring the dead to life, and represent life just as we please.

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BURNS AND HUGH BLAIR

That Hugh Blair, Professor of Rhetoric in Edinburgh University, took considerable interest in Burns during the poet's first sojourn in Edinburgh has long been known, but the actual records of his interest have consisted mainly of Burns's not-too-flattering characterization of the Doctor in the Edinburgh Commonplace Book, his letter of thanks and farewell on leaving the city in May, 1787, together with Blair's pompous and self-approving reply,¹ and two or three anecdotes of which the best-known concerns Blair's emendation of stanza 12 of *The Holy Fair* to read "tidings of damnation" instead of "salvation."

Some inedited memoranda in the Esty Collection² not only clearly display Blair's attitude towards Burns and his work, but also confirm the anecdote just mentioned, further illustrate the

¹ See the Chambers-Wallace *Life and Works of Burns*, II, 86 and 97-8.

² The splendid collection of Burns MSS formed by Mr. Robert P. and Mrs. Mildred C. Esty of Ardmore, Pa., of whose generosity it is a pleasure once more to make public acknowledgment.

sort of criticism the poet received from the Edinburgh literati, and enable us for the first time to determine the tune and the date of one of his minor songs and to correct a persistent error regarding *The Jolly Beggars*. Most important of all, they name a poem which apparently has been lost—one, at least, which cannot be certainly identified with any extant work.

These memoranda are Blair's comments on the *Kilmarnock Poems* and on the additional material which Burns had offered for possible inclusion in his Edinburgh edition. Twice docketed "Dr Blair" in Burns's hand, they are inserted in Mr. Esty's copy of the *Kilmarnock* edition—a volume which formerly belonged to the descendants of Gilbert Burns. The following is the complete text, with Blair's page-references to the *Kilmarnock Poems* elucidated in brackets:

Observations on Mr Burn's (*sic*) Poems.

p. 187. [*Dedication to Gavin Hamilton*, line 49.] The line—*And och—that's nae Regen*—ought to be omitted (*sic*) as Mr Burns agreed.

p. 188. [*Ibid.*, lines 68 ff.] The Paragraph beginning with this line, *O ye wha leave the springs o' O-lv-n*—had much better I think be omitted. The Poem will be better without it, & it will give offence by the ludicrous views of the punishments of Hell.

p. 200. [*Epistle to John Rankine*, stanzas 7 ff.] The Description of shooting the hen is understood, I find, to convey an indecent meaning: tho' in reading the poem, I confess, I took it literally, and the indecency did not strike me. But if the Author meant to allude to an affair with a Woman, as is supposed, the whole Poem ought undoubtedly to be left out of the new edition.

p. 46. [*The Holy Fair*, stanza 12.] The line—*wi' tidings of Salv-n*—ought to be alter'd, as it gives just offence. The Author may easily contrive some other Rhyme in place of the word *Salv-n*.

p. 58. [*Address to the Deil*, stanza 11.] The stanza of—*There mystic knots make great abuse*—had better be left out, as indecent.

p. 85. [*A Dream*, stanza 13.] The stanza—*Young Royal Turry Breeks, I learn*—is also coarse and had better be omitted.

p. 233. [*Epitaph for Gavin Hamilton*.] The last line—*May I be saved or d—d*—is very exceptionable. The general thought may remain, *may I be with him wherever he is*—but may be *d—d* with him, is too much, & ought undoubtedly to be altered.

Of the proposed additions to the New Edition some are very good. The best, I think, are—*John Barleycorn*—*Death & Dr Hornbook*—*The Winter Night*—the verses left in a friends house where the Author slept.

There are a few which in my opinion ought not to be published.

The two Stanzas to the tune of *Gilliecrankie*, which refer to the death

of Zimri and Cozbi as related in the book of Numbers, are beyond doubt, quite inadmissible.

The Verses also entitled The Prophet and God's Complaint, from the 15th Ch. of Jeremiah, are also inadmissible. They would be considered burlesquing the Scriptures.

The Whole of What is called the Cantata, the Songs of the Beggars & their Doxies, with the Grace at the end of them, are altogether unfit in my opinion for publication. They are by much too licentious; and fall below the dignity which Mr Burns possesses in the rest of his poems & would rather degrade them.

These observations are Submitted by one who is a great friend to Mr Burns's Poems and wishes him to preserve the fame of Virtuous Sensibility, & of humorous fun, without offence.³

So far as it concerns the poems which were already in print Blair's criticism is self-explanatory, and is chiefly interesting as a portrayal of the workings of the professorial mind. Of his seven suggestions, Burns accepted only the first and the fourth. With regard to the first, the line to which Blair objected is weak, and the poem was little the worse without it; as for the fourth, the substitution of "damnation" for "salvation" Burns, and all his readers, have agreed was an improvement. These first remarks of Blair's, however, evoke a comment and a question.

It is well known that Burns rejected nearly every change in the Kilmarnock text which was suggested to him in Edinburgh—sometimes, as in the case of Mrs. Dunlop's criticisms, at the cost of giving serious offence to the critic.⁴ When we add Blair's censures to hers, and reflect that probably everyone who was asked for advice—and doubtless a good many who weren't—offered similar hints, we have sufficient explanation of Burns's refusal to make alterations. To have accepted all the suggestions would have reduced his poems to unrecognizable namby-pamby; to have accepted some and rejected others would have given double offence to the critics who were ignored; the only possible course was the one Burns took—to reject all changes and stand by his printed text.

Though Blair's fourth comment furnishes corroboration from

³ The text of these notes was included by the present writer in a brief popular article on Burns and Blair published in the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 22 Jan., 1930.

⁴ *Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop*, London, 1898, pp. 11-13 and 21-23.

his own hand of the story that he suggested the change in *The Holy Fair*, it also raises a question. In the face of this note, are we justified in accepting as authentic the form in which the anecdote is usually related? ⁵ *Did* Blair first offer the emendation when he and other gentlemen were discussing the poem with Burns, and *did* Burns embarrass him with the honest but *gauche* request for permission to acknowledge his help in a footnote? Had Blair already made the suggestion orally, it seems likely that here, as in his first comment, he would have referred to the fact in his memorandum, and the episode as related in the biographies can hardly have occurred after the written hint was in Burns's hand. Moreover, the cautious vagueness of the note is scarcely comprehensible if Blair had already, in the presence of witnesses, offered the specific word. In short, we have good reason to suspect that the accepted form of the story is mere Edinburgh gossip so dressing the incident as to portray Burns as an awkward rustic eagerly receiving aid from the polished and urbane professor.

As to the "proposed additions" to the Edinburgh volume, Blair's favorable comments need not detain us, though it is pleasant, and somewhat surprising, to find him commending *John Barleycorn* and *Death and Dr. Hornbook*—the more so as he totally ignores *The Brigs of Ayr*. But three of his rejections merit consideration.

"There is no evidence," says Wallace,⁶ "that Burns contemplated giving [*The Jolly Beggars*] to the world. On the contrary, he laid it aside, and in a few years had forgotten its existence. On being reminded of it by George Thomson in 1793, he said . . . :

'I have forgot the cantata you allude to, as I kept no copy, and indeed did not know of its existence; however, I remember that none of the songs pleased myself, except the last, something about—

Courts for cowards were erected,
Churches built to please the priest.'"

Indeed, Burns's failure to publish the poem has served for more than a century as a stock illustration of the unreliability of poets'

⁵ The accepted form of the story apparently derives from Lockhart, who here, as in so many other places, fails to cite any authority for his statements. See his *Life of Burns*, Everyman ed., 94.

⁶ Chambers-Wallace: *Life and Works*, I, 245. The full text of Burns's letter to Thomson (Sept., 1793) is given in IV, 44.

judgments of their own verses. But here at last we have proof that Burns—always remarkably clear-eyed as to the merits and defects of himself and his poems—was ready to set *The Jolly Beggars* beside his other work. It may be that others besides Blair condemned it, but in the total absence of other evidence the blame for its non-appearance must rest squarely on Blair's shoulders. Furthermore, we should beware of too sweeping an interpretation of Burns's later disparagement of the poem. He is speaking of the songs as songs; not of the work as a whole. From the point of view of his later mastery of verbal interpretation of Scottish airs, he might well have considered the lyrics crude without thereby condemning the whole work as a dramatic and humorous composition.

A minor question, which Blair's reference is too vague to answer, is the identity of the grace which he mentions in connection with *The Jolly Beggars*. No recorded manuscript of the poem closes thus, and none of Burns's extant graces seems wholly in keeping with the tone of the cantata.

"The two stanzas to the tune of Gilliecrankie" may probably be identified with the song "I murder hate by field or flood," which closes with the lines:

But let me have bold Zimri's fate
Within the arms of Cozbi.

The measure is the same as that of *The Fête Champetre*, which was avowedly composed to the air of *Killiecrankie*. J. C. Dick said of these stanzas, "The tune is unknown if ever there was one, which is doubtful;"⁷ but he included the words in his edition because in the Glenriddell MS they are entitled "A Song." Blair's note not only proves that here, as elsewhere, Burns wrote with a definite tune in mind, but also shows that the lines must have been written at Mossiel—probably in 1785 or the beginning of 1786—instead of at Dumfries. A comparatively late date has always been taken for granted from the fact that the only extant holograph apart from the Glenriddell MS—itself completed about 1792—is a copy of the first stanza which the poet inscribed on a window-pane of the Globe Inn. The verses are trivial enough, but it somewhat enhances their interest to learn that they belonged

⁷ J. C. Dick: *The Songs of Robert Burns*, London, 1903, 413.

to Burns's apprenticeship in song-writing instead of to the period of his contributions to *The Scots Musical Museum*.

Identification of *The Prophet and God's Complaint* is not so easy. Mr. J. C. Ewing holds^a that it is the three stanzas beginning "Ah, woe is me, my mither dear," which are paraphrased from *Jeremiah* XV, 10. This is indubitably an early poem, for one of the three holographs listed by Henley and Henderson^b is inscribed in a copy of the 1785 edition of Fergusson's *Poems* which Burns presented to an Edinburgh lady early in 1787. On the basis of differences in the handwriting, the Centenary editors further conclude that these stanzas were written in the book considerably earlier than the lines to Fergusson which accompanied its presentation to the lady. Obviously, therefore, the poem was composed early enough to have been included in the Edinburgh edition.

On the other hand, none of the three known manuscripts bears such a title as *The Prophet and God's Complaint*, nor does that title seem especially appropriate to "Ah, woe is me." In the tenth verse of *Jeremiah* XV the prophet does not appear to be remonstrating with God or answering His complaint: he is lamenting his own fate. But the title quoted by Blair would apply admirably to a paraphrase of other portions of the chapter—verses 1 to 9 and 15 to 18 in particular. Burns had repeatedly proved his ability to make humorous use of Scriptural ideas and phraseology, and it is easy to guess what his lively imagination might have done with some of the promising material in *Jeremiah*. Furthermore, if the biblical reference were omitted from the heading, "Ah, woe is me" would seem too innocuous to shock even the delicate sensibilities of Hugh Blair. Nothing short of the discovery of a manuscript of "Ah, woe is me" bearing this title can make it certain that *The Prophet and God's Complaint* is not a lost poem.

Besides their importance in relation to the particular points just discussed, these notes of Blair's are valuable as an addition to the scanty store of specific first-hand documents illustrating the way in which Burns and his work were received by the polite world of Edinburgh. That world did its best to remold the "Ayr-

^a Letter in the *Scotsman*, Edinburgh, 15 March, 1930.

^b *The Centenary Burns*, Edinburgh, 1896, II, 410.

shire ploughman" into a "polite" poet. Only the "stubborn, ungainly integrity" of his genius saved Burns from emasculation at the hands of Hugh Blair and his ilk.

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THE ATTACK OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY UPON ALTERATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS¹

Modern scholars have often pointed out the prevalence of adaptation of Shakespeare's plays throughout the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries,² but it is not so generally known that as early as 1756 there had set in against these alterations an opposition which mounted steadily throughout the rest of the century. It will be the purpose of this article to suggest this rising distaste of critics for the mangling of Shakespeare during the last four decades of the eighteenth century.³

¹ This article has nothing to do with travesties upon or operas from Shakespeare's plays.

² See H. B. Wheatley, "Post Restoration Quartos of Shakespeare's Plays," *The Library*, 3rd Series, iv (1913), 238. His four types of alterations appear on p. 244; G. C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare From Betterton to Irving* (New York: Scribners, 1921); A. Nicoll, *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare* (Milford, 1921), Shakespeare Assoc. Pamphlet, No. 8, 1922; M. Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations* (Cape, 1922); A. Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama* (Cambridge University, 1923), Chap. II, section VI; A. Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama, 1700-1750* (Cambridge University, 1925); H. Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved* (Harvard, 1927); A. Nicoll, *A History of Late Eighteenth-Century Drama* (Cambridge University, 1927).

Johnson and Stevens in their fourth edition (1793) listed 70 alterations involving 31 plays from 1669 to 1786 (I, 454-462). Malone's Preface of 1790 noted 66 alterations, involving 30 plays from 1669-1777 (I, Pt. 1, pp. 236-242).

³ For some interesting periodical material on this subject preceding 1766, see: *Spectator*, No. 40—on Tate's *Lear*; H. Fielding, *Historical Register* (1736)—versus Cibber; *Universal Magazine*, xvii (1755), 126—on Garrick's Song for the *W. T.*; *Critical Review*, i (1756), 144—on the "Absurdity of altering his plays"; *Monthly Review*, xiv (1756), 270—on *Catherine and Petruchio*, and Marsh's *Winter's Tale*; xx (1759), 462—

Opinion favorable to alterations of Shakespeare proceeded, with some opposition, to about 1775 and after that generally disintegrated. The chief alterer from 1750 to 1775 was Garrick,⁴ and the chief proponent of these adaptations was F. Gentleman, who was quite agreeable to Garrick's manipulations as well as those of all others. The plays most generally changed were *Richard III*, *Timon of Athens*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Cymbeline*, and *Hamlet*. It will be best to take up the current in favor of alterations first.

The *British Magazine* in 1767 praised Cibber's adaptation of *Richard III*: "The late laureat has . . . made up a compleat tragedy of Richard the Third, which may vie with the best pieces of our great dramatic poet."⁵ Similarly, the *Monthly Review* in 1768 approved Dance's alteration of *Timon of Athens*⁶ and in 1771, Cumberland's.⁷ Francis Gentleman in 1770 applauded Tate's *Lear*⁸ (rejecting Colman's⁹) and offered some suggestions himself for further alteration;¹⁰ he also accepted Cibber's *Richard III*¹¹ and Garrick's *Romeo and Juliet*¹² and *Cym-*

on W. Hawkins' *Cymbeline*; xxvi (1762), 151—on Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*; *Critical Review*, xiii (1762), 157—on Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*; *Theatrical Review*, March 1, 1763 (p. 107)—on Shakespeare and Garrick. See also J. Upton, *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* (London: Hawkins, 1746), pp. 14 n., 16.

⁴ Garrick's alterations include: *Romeo and Juliet*, 1750; *MND*, 1755, 1763 (with Colman); *The Tempest*, 1756; *King Lear*, 1756; *Catherine and Petruchio* (*T. of S.*), 1756, *Florizel and Perdita* (*W. T.*), 1756, 1758; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1758 (with Capell); *Cymbeline*, 1761; *Hamlet*, 1771.

⁵ viii (1767), 627.

⁶ xxxix (1768), 81: "The play, however, in this its new form is, in some respects, better fitted for the stage, than it is in the original."

⁷ xlv (1771), 507: "This performance hath now more regularity and decorum [Note these two neo-classic points] to recommend it to the taste of the present age, than it could boast in the wild and rough state in which it was left by its great Author."

⁸ *Dramatic Censor* (London: Bell, 1770), i, 352, 353, 366. "We can by no means agree with the last mentioned gentleman [Colman] that the love episode of Edgar and Cordelia is superfluous or unaffecting" (p. 353).

⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 360-2, 365-6, 368.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 359. He did the same thing in i, 178-9, for *Romeo and Juliet*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 3-4: ". . . much indebted for its variety, compactness, and spirit, to the late Colley Cibber."

¹² *Ibid.*, i, 172.

beline.¹³ Two years later the *Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* approved Garrick's adaptation of *Hamlet*:

To clear this piece of these charges (which were in part not ill-founded) has been the task of the present revisor [Garrick]: how far he has succeeded, the applauses of a crowded and judicious audience have already testified.¹⁴

Bell's *Edition* of Shakespeare, 1774, followed the theatres in expunging "obscure, indelicate"¹⁵ passages, and finally, Mrs. Griffith in 1775 may be cited as a feminine representative of this waning point of view: Tate's *Lear* is better because "our feelings are often a surer guide than our reason."¹⁶ This date practically concludes the critics' approval of the mangling of Shakespeare in this century.

On the other side is an interesting development, from several points of view. Individual plays are rescued from alterations and restored to Shakespeare; prompter's changes are rejected; Garrick is flayed, and there is also an appeal to retain Shakespeare's original language.¹⁷

As early in this period as 1767 the *British Magazine* declared that the Duke of Buckingham[shire]¹⁸ had made two plays out of *Julius Caesar* "with so little success, that his alterations were never adopted by the stage."¹⁹ The same periodical in the same year attacked Otway's *Romeo and Juliet*: ". . . the great merit of the piece is evidently proved by Mr. Otway's vain attempt to alter it."²⁰ The next year the *Monthly Review* trampled on Tate: "The admirers of Shakespeare are obliged to Mr. Colman for having refined the excellent tragedy of *King Lear* 'from the alloy of Tate, which has so long been suffered to debase it.'"²¹ In 1774, the same periodical called for the Fool in *Lear*: ". . . it is a matter of great question with us, whether the fool in King

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 76.

¹⁴ Dec., 1772, p. 119.

¹⁵ *Advertisement*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶ *The Morality of Shakespeare's Drama* (London: Cadell, 1775), p. 351.

¹⁷ These four developments were occurring almost simultaneously.

¹⁸ For this emendation I am indebted to H. Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved*, p. 375, n. 10.

¹⁹ VIII (1767), 572.

²⁰ VIII (1767), 622.

²¹ XXXVIII (1768), 245.

Lear was not a more general favorite than the old monarch himself."²² Two years later the *Universal Magazine* explained, defensively and humorously, Garrick's alteration of *Hamlet*: The gravediggers complain to Garrick about being left out of the play. Garrick answers: ". . . the age does not like to be reminded of mortality: 'tis . . . very disgusting to a well-bred company"; whereupon Shakespeare is allowed to appear in spirit and in imitation of the famous "Angels and ministers of grace defend us" scene, addresses Garrick:

Freely correct my Page;
I wrote to please a rude unpolish'd age;
Thou, happy man, art fated to display
Thy dazzling talents in a brighter day;
Let me partake this night's applause with thee,
And thou shalt share immortal fame with me.²³

But the most vigorous and comprehensive objectors to alterations of Shakespeare appeared in 1784 and 1791, in Tom Davies and the *Edinburgh Bee*. Davies successively, with some disgust, rejected Cibber's *King Lear*,²⁴ Davenant's *Macbeth*,²⁵ Garrick in general and his *Macbeth* in particular,²⁶ Buckinghamshire's *Julius Caesar*,²⁷ Tate's *Lear*,²⁸ Colman's *Lear*,²⁹ and Garrick's *Hamlet*.³⁰ This wholesale overthrow of the alterers turned the tide in favor of Shakespeare, for *The Bee* in 1791 continued the devastation: "Shakespeare said just enough in one significant line [in *Measure for Measure*], which is only spun out, in the five finical modern ones";³¹ "with what a disgraceful motely [*sic*] of nonsense and absurdity has this modern poet [Aaron Hill] confounded the beauties of Shakespeare in this play";³² "Florizel and Perdita, or the Sheep-Shearing . . . Shakespeare is here mangled as usual";³³ and the final, slashing blow: "Benedict was . . .

²² L (1774), 145. For this note I am indebted to Miss Louisa Soukup of the University of Michigan.

²³ LVIII (Feb., 1776), 101-2.

²⁴ *Dramatic Miscellanies* (London: Davies, 1784), I, 64.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 116-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 118.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 203.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 261.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 261.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 145-7.

³¹ III (1791), 39-40.

³² II (1791), 379 (*Henry V*).

³³ V (1791), 78.

grossly injured by Garrick's alterations . . . it is impossible both to alter and amend him [Shakespeare]." ⁸⁴ This last sweeping statement the *Monthly Mirror* fully corroborated in 1797 by attacking Garrick again:

Shakspeare has always suffered from unskilful alterations, as is plainly proved from many vain attempts which are buried in oblivion; and I question whether *Romeo and Juliet* has gained much by the amendments of Mr. Garrick. ⁸⁵

Such a rejection of Garrick's adaptations as that just suggested was by no means new. Horace Walpole in 1769 remarked on Garrick's "insufferable nonsense about Shakspeare." ⁸⁶ Johnson the same year laughed at Garrick "as a shadow" of Shakespeare, with the addendum that "Many of Shakspeare's plays are the worse for being acted, *Macbeth*, for instance." ⁸⁷ In 1785 he attacked Garrick even more vigorously: "He has not made Shakspeare better known," ⁸⁸ and (to Garrick directly): "I doubt much if you ever examined one of his [Shakespeare's] plays from the first scene to the last." ⁸⁹ Garrick himself in 1776 was rather dubious about his procedure: "I have ventured to produce *Hamlet* with alterations. It was the most impudent thing I ever did in all my life; but I had sworn I would not leave the stage till I rescued that noble play from all the rubbish of the fifth Act." ⁹⁰ And finally his biographer, Arthur Murphy, in 1801 corroborated Garrick's doubt, for he says that Garrick, after altering *Hamlet*, "saw his error" because "he never published his alterations." ⁹¹

In conclusion, it might be well to add two minor reactions in this period to the alterations of Shakespeare. Even F. Gentleman, the chief defender of Garrick, abhorred prompter's manipulations: "prompters books such miserable, mutilated objects" ⁹²—a point

⁸⁴ III (1791), 112.

⁸⁵ IV (1797), 292.

⁸⁶ *Correspondence* (ed. Mrs. Paget-Toynbee, 1904), VII, 325. The date of the letter was Oct. 16.

⁸⁷ Boswell's *Life* (ed. B. Hill), II, 92.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 244.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 244 n.

⁹⁰ *Correspondence* (ed. G. P. Baker, 1907), II, 126. The date of the letter was Jan. 10.

⁹¹ *Life of Garrick* (Dublin, 1801), p. 308.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, I, 136.

of view which W. Kenrick in 1773 repeated: "... the greater part of the rest [of the principal parts—that is, characters—in Shakespeare's dramas] injudiciously shortened, with a view to accommodate them to the incapacities of inferior performers."⁴³ But perhaps the most interesting objection, at least from a modern editor's point of view, is Richard Warner's appeal in 1768:

And I cannot but observe, that if this method should prevail, of changing the language of the age into modern English, our venerable bard may, in time, be made to look as awkward as his cotemporary, Sir Philip Sidney now does, as trick'd out by the hands of his modern tire-woman, Mrs. Stanley.⁴⁴

With this remark we may well close, for the attitude of the late eighteenth century toward stage alterations of Shakespeare thus became steadily more and more adverse.⁴⁵

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THE THEATRE AND THE APPRENTICES

The English drama of the eighteenth century was moralized in response to the demands of the Puritanical middle class. Although this fact may be inferred from the general drift of dramatic history, it is convenient to find a naive bit of evidence in which the London business man's opinion of the theatre is concentrated.

On November 24, 1733, *Hooker's Weekly Miscellany*¹ advertised *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum: or, Young Man's Pocket-Companion . . . With some occasional Remarks on Play-houses; and particularly on one lately erected*. Two weeks later, on December

⁴³ In his *Introduction to the School of Shakespeare* (London: Kenrick, 1773), p. 14.

⁴⁴ *A Letter to David Garrick* (London: Warner, 1768), pp. 73-4.

⁴⁵ For some supplementary material in periodicals on this subject of alterations, from 1766 to 1799, see: *Critical Review*, XXXII (1771), 470—on Cumberland's *T. of A.*; *Monthly Review, or Literary Journal*, III (1790), 347—on Kemble's *Tempest*; *Critical Review*, LXXI (1791), 105—on Kemble's *Tempest*; *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXI (1791), 1098—on proposal for regeneration and modernizing of Shakspeare.

¹ In the Burney Collection, British Museum.

8, *The Weekly Miscellany* reprinted from the *Vade Mecum* the "occasional remarks on Play-houses."² The comments of the apprentice's adviser throw considerable light on the conditions in which the moralized and sentimental middle class drama developed.

The author's criticisms of the theatre in general no doubt echo the ideas which had been current since Jeremy Collier's day, but they contain such a strong infusion of specifically commercial morality that they have a certain special interest. After insisting that "all our modern Plays are calculated for Persons in upper Life," and that the theatre causes too much loss of time and money for the person in business, the author proceeds to say in his "fourthly":

Most of our Modern Plays, and especially those written in a late licentious Reign, which are reckon'd the best, and are often acted, are so far from being so much *intended* for instruction to a Man of Business, that such Persons are generally made the Dupes and Fools of the Hero of it. To make a Cuckold of a rich Citizen, is a masterly Part of the Plot; and such Persons are always introduced under the meanest and most contemptible Characters. All manner of Cheats, and Frauds, and Villainies, committed against such, are encourag'd, and inculcated upon an Audience; the genteeler Part of which are too ready to take the Hint, as the Men of Trade throughout the kingdom every Day find to their Cost. And this in a Kingdom which owes its Support, and the Figure it makes abroad, intirely to Trade; the Followers of which are infinitely of more Consequence, and deserve more to be encourag'd, than any other Degree or Rank of People in it. Can it then be prudent, or even decent, for a Tradesman to encourage by his Presence, or support by the Effects of his Industry, Diversions so abusive of the Profession by which he lives, and by which not only these Catterpillars themselves, but the whole Nation, is Supported? Besides, even in the best Plays, the Moral lies so deep and hidden, as if the Play were not written for the Sake of it: And how few Persons are there who are capable of pursuing thro' the glittering, the dazzling Scene, the useful Application? And even this, when found, seldom falls within the Compass of the Tradesman's Sphere, as I hinted above.

Passing over some commonplace moralizing on theatre-going, we come to a frankly economic treatment of English dramatic history:

There was a Time when publick Spectacles, and Shews, Drolls and Farces (most of our present Theatrical Performances are no better) were

² I shall quote from this newspaper reprint, as I have not been able to find *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum* in the British libraries.

exhibited once a Year to very good Purpose. Every trading town or populous City had its annual Fair, which brought to it from the adjacent Villages a great Resort of People who had been labouring for Months before harder than usual, in order to save something to spend at that time, and to purchase Fairings for those they best affected. These annual Fairs were by this Means productive of Trade, and vast Quantities of all Sorts of Manufactures were disposed of at them, and still at some of 'em in the Country. It was then that *Bartholomew Fair* for the *City*, and that of *Southwark* for the *Borough*, were the only Times in which the industrious Citizens indulged, or their well-regulated Families desired to be indulged in that Sort of Diversion. But now we are grown so much more polite . . . and nothing but the Play-houses will go down. . . . Let us weigh the Usage of *these* Times against that of *those*, both with Regard to the *Trade* of the Country, and the *Morals* of the People, and it will enable us to judge whether we ought to rejoice in, or lament for, the inexpressible Difference.

At the time when *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum* was written, Lillo's *George Barnwell* was in the third year of its remarkably successful stage career. It was to be expected that the young tradesman's mentor would recommend this piece to his readers. Sir A. W. Ward says summarily that *George Barnwell* "came to be frequently acted in the Christmas and Easter holidays, being esteemed a better entertainment for the city prentices than the coarse shows with which they were at such seasons habitually regaled on the stage."² The genesis of this custom seems to be explained by the following remarks in the *Vade Mecum*:

I know but of one Instance, and that a very late one, where the Stage has condescended to make itself useful to City-Youth, by the dreadful Example of the Artifices of a lewd Woman, and the Seduction of an unwary young Man; and it would savour too much of Partiality not to mention it. I mean, the Play of *George Barnwell*, which has met with the Success I think it well deserves; and I could be content to compound with the young City Gentry, that they should go to this Play once a Year, if they would condition, not to desire to go oftener, 'till another Play of an equally good Moral and Design were acted on the Stage.

After this strikingly appreciative comment on *George Barnwell*, the author of the *Vade Mecum* proceeds to deal severely with a recently erected play-house. This theatre is obviously the second

² *The London Merchant and Fatal Curiosity*, Belles Lettres Series, Introduction, p. xlii.

Goodman's Fields, which had been opened in Ayliffe Street in 1731.⁴ The apprentice's adviser resents the presence of a stage in the City district.

From what has been said in relation to this Article, I cannot forbear observing, that however the Play-houses of the gay End of the Town may be tolerated for the Amusement of Persons in upper Life, who would not perhaps, otherwise know what to do with their Time, they must be of pernicious Consequence when set up in the City, or in those Confines of it, where the People of Industry generally inhabit. The Hours of a Play-house, as above said, must undoubtedly interfere with the Hours of such Persons Business; and it is next to impossible but that the Minds of the Youth of such an End of the Town must be seduc'd and misled, must be relaxed and unbent, and set above, as they think, the Mechanick Business by which they are to support themselves, and get an honest Livelihood.

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PUSHKIN AND SHENSTONE

A short play, called *The Avaricious Knight* (Скупой Рыцарь), of the great Russian poet Pushkin has always enjoyed an adventitious interest for students of English literature, owing to the fact that Pushkin represented it as a translation from "Shenstone's tragi-comedy, The caveteous Knighth."¹ This play, in blank verse, is composed of three short scenes which detail the judgment visited upon a miserly old father who has deprived his knightly son Albert, of his rightful heritage.

Though written in 1830, the play did not appear until 1836 in a journal, *The Sovremennik* (Современник). In a review of the piece the great critic Belinsky was quite taken in by the poet's ascription of the play to Shenstone. He writes: "The *Avaricious Knight*, a fragment from Shenstone's tragi-comedy, is well translated, but, as a fragment, it is not necessary to pass judgment on

⁴ Allardyce Nicoll, *The English Stage*, p. 72.

¹ Pushkin's spelling for Shenstone in the Russian is "Chenstone" (Ченстоун). But there can be little doubt that he meant Shenstone. Either he mispronounced the name, or made a mistake of a kind very common in transliterating English proper names into the sounds of the Russian alphabet.

it.² A suspicion, however, that Pushkin had been deliberately mystifying his readers soon got about, for a very short time after his first statement Belinsky wrote: "His verses (Pushkin's), appearing in *Souremennik* for 1836, were not appraised for their worth: in them lay a suggestion of the so-called decline. Thus, for example, the scenes from the *Avaricious Knight* were scarcely noticed, nevertheless if it is true that, as they say, it is an original production by Pushkin, they belong to the best of his creations."³

Shenstone, of course, never wrote "*The cavetuous Knigh*," nor is there any play in English literature, so far as I can ascertain, which might have served as an immediate source for Pushkin's supposed translation. Indeed, by observing the manuscript of *The Avaricious Knight* in conjunction with certain creative interests of the poet at the time of its composition, we can see Pushkin at work in the artist's curious business of falsifying sources. In the year 1830, Pushkin evinced a renewed interest in the drama, and he actually considered writing a book of dramatic fragments. With characteristic haste he even speculated on the title of the book that never came into existence. "Dramatic Scenes, Dramatic Sketches, Dramatic Studies, An Experiment in Dramatic Studies,"⁴ are suggested titles which we find scribbled in one of the poet's manuscripts. And without doubt, the three short plays that he wrote in 1830, *The Avaricious Knight*, *The Stone Guest*, and *Mozart and Salieri*,⁵ were intended as contributions towards the proposed book. Without attempting to account for Pushkin's dramatic inspiration in these plays, it is fairly certain that the form they take was influenced by several short plays printed in an English book which he knew: *The Poetical Works of Milman, Bowles, Wilson, and Barry Cornwall*, Paris, 1829.⁶ Here we find the *Dramatic*

² Сочинения В. Бѣлинскаго, Москва 1861, II, 267.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 333.

⁴ П. В. Анненковъ, Матеріалы къ біографіи А. С. Пушкина. СПб. 1858, I, 291.

⁵ Скупой Рыцарь, Каменный Гость, Моцартъ и Сальери.

⁶ This book is not to be found in Pushkin's library, but it is quite certain that he was acquainted with it at first hand. In it he undoubtedly found the originals for his translations of Wilson's *The City of the Plague* (Пиръ во время Чумы), and certain things from Barry Cornwall. For information on this point see Анненковъ I, 285, 311-12; А. О. Иппимова,

Scenes (pp. 1-46) of Barry Cornwall.⁷ They are short plays of from one to three scenes, treating usually a tragi-comic subject. In form Pushkin's three plays fit this category precisely, and the fact that he should have selected "Dramatic Scenes," the very name used by Barry Cornwall, as one of the possible titles for his collection of dramas, provides some contributory evidence that Pushkin was indebted to Cornwall for the form and descriptive title of his plays.

"The Avaricious Knight," was not the title Pushkin first gave the play. Shortly after writing it he set down on the back of a manuscript the titles of dramas he had already written and intended to write.⁸ In this list *The Avaricious Knight* appears as *The Miser* (Скупой),⁹ an appropriate title for the play is really a psychological study of greed. Furthermore, it agrees exactly with the first title which we find in the actual manuscript of the play. Here Pushkin originally wrote the title as *The Miser*, followed by an epigram from the poet Derzhavin; and after this, in brackets, is the phrase *The cavetous Knight*, but without the name of Shenstone. Apparently not satisfied with this, he scratched out the adjective "cavetous." Nevertheless, when the play was printed in *Sovremennik* six years later (in the first number in 1836), the adjective appears again with another spelling along with the ascription to Shenstone. The full title reads: *The Avaricious Knight*. (Scenes from Chenstone's tragi-comedy, The caveteous Knighth).¹⁰

His general uncertainty concerning the spelling of "caveteous Knighth," and his final designation of Shenstone, coming as a kind of afterthought, as the author of the play from which he pretended to have adapted his own, are good indications that Pushkin was intentionally misrepresenting things. It is difficult to understand

"Драматические Очерки Брайана Уэллера Проктора," *Современник*, 1837, no. 8.

⁷ Some time before 1830 Pushkin had come in contact with the work of Barry Cornwall. Several of his lyrics have been inspired by his reading of the English poet. Cf. Н. Яковлевъ, "Последній Литературный Собесѣдникъ Пушкина," *Пушкинъ и его Современники*. 1917, VII, 28, 5.

⁸ Cf. Анненковъ I, 284-5. Here again, in these titles, Pushkin no doubt had the idea of his proposed book in mind.

⁹ Cf. Анненковъ I, 284-6.

¹⁰ Cf. Анненковъ I, 286. All of this title, except "The Caveteous Knighth," is written in Russian.

why he should have gone out of his way to disclaim originality for his own production, one of the fine bits of poetry in Russian. Nor, strangely enough, is it the only offense of its kind in the poet's writings. On several occasions he was guilty of positing false sources for his compositions. The best known of these is a group of unedited verses at the head of which Pushkin wrote, "From Alfred Musset," and then he substituted for this source, "From the VI Pindemonte."¹¹ Needless to say, his verses have nothing in common with anything in either of these two sources.

As for his selection of the name Shenstone, Pushkin again proves a puzzle. Many famous English authors had been translated into Russian by this time, but Shenstone is not among these. However, Pushkin might easily have become acquainted with the name at least, if not Shenstone's own works, from several books in his large library.¹²

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SCOTT AND HOFFMANN

A few days ago I reread, for the first time in years, Scott's miniature novel "The Surgeon's Daughter." I was fresh from a dip into the German romantic tales of E. T. A. Hoffmann; and in the opening chapter of "The Surgeon's Daughter" I noticed several likenesses to Hoffmann's "Das Gelübde" ("The Vow"). Turning to Lockhart's "Life,"¹ I found that "The Surgeon's

¹¹ Cf. Анненковъ I, 287. See also Н. В. Яковлевъ, "Къ вопросу оъ английскихъ источникахъ стихотворенія Пушкина Цыганы," II. и его Современники, 1923, IX, 36, 63.

¹² The following books in Pushkin's library contain some mention of Shenstone: *The Monthly Review* 1782, LXVI, 119-20 (cf. Л. Модзалевскій, "Библиотека А. С. Пушкина," Пушкинъ и его Современники, 1910, II, no. 1512); *Selections from the Edinburgh Review*, Paris 1835, I, 197, 400 (cf. Модзалевскій, 154); Johnson, *The Lives of the English Poets*, London 1826 (the volumes of this set in Pushkin's library are not cut, but it is certain that the poet was acquainted with it at first hand from other evidence, cf. Модзалевскій, item no. 1032); Bulwer-Lytton, Paris 1832. There is a signed quotation from Shenstone at the beginning of chap. III (cf. Модзалевскій, 151).

¹ Pp. 54 and 127 of Houghton Mifflin's 1901 ed. vol. V.

Daughter" was published near the end of 1827, and that early in that same year Scott had written for his friend Gillies a review of Hoffmann's novels. In the list of Hoffmann's books printed at the beginning of the review I found (Scott's *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, vol. 18), "Nachtstücke," 2 vols. 1816. "Das Gelubde" is one of the "Nachtstücke." Hence, although Scott does not mention the story, he had evidently read it;² and memories of it were afloat in his brain when he began his own novel. So a detailed study of likenesses becomes interesting.

In each story the scene opens in a small village before the house of a worthy citizen. In each story he is accompanied by a kind-hearted but rather shallow-headed wife. Each narrative begins on an autumn evening with the arrival of a four-horse carriage bringing two people. In each, one of the occupants is a beautiful young lady who is soon to become a mother. (In Scott her companion is her lover, in Hoffmann it is an abbess from a neighboring convent.) In each story, the young lady becomes the guest of the worthy citizen until her ordeal is over. But there is a much more peculiar and striking likeness than any of these. Both heroines, from their first appearance keep their faces covered, Scott's with a "thin silk mask, of the kind which do such uncommon service in the *Elder Comedy*"; Hoffmann's with a profusion of veils, behind which, as we learn later, there is also a mask. And both heroines keep their faces covered in this way on all occasions, even during the dangers and distress of childbirth. Both show great agitation at the mere suggestion that the coverings should be removed. Here is something rare enough, very different from forced parallelisms based on conventional situations. "Was ever honest woman brought to bed with a fause-face on?" asks one of Scott's women, and the well-read reader echoes the question.

There are other likenesses. Each worthy citizen receives a large sum of money for taking care of the mysterious guest. In each story a neighboring Catholic priest comes to have an interview with the fair stranger. This is a necessary part of Hoffmann's story, but wholly uncalled for in Scott's, whose heroine is a Jewess, and whose lover is simply turned into a Catholic in order that the priest may be summoned. In each tale the four-horse carriage

² He gives elaborate discussions of two others of the *Nachtstücke*, "*Das Majorat*" and "*Der Sandmann*."

with its other occupant does not return when expected. In each case, while the family are waiting, the worthy citizen returns home one day to find another and unwelcome visitor. In Scott this new-comer is the lady's father, in Hoffmann it is her lover. In each case the new-comer violently tears the covering from the heroine's face. Then, in both stories, he separates mother from child, Hoffmann's lover carrying the child away from its mother in wild passion, and Scott's father carrying the girl away from her infant in callous contempt. By shifting the chronology of his story, Hoffmann makes his heroine appear on the last page in her most characteristic pose: "Da trat sie, in Schleier gehüllt, an der Hand des Monchs in das von Kerzen hell erleuchtete Zimmer." And Scott begins the last paragraph of Chapter I with this sentence: "So saying, he ascended the stair, and returned, leading down his daughter, now again masked and veiled." Subconsciously echoing Hoffmann, Scott has now, like his inspirer, supplied veils as well as mask. After the conclusion of Chapter I, Scott shows no further traces of Hoffmann.

Here is an unquestionable case of one great writer inspired by another. It is not an instance of plagiarism, for Scott's atmosphere is healthy and human where the German's is wild and nerve-racking. To realize how fully each author keeps his personality and style, we have only to compare the scenes where the face-coverings of the two heroines are torn away. Scott says:

Without minding her emotion, Monçada seized her by the arm, and with little gentleness raised her to her feet, on which she seemed to stand only because she was supported by his strong grasp. He then pulled from her face the mask which she had hitherto worn. The poor creature still endeavoured to shroud her face, by covering it with her left hand, as the manner in which she was held prevented her from using the aid of the right. With little effort her father secured that hand also, which, indeed, was of itself far too little to serve the purpose of concealment, and showed her beautiful face, burning with blushes and covered with tears.

That is a semi-realistic picture of a daughter caught in her folly. Hoffmann says:

Der Reiter—wie nun sichtlich war, ein Offizier von der französischen Jägergarde, mit vielen Orden geschmückt, hatte den Knaben aus der Wiege gerissen und in den linken, mit dem Mantel umschlungenen Arm genommen; den Rechten hatte Cölestine erfasst, alle Kraft aufbietend, den Räuber des Kindes zurückzuhalten. Im Ringen riss der Offizier den

Schleier herab—ein todstarres marmorweisses Antlitz, von schwarzen Locken umschattet, blickte ihn an, gluhende Strahlen aus den tiefen Augenhohlen schiessend, während schneidende Jammertöne aus den halbgeöffneten unbewegten Lippen quollen. Der Alte nahm wahr, dass Cölestine eine weisse, dicht anschliessende Maske trug.

That is wild enough for Poe or Mrs. Radcliffe.

It may not be so very important to know that one chapter in a second-rate novel of Scott took hints from Hoffmann. But it is important to realize how great was the interchange of literary thought between England and Germany during the romantic generation. Since this relationship has been recently questioned, I am glad to add my bit in the much needed refutation. Scott's above mentioned review of Hoffmann's novels shows a mind full of German literature, as a few quotations will prove. "Oberon [of Wieland], in particular, has been identified with our literature by the excellent translation of Mr. Sotheby, and is nearly as well known in England as in Germany." "The 'Deutsche Sagen' of the brothers Grimm, is an admirable work of this kind." "[Fouqué's] story of 'Sintram and his Followers' is in this respect admirable; and the tale of his 'Naiad,' 'Nixie' or 'Water-Nymph' ['Undine'] is exquisitely beautiful." Likenesses between "Das Gelübde" and "The Surgeon's Daughter" are simply ripples of a great literary current, that kept flowing, Arethusa-like, under the North Sea, and bubbling up in Great Britain.

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S *KNIGHT'S TALE*

Professor Hulbert's article on "What was Chaucer's Aim in the *Knight's Tale*?"¹ over-emphasizes, it seems to me, the equality of merit between Palamon and Arcite. To quote:

The problem which Chaucer actually presents is one which we can still observe in the life about us today: which of two young men, of equal worth and with almost equal claims, shall (or should) win the lady? . . . Chaucer's conclusion that Palamon should get the lady because he had the sense to petition Venus rather than Mars for success must have seemed

¹ *Studies in Philology*, vol. xxvi, no. 3, July, 1929, pp. 375-385.

both a satisfactory and an ingenious solution to those interested in the court of love cult.²

Certain verses in the *Knight's Tale* furnish clues that would have indicated to a mediaeval audience which of the two young men deserved to win Emelye. Shortly after they have seen her for the first time, Arcite distinguishes between the nature of his love for her and that of Palamon:

Thyn is affeccioun of holnesse,
And myn is love, as to a creature.³ (ll. 1158-1159.)

This distinction in the nature of their love for the lady is maintained throughout the tale. There is likewise a difference in degree of "lovers maladye," with which both are afflicted. In Arcite it is "lik manye / Engendered of humour malencolyk" (ll. 1374-1375), whereas Palamon suffered "martirdom" (l. 1460) for love.

The unworthiness of Arcite, by comparison with Palamon, is evidenced in his deliberate abrogation of the blood brother covenant between the two, a fact with which Palamon reproaches Arcite:

'It nere,' quod he, 'to thee no greet honour
For to be fals, ne for to be traytour
To me, that am thy cosin and thy brother
Y-sworn ful depe, and ech of us til other,
That never, for to dyen in the peyne,
Til that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,
Neither of us in love to hindren other, . . .
This was thyn ooth, and myn also, certeyn.' (ll. 1129-1139)

Arcite rejects this, for love, he says, is a greater law than any oath; "positif lawe" and "swich decree" are broken everyday for love (ll. 1165-1168). This is far from the ideal conduct of the knightly class. The covenant of blood brother constituted the very highest obligation, such as is illustrated in *Amis and Amiloun* where Amis cuts the throat of his children to save his friend.

The petitions of Palamon and Arcite to Venus and Mars likewise show a difference, Arcite's petition emphasizing the physical:

Than preye I thee to rewe up-on my pyne,
For thilke peyne, and thilke hote fyr,

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 380-381.

³ The Oxford *Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat.

In which thou whylom brendest for desyr,
 Whan that thou usedest the grete beautee
 Of fayre yonge fresshe Venus free,
 And haddest hir in armes at thy wille. (ll. 2382-2387.)

Arcite prays Mars for victory, reiterating (ll. 2401-2405) the plea for pity of his pains of love, emphasizing his lust and desire for possession.

The appeal of Palamon the "gentil" (an epithet applied to him three times in the *Knight's Tale*) is of another sort.

He roos, to wenden on his pilgrimage
 Un-to the blisful Citherea benigne,
 I mene Venus, honourable and digne. (ll. 2214-2216.)

He does not pray for victory—"Ne I ne axe nat to-morwe to have victorie" (l. 2239), but to obtain Emelye, promising the Goddess to be her "trewe servant" (ll. 2234-2260). He reminds Venus, not of the passion of love, but its sorrows.

For thilke love thou haddest to Adoun,
 Have pitee of my bittre teres smerte,
 And tak myn humble preyer at thy herte. (ll. 2224-2226.)

Acknowledging that he knows none "So worthy to ben loved as Palamon" (l. 2794), Arcite recants as he is dying.

I have heer with my cosin Palamon
 Had stryf and rancour, many a day a-gon,
 For love of yow, and for my jelousy. (ll. 2783-2785.)

Professor Curry points out "that the illness of Arcite is a malady, inflicted upon him by his planetary enemy, Saturn."⁴ It should be noticed that Saturn, intervening in a quarrel between Mars and Venus, decides in favor of Palamon,

I shal doon diligence
 That Palamon, that is thyn owne knight,
 Shal have his lady. . . . (ll. 2470-2472.)

In short, although Chaucer made no attempt at distinct character portrayal of the two young men, he did distinguish between their motives and attitudes towards love, making it clear that Palamon's love was the more deserving, an "affeccioun of holinesse" as contrasted with Arcite's passion and selfish desire for gratification.

⁴ *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, chap. vi, p. 120.

PHRASES MARKING THE TERMINATIONS OF ACTS IN THE FIRST FOLIO

Although the act- and scene-divisions of the First Folio have been studied quite intensively, no notice apparently has been taken of the fact that a word or phrase marks the endings of five acts distributed through three of the plays contained in the Comedies section of the Folio. At the close of the first act of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* appears the word, "*Finis*". The termination of Act I of *Love's Labour's Lost* is indicated by the ungrammatical phrase, "*Finis Actus Primus*." The same faulty phrase with necessary changes as to the adjective marks the ending of the second and the fourth Act of *Twelfth Night*. A comma in the phrase indicating the close of Act I of the same play, "*Finis, Actus primus*", saves it from the grammatical fault of its two fellows. This form, however, is rare. The plays contained in the Malone Society Reprints and the Tudor Facsimile texts (a total of about 240) yield but one similar example, Gascoigne, *Glass of Government* (1575), act I. The ungrammatical form which occurs thrice in the First Folio has also but one analogy in the plays of these two series, *Jack Straw* (1593-4), act III. The error indeed, was so glaring that the easy-going proof-reader of the Second Folio changed all three to the correct form, "*Finis Actus Primi* (etc.)", a phrase found in eight of the plays of the two series. The unusual form of the phrase marking the end of *Twelfth Night*, act II, also attracted the attention of the editor of the Second Folio, who altered it to *Finis, Actus primi*.

Although phrases (rarely in English, usually in Latin) mark the endings of one or more acts in eighteen plays contained in the Malone Society Reprints and the Tudor Facsimile Texts (about seven and a half per cent of the total), in no case does such a phrase alone divide one act from another—an act-heading always follows it. In *Caesar's Revenge* (1607) and *Periander in Christmas Prince* (manuscript, 1607-8), however, they serve the useful purpose of separating acts from choruses recited between them. Except for these two cases, they contribute nothing to the clarity of the divisions.

The fact that the same rare and ungrammatical phrase is employed in two plays of the First Folio, *Love's Labour's Lost*, which

was printed from a quarto, and *Twelfth Night*, which was printed from manuscript, gives us reason to believe that all five indications of the termination of acts were added by the same person. Who this person was, however, we have no means of ascertaining and the presence of these phrases in the First Folio will, we fear, throw no light on the question as to when and by whom act-divisions were introduced into Shakespeare's plays.

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COLERIDGE AND SIR JOHN DAVIES AGAIN

The resemblance Dr. Frederick E. Pierce lays bare in *MLN.*, XLV (1930), 395, between Coleridge's lines about the 'great bright eye' of the ocean and stanza 49 of Davies' *Orchestra*, was first recorded, so far as I know, by Mrs. Humphry Ward. I picked up this information some 25 years ago; my manuscript note gives a reference to '*English Poets*, Vol. 1'—which at present I have no means of verifying. But there is no great need of verification. The parallel between Coleridge and Davies was rightly noted by Dykes Campbell in his edition (1893) of Coleridge's *Poetical Works*, p. 598, and by Thomas Hutchinson in his edition (1898) of *Lyrical Ballads*, p. 218. I had supposed it had long since become a commonplace of note-mongers in school-editions of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. Dr. Lowes, however, did not record it in *The Road to Xanadu*, or it cannot be found in his Index; and that may be the reason why Dr. Pierce has advertised a rediscovery. Of course I called attention to this and other reminiscences of Davies by Coleridge, and to some by Wordsworth, in my comment upon Dr. Lowes' illuminating book; see *PMLA.*, XLIII (1928), 589. But apparently no one read the comment in New England, where Davies' poem also is said to be 'little known.' Eventually, I trust, he and his *Orchestra* will here and there become better known through the work of Miss Avis L. Kidwell, if she can publish all she has discovered about Davies in the Huntington Library of Los Angeles.

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GEMATRIA

Recently Mr. Sigurd Agrell of the University of Lund published a monograph¹ in which he explained the names of the runes and their order in the futhark. In his investigations he encountered runic inscriptions for magical purposes, and developed the thesis that each rune had a magic number-value, and that the twenty-four runes were arranged in ascending order, beginning with the second, whose number-value is 1. The first rune in the futhark is a blind to hide the secret and really belongs at the end with the number-value 24. The sum of the values of the runes in a word or group may be of great magical significance, particularly if it is a prime number. If it can be factored the factors are examined for magic significance. Finally the sum of the values of all the words in the inscription is similarly treated. If the same factor appears in several sums the idea symbolized by that number dominates the inscription. Subsidiary factors contribute their mites as well.

Agrell finds in the cult of Mithra the numbers and their symbolical meanings which he attributes to the runes. The names of the runes were invented with an eye to the symbolical meanings of the numbers. The natural sequence of the numbers determined the order of the runes in the futhark. Men of Germanic race who served in the Roman armies during the early centuries of the present era were initiated into the Mithraic secrets and brought this mystic knowledge to the Germanic tribes.

The following list shows according to Agrell the number-value, the sound-value, the meaning of the name, and the symbolical meaning of the number and rune. I do not discuss here his reasons for ascribing number-values and symbolical meanings, though I cannot in all cases follow him.

1.	u	Bull	Help, protection.
2.	þ	Giant	Demonic number.
3.	a	God	Divine number.
4.	r	Chariot	Thor's number.
5.	k	Torch	Divinity of the dawn, also the spread five fingers which guard against the Evil Eye.

¹ "Runornas talmystik och dess antika förebild," *Skrifter utgivna av vetenskaps-societeten i Lund*. 6 (Lund, 1927).

6.	g	Gift	Njorð's number. Good crops, riches.
7.	w	Joy	Great Mithraic number.
8.	h	Hail	The sacred octade, indicating, the stone-
9.	n	Need	arched heaven of the fixed stars.
			Fate, Ananke.
10.	i	Ice	Cold and death.
11.	j	Year	Fertility.
12.	p	?	The magic powers of the earth.
13.	z	?	Ull's number.
14.	R	Alhiz	The divine twin's, the Dioscuri.
15.	s	Sun	The deified sun.
16.	t	Tiw	Tiw's number, and Mithra's.
17.	b	Birch	Frigg's number. Fertility, especially of
			women.
18.	e	Horse	Othin's number.
19.	m	Man	The first man. Man.
20.	l	Water	Water.
21.	ng	Ing.	Yngvi-Freyr. Fertility, wealth.
22.	o	Udal	Inherited cultivated land.
23.	d	Day	Light.
24.	f	Fee	Wealth.

This example, the famous inscription on the Golden Horn of Gallehus, which Agrell regards as a specimen of gematric virtuosity, shows how the system works:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc}
 e & k & h & l & e & w & a & g & a & s & t & i & R & : \\
 18 & + & 5 & + & 8 & + & 20 & + & 18 & + & 7 & + & 3 & + & 6 & + & 3 & + & 15 & + & 16 & + & 10 & + & 14
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 143 \\
 \\
 \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc}
 h & o & l & t & i & j & a & R & : & h & o & r & n & a & : \\
 8 & + & 22 & + & 20 & + & 16 & + & 10 & + & 11 & + & 3 & + & 14 & : & 8 & + & 22 & + & 4 & + & 9 & + & 3 & :
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 \begin{array}{cccccccc}
 104 & & & & & & & 46
 \end{array} \\
 \\
 \begin{array}{cccccccc}
 t & a & w & i & d & o & : \\
 16 & + & 3 & + & 7 & + & 10 & + & 23 & + & 22 & :
 \end{array} \\
 \hline
 81
 \end{array}$$

It will be noted that he counts in also the sixteen dots which separate the groups of runes. The sum of $143 + 104 + 46 + 81 + 16$ is 390. Agrell notes that the grand total, 390, is ten times the number, 39, of the ornamental figures in the decorative belt beneath the row of runes. We now factor these sums and get the following:

$$143 = 11 \times 13$$

$$104 = 8 \times 13$$

$$46 = 2 \times 23$$

$$81 = 9 \times 9$$

$$390 = 30 \times 13$$

Ull's number, 13, dominates the inscription, and 9 and 23 are potent magic numbers. The inscription was constructed for the purpose of embodying these numbers and thus securing a powerful charm.

Similarly the rune groups on the Charnay broch represent:

$$51 = 3 \times 17$$

$$58 = 4 \times 17$$

$$64 = 8 \times 8 \text{ or } 4 \times 16$$

$$214 = 2 \times 107$$

$51 + 58 + 64 + 214 + 11$ (for the eleven dots separating the groups of runes) $= 408 = 24 \times 17$. Frigg's number, 17, dominates. It represents fertility and refers especially to women. But subsidiary factors of importance occur: the sacred octade is present above, and Thor's number, 4, multiplied by Tiw's or Mithra's. The antidemonic prime number, 107, multiplied by the demonic number, 2, becomes demonic. The broch was evidently to be worn by a woman, whom the charm was to protect in critical situations.

It is a simple matter to surpass in complexity the two examples above. I have gone through the numbers from 1 to 200, a range covering most of Mr. Agrell's numbers. In his system all prime numbers are magical and all doubles of prime numbers. The magic-working factors with which he operates most often are 7, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18 and 24. The prime numbers, doubles of prime numbers, and the numbers containing the above highly magical factors in 1 to 200 are in all one hundred and forty-seven. The fifty-three remaining numbers are divisible by 3, the divine number; or 4, Thor's number, or 5, which guards against the Evil Eye. And Mr. Agrell does not disregard them.

How can one avoid magic numbers and combinations in such a system? They are everywhere. For example, in the unworthy name below:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{C}^a & \text{h} & \text{e} & \text{s} & \text{t} & \text{e} & \text{r} \\
 5 & + & 8 & + & 18 & + & 15 & + & 16 & + & 18 & + & 4 \\
 \hline
 & & & & & & 84 & & & & & &
 \end{array}
 +
 \begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{N} & \text{a} & \text{t} & \text{h} & \text{a} & \text{n} \\
 9 & + & 3 & + & 16 & + & 8 & + & 3 & + & 9 \\
 \hline
 & & & & & & 48 & & & & & +
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{G} & \text{o} & \text{u} & \text{l} & \text{d} \\
 6 & + & 22 & + & 1 & + & 20 & + & 23 \\
 \hline
 & & & & & & 72 & = & 204
 \end{array}$$

$$84 = 7 \times 12$$

$$48 = 4 \times 12 \text{ or } 2 \times 24$$

$$72 = 6 \times 12 \text{ or } 3 \times 24$$

$$204 = 17 \times 12$$

Evidently this name is the invention of most skilled gematricians, endowed with ancient secret religious knowledge. They so loved the sacred soil of their native land that they built this name about a supremely powerful land-fertility charm. The number of earth magic, 12, occurs in the sum of every word and in the grand total, and is the basis of their gematria. They also used twice the great Mithraic number, 7, once as the number of letters in the first word, and once as a factor of the sum of its values. They combined Thor's number with the earth in the second word, for it is Thor's function to crack on the head with his hammer the giants of frost and flood to prevent the loss of crops. Njorð's number, for agricultural wealth, they cunningly inserted, both in the second name, by the number of the letters, and in the third, as a multiplier of the earth number. But the second sum also contains twice (the demonic number) the great wealth number, 24, and the third contains three (the divine number) as multiplier of 24, the great wealth number. Thus, with great foresight, both the good and the evil powers were enlisted. The third name contains the rune *udal*, which means "inherited cultivated land." Finally, to secure a continuation of the family, they combined with the earth number the number of the goddess Frigg, 17.

We shall have to find some other method, if we are to investigate gematria in the runic inscriptions.

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^a Let *o* have the value of *k*, 5, since *o* did not occur in the oldest futhark.

RICHARDSON'S REMOVAL TO SALISBURY COURT

The year 1724 had always been favored by the biographers of Samuel Richardson for his removal from Fleet Street to Salisbury Court, until Mr. Downs recently suggested that the change was made either in 1723 or early in the next year.¹ The following advertisement, which appeared in *The Weekly Journal or Saturday Post* for January 11, 1724 (and several subsequent issues), seems to prove that 1723 is the more probable date:

Any Person having a Presentation to a Living, to dispose of in Surrey, Hampshire, or in any of the Countries [sic] adjacent to London, of about 200 l. per Ann. and likely to fall in a short time; is desired to write to Samuel Richardson, a Printer, in Salisbury-Court, in Fleet-street, who will return an immediate answer.

BURNS MARTIN

Harvard University

 BOOK REVIEWS

The Dramatic Work of Samuel Foote. By MARY M. BELDEN.
Yale University Press, 1929. (Yale Studies in English,
LXXX). Pp. viii + 224. \$2.50.

The incorrigible jester of the eighteenth century has at last emerged from the lurid haze of theatrical gossip as a substantial, if still very minor, author of nineteen published plays, a satirical oratorio, two critical essays, and, in part, of a five volume translation of "The Best French Comedies." To Miss Mary Megie Belden of Elmira College and to the Yale University Press we are indebted for a complete and perhaps definitive study of *The Dramatic Work of Samuel Foote*.

In bringing his literary work to the fore, Miss Belden makes no plea for its higher valuation. Indeed she comes to the inevitable conclusion, by no means new, that Foote was too much concerned with individuals and their surfaces, to portray broadly human or significant comic characters. His Major Sturgeon, *Peter Paragraph*, *Mrs. Cole*, *the Cadwalladers*, and the rest could exist as dramatic realities only in Foote's and Wilkinson's mimicry of their living originals. They must survive like waxen effigies, forever lifeless. What is more, their originals, except Whitefield, were not of sufficient consequence to make recognition interesting for the modern

¹ Brian W. Downs, *Richardson*, London and New York, 1928, p. 8.

reader, even with the infinite aids to identification which Miss Belden now supplies. For Foote's sake and our own, it was a pity that the great Cham frightened off the mimic with the threat of "a double quantity" of stick. Surely a Foote burlesque of Johnson, Boswell, and Goldsmith would still rank among our chief literary curiosities.

Miss Belden has added to previous data a large amount of material from contemporary journals, giving fresh color to the strife over *The Minor*, *The Orators*, and *The Trip to Calais*, with its shaft aimed at the notorious Duchess of Kingston. Of more general interest is the carefully detailed account of the scandalous Mrs. Grieve, who inspired *The Cozeners*, and of Miss Linley's affairs with Long and Sheridan, which furnished material for *The Maid of Bath* and *The Trip to Calais*. In all such matters we are now precisely informed. Students will also find helpful the accurate and thorough tracing of borrowed plots, situations, and character hints both to and from Foote's plays.

With obvious restraint Miss Belden has confined herself to the scope of her stated subject, that is, to the scholarly description and analysis of the plays in their relationships. In this respect she leaves nothing to be desired. The magic of Foote's personal fascination she has not tried definitely to revive for us, even to the extent to which it is reflected in Fitzgerald's account. Properly this is not her concern. It is only fair to Foote, however, to insist that his distinctive genius, such as it was, never could be transferred to the printed page. It was sufficient to force Johnson to admit against his will: "I was obliged to lay down my knife and fork, throw myself back upon my chair, and fairly laugh it out." This same fascination caused Garrick, in spite of much ridicule and abuse on Foote's part, to come repeatedly to his assistance and finally to defend him as he faced a charge that might have frightened off more intimate friends. "Within five minutes," said Murphy, when Foote had failed him in a business agreement, "he would have laughed me into good humour." As the last curtain was descending on the ill-starred mime, Johnson could write: "The world is really impoverished by his sinking glories. Murphy ought to write his life—at least, give to the world a Footeana."

The "Footeana" can never be. One might wish, however, that among her profuse citations, Miss Belden had included more to illustrate the values she justly praises in Foote's written dialogue as "individualized and natural and sparkling with irony." "As burlesque," she writes, "surely nothing could be more chaste in a literary sense than Mother Cole's Methodist jargon," set forth, she adds, "in its pristine quality without exaggeration."

This last statement seems hardly consistent with her later assertion that Foote "did not turn his satire upon those phases of

Methodism that were really open to just criticism." Like Fitzgerald she blames Foote for a failure to appreciate in Whitefield's teaching the genuine spirituality of which now the world has little doubt, and at the same time for departing from his professed principles of satire in burlesquing Whitefield's personal mannerisms and defects. We must agree that Foote had no flair for the spiritual and that he was exasperatingly inconsistent in applying theory to practice. At all times he was ready to risk his reputation freely for a cheap laugh or for malicious revenge. We cannot, however, deny him a modicum of sincerity and even consistency in his satire. In two purposes he was at least persistent and there was in his wording the ring of sincerity. In his early *Treatise on the Passions* he exclaimed, regarding his fellow actors:

Oh! Curse on those unmannerly bellowing Blusterers. Go, go, ye Herods, go and learn that Sentiments, nay, Passions, can have Energy and Force without Noise and Vociferation. Reform, ye Ranters! or by Thalia, Olio, and all the Nine whose Inspirations you have villainously abused, I'll attack you in the Face of the Audience, and with the Pipe of Gracchus, force you to Moderation, ye Termagants.

Although we have only fragments of his *Diversions*, in which he applied his lash to Quin, Macklin, Barry, and others, we may safely believe that he exerted by his mimicry and writing an influence secondary to none, except, perhaps, Garrick's, in forcing the actors and their public to distinguish between the true and the false in the methods of dramatic expression.

More persistent, perhaps, was his lashing of the charlatan. In *The Minor* as in *The Orators*, the quackery of eloquence was his mark. This fact we should keep in mind when we judge his attitude towards Whitefield. Granting his own charlatanism, his unfairness and misrepresentation, even his meanness and spiritual blindness, we ought in fairness to recognize that to him Whitefield's pulpit behavior and his evangelical methods were detestable, as they were also to many better churchmen of the time. As he bluntly put it, Whitefield was

one of those itinerant field orators, who, tho' at declared enmity with common sense, have the address to poison the principles, and at the same time pick the pockets of half our industrious fellow subjects . . . I consider these gentlemen in the light of public performers, like myself . . . our purpose is the same and the place immaterial.

Miss Belden gives Foote full credit, at least, for preferring the real and satirical in comedy to the exaggerated and sentimental. His popularity made this, his most commendable zest, one of the great theatrical and literary influences of the age. He clearly prepared the way for Goldsmith and Sheridan and even supplied them with plot material and character suggestions. More of his invention went into the making of Goldsmith's farces, perhaps, than Miss Belden notes.

The surprise is, after all, that as a mimic he accomplished so much of lasting value. He was a dramatic cartoonist and was so recognized and tolerated by the wisest of his age. It is our misfortune not to know, nor care enough about, any of his victims to see them clearly as we read. Rarely can he make us lay down our knives and forks and laugh it out as he did the great company at the Bedford or delight us as he did his audiences at the Haymarket, Smock Alley, and Drury Lane. Miss Belden has done more than any one to assist us to such an enjoyment, and, at the same time, to give our entertainer, if not a higher place, at least a more definite one in the annals of the stage.

E. BRADLEE WATSON

Dartmouth College

The Dunciad Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus By Alexander Pope. Reproduced in Facsimile from the first Issue of the original Edition of 1729. With an Introductory Essay by ROBERT KILBURN ROOT. Princeton University Press, 1929. 42 + 18 + 32 + 124 pp. \$4.50.

This volume is not merely a pleasant reminder of a two-hundredth anniversary. Professor Root is quite right in thinking that the *Dunciad* is best read in its 1729 form, and this facsimile will enable students to have that pleasure without being restricted to the relatively rare original editions. In his compact Introduction Professor Root gives an excellent evaluation of the literary qualities of the poem, discusses incisively its peculiarity as a mock-heroic, and comments admirably on its seriousness of purpose and on the validity and brilliance of its satire.

The history of the composition and publication of the poem is inevitably less satisfactory; for that is a very complex subject impossible of full treatment in the relatively brief limits of an Introduction. Root is certainly on safer grounds than many of his predecessors when he explains Pope's manoeuvres as sportive rather than malign. The key to understanding these manoeuvres lies, I suspect (but do not surely know), in the matter of copyright as well as in dangers of libel suits. Some of the tricks, far from being mysterious, were simply devices that Grub-street practised daily. Such were the common appearances of "A. Dod" in their imprints. "Dublin Printed, London Reprinted" is another common dodge for political pamphleteers—whose tactics Pope was borrowing against themselves. This last device, however, carried difficulties. In Pope's day anything printed in Dublin could be pirated with impunity in London from a *Dublin edition*. (That fact explains, incidentally, why Pope tried so hard to get his letters

to Swift back from Dublin unprinted.) Documents in the Public Records Office and the British Museum will, I believe, someday show that when the time came to publish the second edition of the 1729 *Dunciad*, Gilliver, the publisher, refused to proceed until he could have copyright protection against piracy. Pope loved his joke of anonymity, as did the Grub-street journalists theirs, and so he assigned his rights to three distinguished ornaments of the peerage, who in turn sold them to Gilliver for £100 without using Pope's name in the transaction. The peers kept the poem still technically anonymous; they gave Gilliver rights in the poem (which anonymity made difficult in view of the existence of Dublin editions); and through the special privileges of their rank they helped terrify piratical printers. Pope did not recover sure rights in the poem until the spring or summer of 1743—a fact that delayed for months the publication of the fully revised *Dunciad* in four books. But that story can be authoritatively told only when some one has mastered the intricacies of the copyright cases of Pope's day; and, so far as is known, no one has yet done that.

In a work of this sort the text of the facsimile is of course the important matter. A few remarks concerning the limitations inherent in facsimiles may consequently be in point.¹ This is a good facsimile; but it is hardly exaggerating to say that no such thing as a perfect facsimile exists. In any known process of facsimile reproduction exaggerations or diminutions of spots or of light inking are bound to occur. If the original page contains a small brown spot, the spot in facsimile may come out black and may look like punctuation. If the inking is light in parts of the original, symbols perfectly visible there simply will not reproduce in facsimile without interminable effort on the part of the photographer and the plate-maker. Flaws in photographic plates account for strange happenings in the process. If you own an original 1729 quarto of the *Dunciad*, it will probably differ from Root's facsimile in at least the following minute points: (of course I have not examined the copy from which the facsimile was made, but I have examined pages in the two Hoe copies now in the Huntington Library) In the "Letter to the Publisher," p. 5, there is no mark of punctuation in the original after *care* (last line of the page), nor after *could*, p. 6, third line from the bottom of the page, nor anything but a parenthesis between *papers* and *for* on p. 8, fourth line from the top. (This parenthesis has been poorly restored by hand apparently: in the original it is a true type.) Frequent examples of what seem to be broken type are simply added eccentricities in the process of reproduction. In facsimile dots disappear that in the original are distinct over *i*'s

¹ Similar remarks may be noted in the review by W. W. Gregg of Dr. Tannenbaum's "Shakspeare Forgeries," *Rev. of Eng. Stud.*, v (1929), 344-58.

(See pp. 6 and 11 of the "Letter to the Publisher"). In general the appearance of broken type in facsimile is no sure evidence that the type may not appear perfect in the original. Page 11 of the "Letter to the Publisher" prints *wherein* with an undotted *i* (line 7); prints *in* (line 19) with an apparently broken *n*, and prints *Admiration* (line 25) with an apparently broken *m* and with a spot under the *n*. In the note to Bk. I, l. 104, at least two letters quite visible in the Hoe copies are invisible in the facsimile. Of course the Princeton copy of the *Dunciad* may have these flaws, but it is a safe guess that these are simply typical examples of what is bound to happen in making reproductions of this sort. The large font used in the text of the poem reproduces very well; the footnotes in smaller type have more than once blurred.

I point out these defects, not in criticism but rather in explanation of the limitations inherent in facsimiles. I suggest that editors should always (1) identify the copy of the book used in reproduction; (2) specify clearly the particular method of reproduction used (this gives a clue as to the sort of eccentricity to be expected); (3) indicate the fact (if it is a fact) that imperfections inevitable in the process of reproduction have been removed by "retouching" or "mending" the plates; and, most important of all, (4) give a list of corrigenda for spots where the exaggerations or diminutions unavoidable in reproduction are such as to give a possibly false impression of the original. The avoidance of such impressions by the means indicated as (3) is usual, but it of course tends to subvert the authority of facsimile texts. Root's methods are to be commended in general; he might have helped by giving such a list as suggested in (4). Proof-reading for facsimiles is terrifically difficult. If the Facsimile Text Society does not recognize this fact at the start, the Society will be short-lived. The present popularity of facsimiles seems to warrant this caution against implicit trust of them on minute points.

GEORGE SHERBURN

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Diaries of William Johnston Temple, 1780-1796. Edited with a Memoir, by LEWIS BETTANY. New York, Oxford University Press, 1929. \$7.00.

Like Boswell, Boswell's most intimate friend kept a diary, though not with such assiduity or fulness. These six thin journals, now in the possession of Temple's great-granddaughter, are here printed for the first time by Mr. Bettany, author of *Edward Jerringham and his Friends*, who has now had access to practi-

cally all the Temple MSS. extant. He makes no claim for them as literature, addressing his book "chiefly to Boswellian scholars and amateurs." But I have found, after reading the journals through for the second time, that, though forbidding in appearance because of the large number of entries which are nothing more than lists of books read and letters written, they do have in a remarkable degree the power of making real to the reader the nervous, frustrated, self-torturing nature of their author.

Temple was not a great man. With an ambition almost as boundless as Boswell's, he had just will-power enough to organize his days into a comfortable routine which kept him always preparing for a great historical work that seems never to have got beyond the stage of notes. A month before his death he wrote in his diary, "Alas! though my Life has been blameless, yet I fear it has not been useful; for what have I produced or done?", and in the fourth entry from the end he laments, "No progress in my Papers. 8-9 + 10-1 + 6-10 but 8"—which probably means, "If I study and write from 8 to 9 and from 10 to 1 and from 6 to 10, it makes only eight hours a day."

Mr. Bettany has printed the journals *verbatim* and *literatim*, with very few textual notes, confining himself almost entirely to biographical notices of the persons mentioned. These he collects before each journal, an excellent arrangement for a reader who is going straight through the book, but very inconvenient for the student who consults it as a work of reference. The "Boswellian specialist and amateur" to whom the book is chiefly addressed would find his ends better served by a full index (there is no index at all) and the more orthodox arrangement of footnotes. I should also have been grateful for a good deal more of the kind of special annotation which Mr. Bettany alone is in a position to provide.

Mr. Bettany's memoir of Temple is spirited and judicious. As no other biography of Boswell's most intimate friend is likely ever to be written, I feel that I can make this review of most value by adding here some notes based principally upon the MS. material in the Isham Collection.

P. xx. A letter from Boswell to Margaret Montgomerie shows that Boswell's first visit to Mamhead covered 3 to 5 November 1769. In April 1775 he was "accompanied by the Corsican patriot, General Paoli," only as far as Wilton.

P. xlix. Boswell says that Nancy Temple suffered from "a defect in one of her legs and feet which made her walk lame" (Journal, May 14, 1790). One gets no hint of this from her father's diary.

P. lxxvii. Four of Temple's letters to Boswell survive in the Isham Collection, and seem to be excellent specimens of the entire correspondence. Two (*Boswell Papers*, VIII. 175-178, 195-201) give Boswell advice on his marriage, and one was written on the occasion of Mrs. Boswell's death.

P. lxxi. Boswell's letter to his brother on 13 October 1794 instructing him to deposit five pounds "to the account of the Rev. Mr. Baron at

Lostwithiel, Cornwall," who "took charge of paying the gratuity to Mary Broad," does, on the face of it, "look extremely odd and unaccountable," but the affair turns out to be much to Boswell's credit, and proves Mr. Bettany's suspicions of "irons in the fire, of course" to be unwarranted. Mary Broad was an unfortunate young woman, a native of Fowey, sent to Botany Bay, I suppose for felony. She escaped and returned to London, where she was befriended by Boswell, who furnished her with money, and helped her to rejoin her family. (He probably also defended her in court and secured her pardon, but the diary for the necessary date is missing.) She sailed for Fowey on 13 October 1793 on the *Ann and Elizabeth*. Boswell saw her the day before she sailed "and wrote two sheets of paper of her curious account of the escape from Botany bay." These, alas! are lost. He also "assured her of ten pounds yearly as long as she behaved well, being resolved to make it up to her himself in so far as subscriptions should fail." It was settled that the days of payment should be 1 November and 1 May. This letter of 13 October 1794 refers to one of these semi-annual payments, and indicates that Mary Broad was still in Cornwall.

P. lxxi. Temple's "unknown" Johnsonian publication was *The Character of Doctor Johnson. With Illustrations from Mrs. Piozzi, Sir John Hawkins, and Mr. Boswell*. London, Dilly, 1792. See *TLS.*, 22 May 1930.

P. 97. The loss of Temple's diary for 1792 covering the visit of Boswell and his daughters is to be regretted, but is of less importance since Boswell's full Journal of the trip has survived.

FREDERICK A. POTTLE

Yale University

Elizabeth Gaskell. By GERALD DEWITT SANDERS. With a bibliography by CLARK S. NORTHUP (Cornell Studies in English, XIV), New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. xvii + 267.

Professor Sanders has set himself very definite limits in this book on Elizabeth Gaskell. He no doubt would have liked to write the needed Gaskell biography, but since important letters and much original material is still withheld by the Gaskell executors, has thought best to give it up. The book then is to be simply a study of Mrs. Gaskell's works, with the addition of a chronological outline of her life and activities, with no attempt "to build up a supposititious biography out of material culled from her creative writings." Perhaps this resolution has something to do with the comparative shortness of the book, which has only 155 pages of text. But the facts admitted to these pages have been weighed with discrimination. There are no statements of the kind that caused Mrs. Gaskell so much trouble in her *Life of Charlotte Brontë* and that are decidedly disapproved of here. "Mrs. Gaskell's most ardent admirers can offer no apology for the manner in which she worked all these things into the *Life*. It threw no light upon Charlotte Brontë's character to picture her father cut-

ting up his wife's gigot sleeves, and to have repeated this from a servant's gossip was unpardonable . . . Branwell's love affairs, even had the report of them been absolutely truthful and substantiated with incontrovertible facts, were outside the sphere of the biography and should have been omitted." No backdoor gossip here, and if there are sins let them be sins of omission! The decision not to rework the ground covered by Louis Cazamian's *Le Roman Social en Angleterre* entails a further limitation, and permits a very rapid sketch of economical and political background to pass muster, leaving the foreground to the description of Mrs. Gaskell's life in relation to her career as a novelist, conditions of writing and publication, and to criticism.

Mrs. Gaskell's social doctrine is described as a steadfast confidence in the power of Christian love and mutual understanding, working through individual rather than legislative channels, to better conditions. How this differs from Dickens' Christmas Spirit we are not told, although this seems an obvious and natural comparison, especially since Mrs. Gaskell's connection with Dickens was an important one. One might also expect a comparison with the ideas of Disraeli as expressed in his trilogy which came out in the years immediately preceding the publication of *Mary Barton*. We are told very little about Mrs. Gaskell's reading, or her relation to other writers, except for her friendship with Charlotte Brontë; even here there is no comparison of the two authors as personalities, although some letters from their correspondence are printed. Professor Sanders does point out some probable debts to Crabbe, but there were others. One has only to dip into her *Cranford* to see how well she knew the eighteenth century.

The author relies solely on his subject's life, her novels, and his comments upon them to tell us all he cares to have told about her. There is no especial interpretation of her life, no psychological analysis of her personality. Yet in spite of what seems to me an unnecessary rigid attitude, this is a welcome book. It is authentic and dependable and will be a great help to the future biographer. Professor Northup's bibliography is rich and up-to-date, and is indexed, like the book itself.

JAMES R. FOSTER

Syracuse University

Richard Hakluyt and The English Voyages. By GEORGE BRUNER PARKS. New York, American Geographical Society, 1928. Pp. xvii + 289. \$5.00.

This, the first real biography of Hakluyt, is a study of considerable magnitude. It is carefully edited and well printed; it has

interesting and valuable illustrations and an important introduction by Dr. James A. Williamson. Professor Parks greatly expands our knowledge of Hakluyt, of the history of his name, of the time and place of his birth, and of his ancestry. He correlates the work of Richard Hakluyt, preacher, and that of his older cousin, Richard Hakluyt, lawyer of the Middle Temple, who is not even mentioned in the biographical sketch in the *DNB*.

But the external facts of Hakluyt's life are secondary in Professor Parks's study, and are treated chiefly in the appendices. The main theme is the growth of geographical knowledge and the development of navigation which changed England from her mediæval isolation, when foreign ships carried even the fish which she consumed, to maritime supremacy with colonies in America and an empire in Asia.

The political and commercial organizing which led to the founding of the British Empire is well known; but the equally important organizing of geographical knowledge Professor Parks is the first to record adequately. In an age in which written geography necessarily lagged far behind the rapidly advancing knowledge of voyagers, the two Hakluyts (and especially the younger one) were middlemen between the traveller, whose experience made him an authority upon routes and markets, and the merchant and the colonizer. They were geographical brokers, assimilating the new information as fast as it could be gathered and making it available. The patriotic motive is first and the scientific second. The late Sir Walter Raleigh depicted Hakluyt as a scholarly recluse accepting what travellers brought to him; but Professor Parks shows him to have been a tireless searcher who took the initiative in the quest for information. At the close of the book it is Hakluyt the scientist—the student of geography, the editor of accounts of travel, and the adviser of merchants and planters—who stands forth clearly; Hakluyt the man—the husband, the father, and the preacher—is a shadowy figure of whose character there is little record.

In the great mass of details Professor Parks does not lose his way. The life of Hakluyt is a point from which one can resurvey the English renaissance and view Elizabethan ideas and ideals in a new perspective. Professor Parks emphasizes the fact that (in the words of Dr. Williamson) the "Elizabethan age was not spacious, as we are sometimes told, but narrow and needy." Its "adventures were not undertaken from swashbuckling zest but because good men found their country in a tight place and staked their lives and fortunes to redeem it." Drake, whose brilliant exploits have been seized upon by romantic historians, is an extremely fortunate exception; more typical, remarks Dr. Williamson, are Gilbert, Walsingham, and Michael Lok—men who toiled hard, risked much, and gained nothing for themselves by it.

Daniel Defoe. Essay on Projects (1697). Eine Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichtliche Studie. Von ERNST GERHARD JACOB. Leipzig, Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1929. 142 pp.

Realism in Daniel De Foe's Narratives of Adventure. [By] GERRIDINA ROORDA. Wageningen, H. Veenman & Zonen, 1929. 142 pp.

Dr. Jacob's thesis (Leipzig) appears in the series known as *Kolner Anglistische Arbeiten*, edited by Professor Herbert Schöffler. Like other German scholars who have investigated the beliefs and practices of Protestants, Dr. Jacob is interested in the economic and social aspects of his subject. In particular he attempts to place Defoe's "Essay" in its historical setting between the revolution of 1688 and the War of the Spanish Succession. Dr. Jacob does not trace Defoe's numerous ideas to their origin; but he prepares the way for that undertaking by pointing out the conditions of the times which called forth the essay. He discusses the new spirit fostered by interest in experimental science; the projector abroad; the need of adequate credit and banking systems for commerce; and the necessity of financing the war with France.

The most original and important part is chapter VI in which Dr. Jacob considers the originality of Defoe's ideas. He takes them up one by one, first pointing out the evil which the project was to correct and then studying the remedy—its origin, its fitness, and its subsequent history. He concludes that Defoe was not the brilliant originator of his ideas, but the practical man, shrewd enough to see what was useful in the welter of suggestions then in the air, in France and Holland as well as in England.

If I have a complaint, it is not that Dr. Jacob narrows his field too much, but rather that he does not plow very deep. A glance at his classified bibliography reveals few *zeitgenössische Werke* in proportion to the secondary works; there are, in fact, but eight entries, including the writings of Fénelon and two modern books of selections. It is only fair to add that this section of the bibliography does not include all the works consulted. Among the biographies there is no mention of a brief but important sketch of Defoe's life by Aitken (Introduction to *Romances and Narratives of Daniel Defoe*, 1895), of Trent's "Defoe How to Know Him" (1916), or of Dottin's "La vie et les aventures de Daniel De Foe," 1924. I mention this because Dr. Jacob calls Thomas Wright Defoe's latest biographer and because the sketch of Defoe's life is somewhat out of date. For example, he gives the year of Defoe's birth as 1661. Long ago Aitken proved 1661 to be too late and suggested 1659 or 1660; and now Dottin has

narrowed the time to the latter half of 1660, since a sister had been born on June 19, 1659.

If Dr. Jacob leans too heavily upon the older biographies, the same cannot be said of Dr. Roorda whose thesis (University of Amsterdam) shows familiarity with recent studies of Defoe. Even though she does not make full use of them, she reads them critically and occasionally points out errors in them. After briefly sketching the religious, political, philosophical, and literary currents which influenced Defoe, Dr. Roorda analyzes "Robinson Crusoe" (I and II), "Captain Singleton," and the "New Voyage". Defining realism as "close resemblance to what is real" and "fidelity of representation," she is interested not in whether Defoe's narratives are true, but in whether they impress the reader as true. Defoe's sources and raw materials she hardly considers at all. Nor does she contribute any considerable body of new facts. But though she repeats much that has already been said of Defoe's methods, she is alert in detecting what is actually realistic and what fails of being so in the novels studied.

A. W. SECORD

University of Illinois

The Pepys Ballads. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Harvard University Press, vols. I, II, III, 1929-1930. Each \$3.50.

In these three attractive volumes Professor H. E. Rollins continues his scholarly reprints of seventeenth-century popular lyrics. They are the first of a projected series of six, the purpose of which is to make available the hitherto unprinted pieces in the ballad collection of the noted diarist Samuel Pepys. A complete reprint of the Pepys collection is not planned by Professor Rollins. He includes in his first and second volumes texts earlier in date than 1640 that do not appear in the Ballad Society's *Roxburghe Ballads*, 1871-1880, and the *Bagford Ballads*, 1878, or in the *Pepysian Garland* edited by him in 1922. The third volume reprints many ballads from the years 1666-1688.

Professor Rollins executes his editorial responsibilities with his usual care, discrimination, and thoroughness. Ample headnotes are provided for the individual texts, literary and historical allusions are followed out, and significant features are brought into relief. Comparatively few of the songs are assigned to their authors. In subject-matter and lyrical patterns they are of the types staple for their period. There are many songs of trades and professions, historical and pseudo-historical songs, songs with literary associations, country ditties, songs of marriage, romances, love ballads, and

many sermons and moralizing pieces. In the third volume are reprinted songs dealing with political events and picturesque happenings having news value, and songs of murders and prodigies—familiar topics of broadsides—appear in abundance. The assortment of material is miscellaneous enough for all tastes. A twentieth-century reader of the Pepysian ballads is struck, I think, by their unmistakable superiority in taste, expression, and lyrical gift to the mass of popular song of the same status today.

The value of such a reprint of broadsides lies in the picture of the times that they record for the historian and in the display of types and topics of popular song that they present for the student of literature. "More solid Things do not show the Complexion of the times so well as Ballads and Labels" is the appropriate quotation prefixed by the editor to his third volume. The completed series of *The Pepys Ballads* will be noticed at greater length in the columns of *Modern Language Notes*.

LOUISE POUND

University of Nebraska

Sachwörterbuch der Deutschkunde. Unter Förderung durch die Deutsche Akademie herausgegeben von Dr. WALTHER HOFSTÄTTER und Prof. Dr. ULRICH PETERS. Bd. I: A-J. Leipzig und Berlin: G. B. Teubner. VIII u. 604 pp. R. M. 31.

Dies Wörterbuch ist bereits vor dem Kriege erwogen und geplant und in den ersten Jahren nach dem Kriege von neuem in Angriff genommen worden. Die jetzigen Herausgeber haben dann 1926, zwar auf die Grundlagen ihrer Vorarbeiter gestützt, gemäß der Neueinstellung der Literaturforschung und der Pädagogik einerseits, der Gebietserweiterung des Begriffes Deutschkunde andererseits das Werk neu umgrenzen und seinen Inhalt neu aufteilen müssen. "Es sollte nunmehr als Grundlage deutscher Bildung eine Gesamtdarstellung deutscher Kultur unter steter Berücksichtigung ihrer Verbindung mit fremdvölkischen Kulturen im Nehmen und Geben bringen."

Das ist, soweit man nach dem ersten Bande urteilen kann, glänzend gelungen. Es ist überraschend, wie verhältnismäßig einheitlich bei 25 Fachberatern und 146 Mitarbeitern die einzelnen Artikel ausgefallen sind und wie durchgreifend sie den Zielpunkt, der im obigen Zitat angegeben ist, im Auge haben. Man vergleiche z. B. die Artikel *Antike* (I. Die Antike und die deutsche Geschichte, mit sechs zeitlichen Unterabteilungen; II. Antike Kulturleistungen mit neun Unterabteilungen in Wirkungsfeldern), *Arbeit*, *Aufklärung*, *Baukunst*, *Drama*, und man wird von der

Reichhaltigkeit und Gedrängtheit der Information erstaunt sein. Der Artikel *Baukunst* mit seinen klaren Grundrissen und seinen ca. 20,000 Worten auf 25 Seiten ist allein ein kleines Buch. Aber auch die kürzeren Artikel werden dem Lehrer und Germanisten zu schneller Orientierung willkommen sein. Ich denke z. B. an den Überblick über die *Anredeformen*, der in einer Seitenspalte alles Notwendige klar zusammenfaßt, oder an die knappen Dichterbiographien, die jedesmal auch die wichtigsten Ausgaben und Monographien verzeichnen. Bei fremdsprachlichen Dichtern steht dem Plane gemäß die deutsche Beziehung im Blickpunkte, so bei Byron (S. 204) Goethe, Heine und Chamisso. Ein Thema wie Don Juan oder Herakles erweitert sich zu einer kleinen Sachgeschichte.

Das Auslandsdeutschtum ist leider verhältnismäßig kärglich bedacht worden. Ich habe in dem einschlägigen Artikel nichts über deutsche Auslandsschulen gefunden, auch vergeblich nach Auskunft über Deutschunterricht in den Vereinigten Staaten gesucht in dem umfassenden und gutorganisierten Aufsatz *Amerika* von Friedrich Schonemann. Deutsch-englische Literaturbeziehungen stehen andererseits durchweg hinter der Behandlung der deutsch-französischen zurück, was umso erstaunlicher ist, als auf dem ersten Gebiete unsere Kenntnisse durch Gesamtarbeiten viel weiter gefördert sind. In der Literaturangabe des Artikels *England* vermissen ich L. M. Price *English-German Literary Influences* und B. Q. Morgans unentbehrliche Bibliographie der Übersetzungen ins Englische (an derselben Stelle, S. 289, ist übrigens auch das Wort *Book* im Titel *The Oxford Book of Engl. Verse* versehentlich ausgefallen).

Aber das sind Einzelheiten, welche unser Gesamturteil nicht wesentlich beeinträchtigen können. Deutschlehrer hiezulande werden das Buch besitzen müssen, ja werden mit Genuß und Vergnügen darin lesen. Es ist erstaunlich, daß deutsche Wissenschaft und zwar auf allen Gebieten nicht nur neuorientierend tätig ist, sondern auch zu dieser Sammelarbeit Mut und Muße hat, wie sie neben einem solchen Sachwörterbuch auf unserm Felde in dem großangelegten *Handbuch der Literatur* und der neuen, jetzt Reclamschen Anthologie *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen* sich betätigt.

ERNST FEISE.

Das Bild in der Dichtung. Von HERMANN PONGS (I. Band: Versuch einer Morphologie der metaphorischen Formen). Marburg, N: G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927. Pp. xx + 513.

Es ist unmöglich im Rahmen einer kurzen Besprechung diesem außerordentlich umfangreichen, umfassenden und schwerflüssigen

Werke gerecht zu werden. Im Bestreben, seine Darstellung bildlicher Denkformen allseitig zu verankern, greift der Verfasser auf sämtliche Randgebiete über, Philosophie, Psychologie, Anthropologie, Philologie u. s. w., sodaß eine Art Kompendium der modernen Forschung entsteht, von Max Weber bis zu Lévy-Bruhl und Rudolf Otto. Dann aber fugt er zu dieser vielseitigen Belesenheit und Kenntnis seine eigene schwierige und abstrakte Terminologie. Wenn das Buch auf diese Weise den Fehler aller Erstlingswerke einer suchenden Zeit deutlich zur Schau trägt, so gelingt es ihm andererseits auf einem Gebiete, in dem mit leerem und oberflächlichem Klassifizieren und ödem Formelkram viel und lange gesündigt worden ist, Schaffe und Stollen in die Tiefe zu treiben.

Die Haupteigentümlichkeit, die Pongs zutage fördert, ist die erstaunliche Ergiebigkeit der Bild-erforschung in ihrer Beziehung zur Lebensphilosophie der Dichter. Die Metapher findet damit ihren wichtigen Platz in der Reihe von Handschrift über Rhythmus, Melodie, Syntax und alle andern Eigentümlichkeiten bis hinauf zur Weltanschauung als Mittel zur Charakterisierung dichterischer Wesensart. Im Einzelnen wird dann eine Staffelung der Gleichnisformen der Intensität nach geboten, über deren Tragweite ich vorläufig nicht zu urteilen vermag. Ich habe mich mit dem Werke ein paar Monate (mit Unterbrechungen) herumgeschlagen und kann noch nicht behaupten, einen klaren Überblick gewonnen zu haben. Aber ich bereue die Zeit nicht, die ich darauf verwendet habe und bin mir durchaus bewußt, daß kein Literaturhistoriker an dieser Arbeit vorbeugehen kann. Übrigens entschädigen schon die immer wieder erfreuenden Erkenntnisse in Analysen zitierter Dichtwerke von Beowulf bis Becher und von Dante bis Döblin. Der Verfasser ist kein Pedant.

ERNST FEISE

The Johns Hopkins University.

Tales of the North American Indians selected and annotated by
STITH THOMPSON. Harvard University Press, 1929. Pp.
xxiii + 386.

Looking through European bibliographies of fairytales one is often struck by the relative paucity of references to North American Indian tradition. One reason is, of course, that the tales of the New World are so far removed from the European ones that the points of contact are limited in number, but in many cases the chief cause is that this vast store of tradition is not easily accessible to European folklorists. This book of Professor Thompson's will be welcomed the more eagerly as it offers an excellent introduction to what Professor Boas calls "the most extensive and accurate record of myth tale and legends possessed by a primitive

people." It may indeed be said that the volume is as indispensable guide to the tales of the Indians as are the famous *Bolte-Polivka Anmerkungen* to European tradition, and any one acquainted with the study of fairytales will feel the weight of such a compliment.

The main interest of international study will perhaps centre upon the question of connexions with European tradition. The problem differs with different classes of stories. There are the tales imported from Europe in later days, and in a previous study the author traced the fortunes of 30 European stories in North America. The unique value of such cases is apparent. There is a transmission to an entirely new world of ideas, and the different stages of the process are visible. These are: the European versions, the story as told by immigrants in America, and as told by the Indians. Since all attempts of explaining the ubiquity of folktales have to reckon with borrowing and transmission, such instances are of the greatest importance; in most cases one has to assume long periods of time between present versions and their arrival in a country. Bible stories fall into line with other tales, and it is strange to see how, for instance, a story like that of Adam and Eve, which in itself has a strong "aitiological" twist, lends itself to further development in the same direction.

Far more difficult is the problem of earlier connexions where the similiarity between tales is the only proof of a transmission. Thus one particular case raises difficult problems, and a passage from America to Europe seems the only explanation. It is the tale-cycle, containing "the bungling host," the fishing, and "the animal marriage." There are many Indian versions, and a corresponding number from the Eskimos, but the strange thing is that the story is rather well known in Norway. The fishing episode is common to all Norse versions, but the assumption that the Eskimos got the story from the ancient Norse settlers, seems untenable in face of the fact that the tale was known "through the whole west-easterly Canadian belt." The tale did hardly reach Norway from the east, it is known in the other Scandinavian countries, and the nearest trace of it to the east is a corrupt version from the Kola peninsula.

Or, to mention instances of wider import, there is the "Smith-sound Swan-maiden story." The motif is a commonplace in traditional stories from Greenland to Melanesia, and while all may agree that the idea of a human being marrying an animal may have arisen independently, the complicated story, keeping everywhere to the same scheme, must have wandered from people to people. Or the ideas of the creation out of the primeval sea. All through Siberia similar beliefs are held, and it is strange that the

lays of Eastern Finland relate how a "daughter of the air" fell out of the sky and floated on those vast waters.

The volume offers fresh materials and suggestions to students of primitive religious ideas as of folklore. The lasting impressions are the unity of primitive ideas everywhere, and the tenacity of what was once religion and myth surviving as folklore.

REIDAR TH. CHRISTIANSEN

Oslo, Norway

Le Couronnement de Renard, poème du treizième siècle. Publié par ALFRED FOULET. Princeton University Press and the Presses Universitaires de France, 1929. Pp. lxxviii + 125. Elliott Monographs 24.

This edition of the *Couronnement de Renard* is an admirable piece of work and will of course replace the antiquated version published by Méon in 1826. The introduction lucidly sets forth the pertinent facts about the poem, its manuscript, date, sources, relations, influence and significance, and the notes at the end are competent and copious. Unlike Ulrich Leo, M. Foulet sees in the *Couronnement* not a general attack upon the democratic tendencies of the day, but a more personal satire inspired by hatred and distrust of the Mendicant Orders and designed by the author to warn the Marquis de Namur against the "renardie" inherent in their ranks. The poem is therefore a *fable symbolique*, which, like *Renard le Nouvel* and Rutebeuf's *Renard le Bêtourné*, merely uses the *cadre* of the beast epic to point a contemporary moral. Because of its incidental illumination of the customs and manners of the day, because of its relation to the *Fables* of Marie de France and because of the humour of certain scenes and the proverbs they frequently incorporate, the poem has considerable general interest, more perhaps than the editor modestly claims for it. Its list of fabulous beasts, lines 1720-1822, which F. has cleverly traced to the unpublished *De natura rerum* of Thomas de Cantimpré (p. xl-xlvii), will also be of special service to those concerned with semantics, while students of the courtly romances will unexpectedly find several references to their heroes in lines 53, 106-9.

Particularly commendable in this edition are the portions devoted to the language of the poem. The editor suggestively indicates that author and scribe may have been one, but his technique in discussing the language of each, in treating separately their dialectal and non-dialectal peculiarities, is as conservative as it is revealing. A few further peculiarities might have been listed: *espeuse* (: *orgueilleuse*) 145; the *m* for *n* of *aucum* 180, *chascum* 998; the *i* before *n* *mouillée* in *sovigne* 197 and *singnour* or *signour*,

passim; the reduction of *ui* in *pist* 297, but these in no way affect F.'s conclusion that author and scribe wrote the literary French of the period with a certain admixture of northern and eastern forms. The Glossary is also worthy of note (should not *roumanchier* 1715 have been included?) and the device of classifying together in the introduction (p. lxxv) the types of corrections incorporated in the text is excellent. Although F. expressly disclaims any *fétichisme* in his devotion to the reading of his manuscript, he introduces relatively few changes and those are all of a nature that any good Bédierite can conscientiously approve. In short, this edition is a model of its kind and will be of service to all students in the field.¹

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Maur College

BRIEF MENTION

Alexander Pope as Critic and Humanist. By AUSTIN WARREN. (Princeton Studies in English, No. 1). Princeton University Press, 1929. x + 289 pp. The main conclusions reached by Professor Warren in his examination of Pope's literary criticism are not new, and few students of the eighteenth century will be inclined to take issue with him, save, perhaps, those who object to his placing of Pope above Addison in the ranks of the Augustan critics. But it is well that the whole body of Pope's work, and especially the pertinent passages in the correspondence, should have been examined from this point of view.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that dealing with Pope's edition of Shakespeare. Here Professor Warren successfully defends Pope from a number of Lounsbury's charges, and makes a more nearly just estimate of the value of Pope's editorial accomplishments. He also examines in some detail the nature of the passages which Pope marks as "most shining." No more illuminating exposition of the divergence of Pope's taste and his professed critical theories can be imagined. It is a pity that Professor Warren did not give a complete list of these marked passages: his summary indicates that they are not numerous enough to have overburdened his pages.

With the exception of this chapter the book might have been improved by condensation. The author, in his desire to be sure that no point is slighted, has included in his text much elementary material that might better have been relegated to the notes, and

¹ Only minor misprints have been noted: p. ix, line one, read *fran-* for *frn-*; p. xxviii, note 3, read *OFMA* for *OIFMA*; p. lxxv, the first of the *mots à supprimer* cannot be found in the line indicated.

some irrelevancies that could have been omitted altogether. This fault of style will perhaps irritate the reader who is already moderately familiar with Pope and his period. Such a reader, however, may turn to the index, which is now our most convenient key to Pope's critical opinions.

ARTHUR E. CASE

Yale University.

James Hogg, The Poetical Mirror. Edited by T. EARLE WELBY. London: The Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. xvi + 192. 8 sh. 6 d. Mr. Eric Partridge of The Scholartis Press is performing a useful service to scholarship and *belles lettres* through the publication of handsome but inexpensive reprints, mainly of inaccessible if not forgotten eighteenth- and nineteenth-century books. Hogg's parodies, originally issued in 1816, are little known and do not often appear in sales catalogues. One mimicks Byron, one Hogg himself, and the twelve others imitate his friends: Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and Professor Wilson. In a suggestive though slight introduction Mr. Welby points out that, whereas most good parodies unite reverence with mockery and exhibit "a lover's rage against that which in the beloved rebukes his adoration," yet in Hogg's best passages "the joke is not in any hinted comment" for they are very nearly what the poets themselves might have written. A curious illustration of this point is furnished by a letter to the *T.L.S.* of October 24 in which Mr. J. M. Turnbull shows that "The Flying Tailor," one of the parodies of Wordsworth, may deal with a person about whom Wordsworth wrote to Lamb. Accordingly, although *The Poetic Mirror* contains burlesque that is obvious and crude, and parody that mingles reverence with mockery, "it is not for criticism or for laughter that one goes to this book; it is for Hogg's finest gift, that gift of malign imagination." As to this last one may have doubts, for parts of H. C. Bunner's admirable "Home, Sweet Home" after the manner of Whitman are just the kind of parody Mr. Welby has in mind, yet they are free from malignity and are not distinguished by imagination.

R. D. H.

The Fred Newton Scott Anniversary Papers. By FORMER STUDENTS AND COLLEAGUES OF PROFESSOR SCOTT. University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. viii + 319. An anniversary volume most completely realizes itself when, in addition to recognizing the long and distinguished service of a scholar, it illustrates in the contributions themselves the genius of his teaching. The present volume is of such a character. Professor Rankin properly states in the Preface that "the footings and foundations for future

superstructure of psychologically full and precise analysis and interpretation of the phenomena of speech" are in Professor Scott's work. It is therefore to be expected that the majority of the fourteen papers will deal with stylistic problems, literary theory, and the nature of the aesthetic experience.

In a thoroughly matured paper, the *Approaches to Literary Theory*, Dr. Charles E. Whitmore evaluates the historical, psychological, and scientific approaches to the interpretation of Literature. This study can hardly be ignored by future students of literary theory. In a paper on *The Artist*, Mr. Lawrence H. Conrad advances the thesis that intuitions are not mysterious in their origin but are the products of artistic, as opposed to scientific, research, the character of this research being the ability of one gifted with imagination to project himself, under certain favorable conditions, into lower and higher forms of life; "that artistic research is a definite procedure, its steps as open to analysis as are the steps of scientific research; that the results of artistic research, if less reliable, are frequently more valuable than those of scientific research; and that there could be established without great difficulty a definite course of training that would lead to the acquisition of this ability." Turning to a more concrete paper, Professor Ada L. F. Snell, in *The Meter of 'Christabel'*, finds the much-discussed "new principle," which Coleridge speaks of in the famous note at the close of the Preface to *Christabel*, to consist in the "adding and subtracting light syllables in order to mold rhythms in harmony with different emotional impulses." Coleridge thus "inspired a new conception of metrical phenomena, turning poets now for over a century to fresh experimentations."

All of the contributions are worth reading, and several are of superior merit.

FREDERICK M. PADEL FORD

The Kailyard School of Fiction. By ADA WALLACE ROBERTS. The Culver-Stockton Quarterly, Jan. pp. 1-36: April, pp. 39-58, 1929. An excellent short study of the Kailyarders. The author points out their relation to Scott, Galt, Stevenson and the contemporary literary taste, describes the literary qualities of their novels and short stories, criticizes the work of the best representatives of the so-called school, and finally discusses the significance of their work as a whole.

JAMES E. FOSTER

Burns Poetry and Prose with Essays by Mackenzie, Jeffrey, Carlyle and Others. With an Introduction and Notes by R. DEWAR. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1929. Pp. xx + 203. \$1.25. Thirty pages of this volume are

devoted to selections from notable critical studies, forty to extracts from the poet's correspondence, thirty-eight to notes, and ninety-three to poems. For the prose selections and for Professor Dewar's admirable introduction there can be nothing but praise, but the presence of expurgated texts and mere snippets of the longer poems unfits it for use as a college text.

J. DELANCEY FERGUSON

Selections from Old Testament Literature. Edited by HENRY DAVID GRAY. With notes compiled by WALLACE J. VICKERS. New York, Macmillan, 1930. Pp. xvii + 706. \$3.00. Unlike most recent books of Old Testament selections for college study, this volume contains all the material for a somewhat extended course. It includes, for example, practically all of Job, thirty-eight Psalms, most of Ecclesiastes, twenty-three pages of Jeremiah, extracts from the late wisdom books of the Apocrypha, portions of the book of Enoch (important for Milton), and such late legends as Tobit, Judith, and Bel and the Dragon. The arrangement is partly by types (Early Narratives, Prophecy and History, Lyric Poetry, Dramatic Poetry, Didactic Poetry and Prose Essays, Romantic Stories) and partly chronological within these divisions. Some teachers may find it inconvenient to have the two stories of the flood separated by 306 pages, the priestly narratives of the creation and the deluge being in the middle of the book because of their late origin. The double principle of division likewise has the effect of putting Ruth next to Tobit, instead of in the Persian period in connection with the marriage reforms of Ezra. These and all similar dislocations are, however, amply explained in the introductions and notes, which are models of brevity and clearness. The general point of view is that of the latest critical scholarship.

The University of Rochester

JOHN R. SLATER

About English Poetry. By G. F. BRADBY. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. In seventy-eight brief pages are described the interests and pleasures of the ordinary man in reading poetry. Significance, rhythm, melody, magic of words, these are the chief divisions of the discussion of what poetic beauty means. About the ordinary man's problem with the new verse forms there is only a paragraph or two, but along the beaten track the book is a simply and pleasantly written guide. It raises few questions for debate, and makes no pretense to be a contribution to aesthetics. Mr. Bradby's "admittedly loose definition" of poetry is characteristic of the informality of the volume: "Poetry is an emotional and metrical appeal to the understanding, which awakens in us, in some form or other, a consciousness of beauty." Obviously the interesting word here is "appeal," a helpful word in

distinguishing the poetic from the prosaic in any form of art. The definition is by no means a bad one. The illustrations are excellent, and contain no surprises.

Smith College.

R. A. RICE

Four Studies in Wordsworth. By MARIAN MEAD. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Company, 1929. When the first of these studies on "Wordsworth's Eye" appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* the author was hailed not only as a true Wordsworthian but as the first thorough student of what most Wordsworthians have always recognised to be a key to the poet's method and doctrine, his gradual discipline of his visionary power. The reprinting of this paper, with the new and far longer one on "Light and Colour in Wordsworth," furnishes us with a definitive exhibition of the nature of Wordsworth's "eye-mindedness." There is not a great deal of comparison with other descriptive poets, though an appendix displays a list of light and colour words in both Wordsworth and Keats, words which they used in common and words peculiar to each. The character of the whole study is literalness, but it is of an informing kind. One wonders at the patience that will count and sort the colours in so vast a canvas as Wordsworth's complete poems. Has any one ever measured the square inches of yellow and blue in Constable? It none the less means something to ascertain, what might well be suspected, that in Wordsworth effects of greenness and whiteness are those most frequently noted (because most frequent in nature?), effects of red next (because in landscape it is the most striking colour?), and that blue, grey, and yellow are practically on a par. This enumeration, it is only fair to add, is relegated to a footnote. Also his favorite words are discussed. He used *glitter* seventy-eight times. "We do not feel that we really know our friends," says Miss Mead, "until we know their particular tastes, even their whims. These individual characteristics cannot be dissociated from the sum of the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of even a great poet; the nature which, joined with his own peculiar experience, makes his poetry his own and no other's."

Miss Mead has not cared, apropos of such investigations, to make up her own formula for the poet's prescriptive philosophy. Little is added in the way of another moral to the critical tale. Her skill lies in the exhibition of passages. Nor does she, in her study of Wordsworth's intention in the "Idiot Boy," have any very striking opinion of her own to offer, and no opinion on the recent academic controversies about the poem. The fourth paper deals with what Wordsworth records on the subject of homes and home life.

Smith College

R. A. RICE

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HAS EMERSON A FUTURE?

Emerson in the history of religion was a guest of honor who reached a party at the moment when its members were dispersing. His arrival evoked a brief sensation—on the doorstep, as it were—but did not finally reconstitute the party. In the confusion of dispersal the leading guest found himself for a moment without a shelter or a destination. This is a tiny parable to the consideration of which my thoughts were recalled by the perusal of Mr. Carpenter's scholarly little monograph entitled *Emerson and Asia*.¹

The book is a modest, brief, well-planned, and useful summary of Emerson's Oriental readings: it is a compilation of facts, and the sources are the *Journals* and the *Works*. Two chapters are allotted to the Neo-Platonists. We may feel a moment's surprise that the Neo-Platonists should be classed with Asiatics, but Asian teaching in their day found a house in Egypt and a tongue in Greek. The author defends himself in his introduction for not treating his Oriental materials in an Orientally intangible way. To my mind his conduct is wiser than his scruple; he should feel as little remorse for not handling mysticism mystically as the *Oxford Dictionary* feels for not giving a nebulous or cloudy definition of nebula or cloud. The book of course neither accounts, nor hopes to account, for Emerson; Emerson is no more deducible from his readings than a silkworm is deducible from a mulberry-leaf. Yet lovers of silk will never be indifferent to mulberry-leaves. Mr. Carpenter thinks that the very interesting, because very inapt, term "Over-Soul" is original with Emerson. It is quite worth

¹ *Emerson and Asia*. By Frederic Ives Carpenter. Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xiii + 282. \$3.00.

noting that in the short index to this short book the name "Eugene O'Neill" appears flanked on either side by "Omar Khayyam" and the "Oracles of Zoroaster."

I.

What is Emerson's claim upon the regard of humanity? Re-statement in a few words may be instructive even to his admirers.

The association of omnipresence with divinity is an old idea. The association of divinity with worship is an idea still older. Emerson simply saw that, if divinity were omnipresent, the act of worship might be everlasting. The experience of God might be unbroken. The idea was striking; Emerson went much further; he converted the idea into a program. The experiment was audacious—and successful. Emerson's whole secret may be formulated thus: the successful practice of unbroken commerce with omnipresent deity. Or again, in more technical form: the combination of the broadest generality in the religious object with the highest particularity in the continuously varying forms which the object presents to the disciple.

Men had dedicated themselves to God before his day. One class had referred every act to the divine approbation. Another had been professionally devout—had dedicated their whole time to the accumulation of credits in the divine ledger. A few had found in God the object of living: to a few more He had constituted a ground for death. But the notion of an unbroken, spiritual commerce which, using every object, should occupy every moment, was a novel thing. Here is a fact that sweeps all the literature and all the intelligence of Emerson, great and moving as these are, into abeyance: here is an addition to history, a new district of experience, an augmentation of the sum of human possibilities. The soundness or unsoundness of the premises on which this principle and this obedience rest is a great matter; but even that greatness is small beside the fact that on any premise, sound or unsound, the result was achievable and was achieved. "*Tant pis pour le sens,*" said Flaubert, when one of his beautifully modulated sentences was charged with defect of sense. If logic and Emerson fail to come to terms, the sufferer is logic.

Two points demand brief notice before we turn to the religious influence of Emerson. His name, let me hasten to say, is secure;

he is certain of the due toll of inscriptions, invocations, appraisements, and obeisances—of that form of greeting from posterity which combines salutation with dismissal. The second point is that Emerson had two fames, and that the slighter fame has proved thus far the firmer, more abidingly dynamic, of the two. This last may be called his secular fame among thinkers. There is no other amateur to whom so many experts have been grateful. Emerson had the impertinence to say things about politics, economics, industry, history, and art which the specialists in those fields were generous enough to borrow.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition) observes tranquilly *in re* Montaigne: "The most noteworthy handling of the subject in English is unquestionably Emerson's in *Representative Men*." Emerson, after eighty years, is the first voice in English, not on the *Over-Soul*, but on a French essayist—a fact visible to encyclopaedias! No other man, perhaps even to-day, is so often cited by unaffiliated minds. The Gentiles have been more faithful than straying Israel. An audience of thinkers, as guarantors of perpetuity, has the marked advantage of being to a large degree an audience of spokesmen. What explains this vogue of the high-priest among the unconverted? Many people would admit that Emerson was the sanest of mystics because he was the soundest of thinkers, but does it occur to anybody that he was possibly the first of thinkers because he was the first of mystics? Does anybody broach the suggestion that the zenith might be the point from which all levels and all horizons might be most distinctly visible, that the airman might give help to the topographer?

II

I turn now to the larger and nearer question of Emerson's religious influence and destiny. Liberal religion in Emerson's day mounted to a crest from which, shortly after his day, it declined with a swiftness that was almost catastrophe. Emerson gained by the ascent, and furthered the ascent; he lost by the fall which he could not halt, which indeed, on one side, he was destined indirectly and unwillingly to further. It is a strange and profoundly saddening fact that, in the liberal field, Emerson's peculiar talth and glebe, faith and worship could hardly be more dim and faint to-day if their exemplar and evangelist had never lived. The cause

of this shall be explored a little later. Let it suffice here to say that Emerson came at the best time possible for a brief, bright ripening of his influence and fame, at the worst time possible for the carrying forward and establishment of these happy prospects. He lost his hold, not through any failure in himself, and less through any defection or estrangement of his audience than through what we might call its *bodily removal*, as if a man speaking from shore to listeners on a ship were to find his speech cut short by the unmooring and departure of the vessel. The world was adrift from its religious anchorage.

There are times when, comparing the fleetingness of Emerson's religious influence with the length and the lustre of the trail left by such partial prophets as Fox and Swedenborg, we are confounded by the stupidity of Time. We must remember, however, that the carriage of fame, like other carryings, is mainly a question of transports. These transports in religion are doctrines, organizations, rituals, sacraments, programs. Emerson rejected all these things, as clogs and hindrances to the commerce of the impassioned soul with vital deity. His fame was a foundling to be laid on anybody's doorstep. By providence or by luck in one of its happy mimeries of providence the door at which the bantling was laid was the door of Unitarianism. That generous body constituted itself forthwith the curator of that fame and spiritual efficiency in which it very justly saw the fruit of its own teaching and the seed of its own honor. In the wardship of Emerson's fame, it might well have seemed that it had found its own security. A Unitarianism anxious for its own future might have been quieted by the word spoken to the affrighted Roman boatman "*Caesarem vehis, et fortunam ejus.*"

The partnership was more helpful in its beginnings than later, and tended rather to exalt than to elucidate the seer. Emerson has often been seen through a blur of worship. Louisa Alcott as a tiny girl laid violets on his doorstep, and when in the *Rose in Bloom* she made Emerson almost the matchmaker between two virtuous young nobodies, she was still in the same uncomprehending sincerity strewing violets before his door. Unitarians in general saw much more, but even they tended sometimes to treat Emerson as a jeweler who should give back to them their own thoughts re-set in the pearl and gold of his incomparable diction. They saw the

unrivaled specimen: they scarcely discerned the *new species*. Emerson, be it remembered, was not their founder or chief; nobody either within or without their body was responsible for Emerson *per se*, for Emerson *in toto*. Disciples take *en masse* customers—even reverent customers—pick and choose. In Emerson the religious liberals took and left; and these takings and leavings tended to convert the seer into an image, an enlarged and glorified reflection, of themselves.

III

Unitarianism was the product of many influences the most powerful of which in the mid-nineteenth century was probably Emerson himself. Its tradition was liberal; it drew new fervor and new liberality from Emerson; that was its high fortune. Its misfortune lay in the fact that it lost the fervor while it kept the liberality, and that liberality, in the absence of fervor, is deadly to religion. If, indeed, the ardor does not warm the liberality, the liberality will freeze the ardor. Put in homelier phrase, if the teeth do not break the walnut-shell, the walnut-shell will crack the teeth. Liberalism is a strain on the vital force of any cult—an ordeal which the Emersons, but not the Emersonians, can victoriously and profitably meet. Unitarianism under Emersonian stimulus met it for a time; when that stimulus withdrew, it was enfeebled by its own breadth. In July a man may sleep delightfully with his light tent open to all the winds of heaven; he is rash or doomed who repeats the fond experiment in December.

Religions begin by concentration and particularity, by concentrating regard on particular objects, acts, men, deities. Liberalism arrives to broaden the field of sanctities; religion, finally, sees and uses good everywhere, in ancient foreign cult and in new-born scientific theory, in the instinct of a child and in the profundities of intuition. But hospitality, the sanest of virtues, may end by turning the house into a thoroughfare—in which case the essence of religion is lost for host and guest alike. God, we are told (even by our Quaker Whittiers) is contemporaneous, and the temptation supervenes to look for him between the covers of the latest periodical. The professors of liberal religion in our day are nothing better than *shoppers* in contemporary literature and philosophy—

shoppers who do not buy.² New tokens, new embodiments, of God may breed in a faith a hunger for novelty which, in the dearth of other resources, may find satisfaction at last in the consumption of its own tissue.

When religion is everywhere, it is nowhere in particular, and the people for whom maples are burning bushes are rarely found upon their knees before maples. I say rarely, because Emersons are born and reared on this irreverent or superstitious planet. They are few, and their influence cannot always halt the movements of the age toward secularity and paganism. In such ages the effect of making religion coextensive with secularity is to make secularity co-essential with religion. Emerson's fate was to encounter such an age, and he is for the moment all but forgotten in the walks of his disciples. They are now insensible to his fervor, and they practise his liberality to no purpose.

IV

So much for Emerson and the present-day liberal. Has he fared better at the hands of orthodox believers? Sixty years ago Emerson and liberal religion, though not quite together, were alike in their distance from slow-pacing orthodoxy. In the time interval, the tortoise has almost overtaken the hare, but curiously enough, without the smallest profit either to Emerson or to liberal religion. In a latter-day gospel by Harry Emerson Fosdick called *Christianity and Progress* I could not find a single reference to Emerson. Theism in its straits might turn for aid in his direction, but it dreads that life-boat more than the filling ship. It is actually probable that to-day Emerson's mere name is known to fewer Congregationalists and Presbyterians than sixty years ago. At that time the writer almost outshone the heretic, and Emerson on the arm of Longfellow and Hawthorne found access to many hearths which he could never have approached on the arm of Channing or of Parker. That chaperonage is scarcely now available, and national pride no longer fosters the kind of interest, which, to take a nearer example, the undevout and unpatriotic Ibsen evokes in the patriotic and devout Norwegian.

² An exception to this rule is the band of so-called Unitarian Humanists, who flourish under the courageous leadership of John H. Dietrich of Minneapolis.

There remains a third and still more interesting question. What is Emerson's footing with the independent non-sectarian religious thinker? James Harvey Robinson's *Religion in Whither Mankind* (1928) mentions Emerson just once, casually, in a review of names. Shall we dismiss Mr. Robinson as a cold philosopher? What, then, does the man of whom Matthew Arnold wrote "A voice oracular hath peal'd to-day," signify to reverent and elevated spirits of our time, such as Maurice Maeterlinck and George Santayana? Maeterlinck, in a twenty-two page early essay in which the name of Emerson occurs just five times, abounds in a lyric eloquence which the reader rather inhales than digests. At the end he has told us little, has made us feel that he valued the Emersonian method more than its results, that, in short, he preferred the observatory to the firmament. The high-souled Santayana is cool, is niggardly, to Emerson. He begins a brief article with emphasis on what we may call the high emanations from the person of the seer. The emanations, of course, not being transferable to print, are not transferable to posterity, and exempt posterity, to that extent, from the necessity of veneration. He has some admirable criticism of Emerson's logic (why did he not add some criticism of Emerson's eyebrows?) and seems finally to dismiss the seer as a sublime aberration. Aberrations are least forgivable when they presume to put on sublimity.

Mr. Paul Elmer More and Dr. Irving Babbitt are distinguished among the literary critics of our time by a rare constancy—implying, in their case, a rare fortitude—in the preaching of a high and grave morality. Toward Emerson Dr. Babbitt is not unkind and Mr. More is not uncordial; but both look upon him, as it were, "with one auspicious and one dropping eye," classing him, like Santayana, as a divine prodigal to whom one brings a sparing and a wary veneration. Mr. More makes Emerson's "facile optimism" responsible for Christian Science. He also makes Arnold's "disinterested endeavor" responsible in part, through Walter Pater, for the debasement of Oscar Wilde. Perhaps the second genealogy may serve as scholium to the first.

V

Everywhere the signs seem inauspicious, but these signs do not exhaust the horoscope. The neglect into which Emerson has fallen

is of another quality than the Lethe in which other saintly and prophetic leaders are immersed. Wise men to whom he is temporarily useless suspect that Emerson and the world have not cast their final reckoning together. He is the book that is not so much put up as put down—the suspended task to which in leisurely and thoughtful hours return is possible. We do not yet dare to say whether it is yesterday or to-morrow that sleeps beneath the block of unhewn quartz in Concord. The force of Emerson's life and gospel remains unexhausted, since the world did not stop to hear his preaching to the end, and the force of the human instinct to which that preaching appealed is unexpended and is inexhaustible. Both are patient, and the future is extensive. Who shall say that they will not rejoin each other?

The rendezvous may be distant; the logical interval, the logical barrier, between ourselves and Emerson is not to be lightly overleapt. But the fitting comment on Emerson's want of logic is Lincoln's on the alleged drunkenness of Grant (send his whisky to the other generals). Sobriety is admirable, but one prefers—Appomattox. One could wish that Emerson had been logical—and that logicians had led equally happy and elevated lives. When Emerson has said his utmost, the logical difficulties remain; but when logic has said its utmost, Emerson remains: and Emerson is the larger remainder of the two. After all, intelligence does not subvert religion; the besiegers never win until the garrison is treacherous. The case of present-day science against religion is hardly stronger than the pre-scientific case of logic against Christianity, and if religion was capable of age-long survival under the second, a believer might contend that it was capable of revival under the first. The world, which loves and hates religion by turns, in and after Emerson's day, had had a surfeit of religion; and its respect for logic was merely the politic veil of its reviving appetite for worldliness and pagan secularity. That movement will run its course; its decline is no less certain than its advent: mankind may return to Emerson, like Peer Gynt after his vain wanderings to the irremovable and unimpatient Solveig.

VI

In the Emersonian philosophy the instinct for fact or reason finds three chief stumbling-blocks, the obedience to instinct, the

favorable view of life, and the infinitude and immanence of deity. The first of these is really unimportant. When Emerson says: "Follow your instincts," the indiscretion, the audacity, is merely phrasal; and the whole context is a gloss and emendation for that phrase. "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string." The "iron" is conclusive. We are to follow our instincts (the higher instincts) through pain and difficulty. Self-indulgence can find no harborage for its cushion or its goblet here. The Emersonian phrase may be incautious, but I doubt if in the Emersonian text it ever served as spur or cloak to license. Carve *Fay ce que voudras* over the arched portal of a minster, and the inscription would corrupt the mind of nobody. Epicures, passing in the street, do not glance upward.

Emerson's optimism is exasperating to our pessimism, but we must remember that Emerson's knowledge of evil would almost have qualified another man for pessimism, and that the ground for pessimism itself is scarcely either logical or scientific. It is curious that Emerson's psychic altitude never suggests to the critics at what we may call sea-level what physical altitude so instantly and powerfully suggests—the possibility of a wider and clearer outlook. Drenched with rain, you cannot repress your anger at the man who proclaims that the sky is all sunshine and azure; it never occurs to you that his standing-ground may be above the clouds.

The question of theism offers undoubtedly a more serious problem. Discussion within my limits is impossible, but it may be noted that the theistic ideal underwent in Emerson's hands a harder test than any to which science or logic could subject it—the ordeal of lifelong experiment. William James in the *Varieties of Religion Experience* declares that Emerson never makes it quite clear whether his God is an *order* or a being, whether it should be called infinite benevolence or—simply—infinite benefit. If this were true, one side of this double possibility would span more than half the interval between Emerson and current thought. Science, moreover, has been successively both theistic and non-theistic (i. e. agnostic), and, if it now leans away from Emerson, we must remember that, in relation to time, space, and matter, it has lately added to its other demonstrated powers a noticeable power of self-reversal. When science locks a door in the face of protesting ortho-

doxy or theism, the place in which it drops the key is not the cistern but its own pocket.

VII

The last thing to be said is that Emerson is not a notion; he is a *fact*. Emerson is history; he is there in the unchanging record, as indelible as Runnymede, as inexpugnable as Gibraltar. Let us restate in a single terse word his originality: to put (in practice as in theory) the whole weight and worth of the universe at its best behind each object and behind each moment of experience. The premise may be real or illusory. If real, the signal fact in the history of our race has been its capacity in one man to appropriate this reality. If illusory, one is still half moved to say that the signal fact in the history of our race has been its power to originate this illusion. Illusion or reality, it represents the highest *yield* of life.

Most persons now feel that the facts are against Emerson. But science itself in our day is oddly busy at the task of removing the virility, the old-time pugnacity, from the word "fact." Fact is the reflection of the object in the subject; blur the object, blur the subject, approximate or knead together object and subject, and fact, like atom, tends swiftly to lose its granular and contumacious quality. Knowledge becomes an occasion for experience, an inlet to experience, and its virtue is not the virtue of a transcript but an application. But it is just here that the hope in Emerson, the hope for Emerson, revives. Emerson means for us pre-eminently an enlargement of the possibilities of man's experience; the inextinguishable thirst of the race for what is larger and deeper in the psychic life cannot finally ignore him. He has achieved the unforeseen, the unimagined; the impossible is humbled in his presence; and the race will come back to him as the supplanted heir comes back to search in a neglected cabinet for the lost title-deed to a disputed fortune.

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NOTES ON POE'S *HANS PFAALL*

1. In his notes on *The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall*¹ Poe mentions among other stories dealing with a trip to the moon a tale from the *American Quarterly Review* of March, 1828, entitled *A Voyage to the Moon*.² It has not been pointed out, I believe, that Poe apparently relied on the earlier story for some of the materials which he used in his own. In both stories the obstacle of rarefied air is overcome by means of a machine for the condensation of air;³ similar lists of articles are taken on the trip;⁴ the ascent is started somewhat surreptitiously at night;⁵ and the balloon passes through a point at which the attraction of the moon becomes greater than the attraction of the earth so that in both stories the balloon undergoes at this point a bouleversement.⁶ But the most significant detail which the two possess in common is that of the employment, as a means of overcoming resistance to aerial travel, of a metal, spoken of in the earlier story as *lunarium*⁷ and described by Poe as *a particular metallic substance or semi-metal*.⁸ Poe's metal is one of the materials for making the gas in the balloon, whereas lunarium, being lighter than air, itself had lifting power.

2. The astronomical information contained in *Hans Pfaal* Professor Woodberry attributes to "Herschel's popular treatise, then first published in America."⁹ He refers, of course, not to Sir William Herschel, but to his son Sir John F. W. Herschel, who in 1834 published *A Treatise on Astronomy*. Poe made little effort to conceal this indebtedness to his source, as he mentioned his use of it for *Hans Pfaall* in *The Literati*.¹⁰ But an exhibit of the

¹ *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison, New York, 1902, II, 42-43—hereafter referred to as "Poe."

² *American Quarterly Review*, III, 61-88. The story is here attributed to "Joseph Atterley," whom Mr. Hervey Allen identifies with Professor George Tucker of the University of Virginia (*Israfel*, I, 175).

³ *AQR.*, III, 71; Poe, II, 53, 65, 75.

⁴ *AQR.*, III, 74; Poe, II, 94.

⁵ *AQR.*, III, 71-72; Poe, II, 55.

⁶ *AQR.*, III, 71.

⁷ *AQR.*, III, 72; Poe, II, 55-56.

⁸ Poe, II, 52.

⁹ George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe*, Boston, 1885, p. 83.

¹⁰ Poe, xv, 127 f.

extent of his borrowings from Herschel will throw interesting light on Poe's methods of working with his sources. That the poet had copied and paraphrased at great length in his *Conchologist's First Book* has long been known;¹¹ but a comparison of *Hans Pfaall* with Herschel shows that he also indulged extensively in copying and paraphrasing in his use of Herschel in the present instance. There are some ten or a dozen paragraphs which are plainly traceable to Herschel's work. I give here in parallel columns the passages that exhibit the closest approximations, putting in *italics* matter that is carried over without change.

Treatise

Lastly, *the greatest extent of the earth's surface which has ever been seen at once by man, was that exposed to the view of MM. Biot and Gay-Lussac, in their celebrated aeronautic expedition to the enormous height of 25,000 feet, . . . the convex surface of a spherical segment is to the whole surface of the sphere to which it belongs as the versed sine or thickness of the segment is to the diameter of the sphere;* and further, that *this thickness, in the case we are considering, is almost exactly equal to the perpendicular elevation of the point of sight above the surface. The proportion, therefore, of the visible area, in this case, to the whole earth's surface, is that of five miles to 8000, or 1 to 1600.*¹²

When we ascend to any very considerable elevation above the *surface of the earth. . . . The barometer. . . . From its indications we learn, that when we have ascended to the height of 1000 feet, we have left*

Hans Pfaall

*The greatest height ever reached by man was that of 25,000 feet, attained in the aeronautic expedition of Messieurs Gay-Lussac and Biot*¹³

*The convex surface of any segment of a sphere is, to the entire surface of the sphere itself, as the versed sine of the segment to the diameter of the sphere. Now, in my case, the versed sine—that is to say, the thickness of the segment beneath me—was about equal to my elevation, or the elevation of the point of sight above the surface "As five miles, then, to eight thousand," would express the 'proportion of the earth's area seen by me. In other words, I beheld as much as a sixteen-hundredth part of the whole surface of the globe.'*¹⁴

The next point to be regarded was one of far greater importance. *From indications afforded by the barometer, we find that, in ascensions from the surface of the earth we have, at the height of 1000 feet,*

¹¹ Woodberry, 109 f.

¹² J. F. W. Herschel, *A Treatise on Astronomy*, Philadelphia, 1834, pp. 27-28.

¹³ Poe, II, 63.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 68-69.

Treatise

below us about one thirtieth of the whole mass of the atmosphere — that at 10,600 feet of perpendicular elevation . . . we have ascended through about one third; and at 18,000 feet (which is nearly that of Cotopaxi) through one half the material, or, at least, the ponderable body of air incumbent on the earth's surface . . . the ponderable quantity of air surmounted, would be by no means in proportion to the additional height ascended, but in a constantly decreasing ratio. An easy calculation, however, founded on our experimental knowledge of the properties of air, and the mechanical laws which regulate its dilation and compression, is sufficient to show that, at an altitude above the surface of the earth not exceeding the hundredth part of its diameter, the tenuity, or rarefaction, of the air must be so excessive, that not only animal life could not subsist, or combustion be maintained in it, but that the most delicate means we possess of ascertaining the existence of any air at all would fail to afford the slightest perceptible indications of its presence.¹⁵

From such observations it results that the mean or average distance of the centre of the moon from that of the earth is 59.9643 of the earth's

Hans Pfaall

left below us about one-thirtieth of the entire mass of atmospheric air; that at 10,600 we have ascended through nearly one-third, and that at 18,000 which is not far from the elevation of Cotopaxi, we have surmounted one-half the material, or, at all events, one-half the ponderable, body of air incumbent upon our globe. It is also calculated, that at an altitude not exceeding the hundredth part of the earth's diameter—that is, not exceeding eighty miles—the rarefaction would be so excessive that animal life could in no manner be sustained, and moreover, that the most delicate means we possess of ascertaining the presence of the atmosphere would be inadequate to assure us of its existence. But I did not fail to perceive that these latter calculations are founded altogether on our experimental knowledge of the properties of air, and the mechanical laws regulating its dilation and compression, in what may be called, comparatively speaking, the immediate vicinity of the earth itself. . . .

But, in point of fact, an ascension being made to any given altitude, the ponderable quantity of air surmounted in any farther ascension is by no means in proportion to the additional height ascended (as may be plainly seen from what has been stated before), but in a ratio constantly decreasing.¹⁶

Now, the mean or average interval between the centres of the two planets is 59.9643 of the earth's equatorial radii, or only about 237,

¹⁵ Heischel, 28-29.

¹⁶ Poe, II, 62-63.

Treatise

equatorial radii, or about 237,000 miles. . . .

Now, when this is done, it is found that, neglecting certain small (though very perceptible) deviations (of which a satisfactory account will hereafter be rendered), *the form of the apparent orbit, like that of the sun, is elliptic, but considerably more eccentric, the eccentricity amounting to 0.05484 of the mean distance, or the major semi-axis of the ellipse, and the earth's centre being situated in its focus*

. . . The points of the orbit at which the moon is nearest to, and farthest from, the earth, are called respectively *its perigee* and *apogee*, and the line joining them and the earth the line of *apsides*.¹⁷

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*000 miles. I say the mean or average interval, but it must be borne in mind, that the form of the moon's orbit being an ellipse of eccentricity amounting to no less than 0.05484 of the major semi-axis of the ellipse itself, and the earth's centre being situated in its focus, if I could, in any manner, contrive to meet the moon in its perigee, the above-mentioned distance would be materially diminished.*¹⁸

Besides these closer parallels there are others involving approximation in idea with occasional verbal identity, as in Poe's comments on the existence of a limit to the atmosphere of the earth,¹⁹ the conception of the air as stratified,²⁰ the volcanic character of the lunar mountains,²¹ lunar weather,²² the attraction of comets to the sun,²³ and the zodiacal light.²⁴

3. Miss Margaret Alterton²⁵ has shown that for the 1840 version of *Hans Pfaall* Poe ultimately derived his materials from an article by John Jerome Schroeter published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. Poe refers, indeed, in this connection to the eighty-second volume of the *Transactions*.

¹⁷ Herschel, 203-205.

²⁰ Herschel, 29; Poe, II, 65.

¹⁸ Poe, II, 61.

²¹ Herschel, 218; Poe, II, 95.

¹⁹ Herschel, 29-30; Poe, II, 63.

²² Herschel, 218-219; Poe, II, 100.

²³ Herschel, 290-291, 293-294; Poe, II, 63-64.

²⁴ Herschel, 380; Poe, II, 64-65.

²⁵ Margaret Alterton, "Origins of Poe's Critical Theory," *Univ. of Iowa Studies*, II, no. 3, pp. 133-138.

But this material was also at hand in *Rees's Cyclopaedia*²⁶ (where reference is also made to the *Transactions*); and there is one passage in *Rees's Cyclopaedia* which Poe quotes with but slight modification that I cannot find in the *Transactions*. I refer to the following passages attributed by Poe, respectively, to Hevelius, Cassini, and Schroeter.

Cyclopaedia

Hevelius writes, that he has several times found, in skies perfectly clear, when even stars of the sixth and seventh magnitude were conspicuous, that, at the same altitude of the moon, and the same elongation from the earth, and with one and the same excellent telescope, the moon and its maculae do not appear equally lucid, clear and perspicuous, at all times; but are much brighter, purer, and more distinct, at one time than another. From the circumstances of the observation, it is evident the reason of this phenomenon is not either in our air, in the tube, in the moon, or in the spectator's eye; but it must be looked for in something existing about the moon.

Cassini frequently observed Saturn, Jupiter, and the fixed stars, when hid by the moon, near her limb, whether the illumined or dark one, to have their circular figure changed into an oval one, and in other occultations he found no alteration of figure at all. In like manner, the sun and moon rising and setting in a vaporous horizon, do not appear circular, but elliptical.

Hence, . . . there is a dense matter encompassing the moon, where-

Hans Pfaall

Hevelius writes, that he has several times found, in skies perfectly clear, when even stars of the sixth and seventh magnitude were conspicuous, that, at the same altitude of the moon, and the same elongation from the earth, and with one and the same excellent telescope, the moon and its maculae did not appear equally lucid at all times. From the circumstances of the observation, it is evident that the cause of this phenomenon is not either in our air, in the tube, in the moon, or in the eye of the spectator, but must be looked for in something (an atmosphere?) existing about the moon.

Cassini frequently observed Saturn, Jupiter, and the fixed stars, when, approaching the moon to occultation, to have their circular figure changed into an oval one; and, in other occultations, he found no alteration of figure at all. Hence it might be supposed, that at some times, and not at others, there is a dense matter encompassing the moon wherein the rays of the stars are refracted.²⁷

²⁶ Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, and Literature*, London, 1819, xxiv. The passages I have quoted from this work, the pages of which are not numbered, occur under the heading "Moon, Nature and Furniture of the."

²⁷ Poe, II, 96-97.

Cyclopedia

Hans Pfaall

in the rays, emitted from the stars, are refracted, and that, at other times; when there is no change of figure, this matter is wanting

Mr. Schroeter, of Lihenthal, in the duchy of Bremen, has endeavoured to establish the existence of an atmosphere from the following observations 1. *He observed the moon when two days and a half old, in the evening soon after sunset, before the dark part was visible, and continued to observe it till it became visible. The two cusps appeared tapering in a very sharp, faint prolongation, each exhibiting its farthest extremity faintly illuminated by the solar rays, before any part of the dark hemisphere was visible. Soon after, the whole dark limb appeared illuminated. This prolongation of the cusps beyond the semicircle, he thinks, must arise from the refraction of the sun's rays by the moon's atmosphere. He computes also the height of the atmosphere, which refracts light enough into its dark hemisphere to produce a twilight, more luminous than the light reflected from the earth when the moon is about 32° from the new, to be 1356 Paris feet; and that the greatest height capable of refracting the solar rays is 5376 feet.* 2. *At an occultation of Jupiter's satellites, the third disappeared, after having been about 1" or 2" of time indistinct; the fourth became indiscernible near the limb; this was not observed of the other two.* Phil. Trans, vol. lxxxii pt. 2. art. 16.

But, in addition to what I have already urged in regard to Encke's comet and the zodiacal light, I had been strengthened in my opinion by certain observations of Mr. Schroeter, of Lihenthal. He observed the moon when two days and a half old, in the evening soon after sunset, before the dark part was visible, and continued to watch it until it became visible. The two cusps appeared tapering in a very sharp faint prolongation, each exhibiting its farthest extremity faintly, illuminated by the solar rays, before any part of the dark hemisphere was visible. Soon afterward, the whole dark limb became illuminated. This prolongation of the cusps beyond the semicircle, I thought, must have arisen from the refraction of the sun's rays by the moon's atmosphere. I computed, also, the height of the atmosphere (which could refract light enough into its dark hemisphere to produce a twilight more luminous than the light reflected from the earth when the moon is about 32° from the new) to be 1356 Paris feet; in this view, I supposed the greatest height capable of refracting the solar ray, to be 5376 feet. My ideas on this topic had also received confirmation by a passage in the eighty-second volume of the Philosophical Transactions, in which it is stated, that, at an occultation of Jupiter's satellites, the third disappeared after having been about 1" or 2" of time indistinct, and the fourth became indiscernible near the limb.²⁸

²⁸ Poe, II, 96.

If the passage concerning Hevelius and Cassini does not appear in the *Transactions*, it would appear that Poe went directly to *Rees's Cyclopaedia* for this matter rather than to the *Transactions*. That he had access to *Rees's Cyclopaedia* is further established by his inclusion in his "Unpublished Notes"²⁰ for *Eureka* and *Hans Pfaall* of a further paragraph from the same account in *Rees's Cyclopaedia*, beginning "The moon sometimes disappears." Altogether Poe borrowed about eight pages of his story from the works cited herein.

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AN AUTHOR FOR *PLUTO FURENS*

In 1669, a play was published at Amsterdam, called *Pluto Furens & Vincit*, or, *The Raging Devil Bound. A Modern Farse. Per Philocomicium*.¹ Professor Allardyce Nicoll lists it as a play by an unknown author.² It was unacted and unactable. But many people probably knew who Philocomicium was. Later this obscure author was forgotten. The only clue remaining was the signature, "C. F.," at the end of the dedication, and no writer could be found to fit the initials. Fresh information now makes it possible to identify the author of *Pluto Furens*. Keble's *Reports* gives an account of a case tried before the Court of King's Bench on May 18, 1669, entitled "The King against Fitton and Car. Slander," as follows:

On information against them for writing, printing, and publishing a libelous narrative and play called *Pluto furens* of the Lord Gerrard; Car was agreed to be guilty of all the play: and the evidence against Fitton was only that two or three copies were found in his chamber, which per Curiam is no publication without discoursing it, or delivery of it, and he was acquitted.³

Unless there was a serious miscarriage of justice, a man named Carr wrote the play. The problem of finding the right Carr is simplified by the mention of Lord Gerard. Even a casual glance at the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xvi, 351-352 and 347.

¹ I have used the copy in Widener Library, at Harvard.

² *Restoration Drama*, 2nd ed., p. 349.

³ "Keble's Reports," *English Reports, Full Reprint*, vol. 84, p. 815.

play will support the judgment of the Court that *Pluto Furens* is "of the Lord Gerrard," though whether it is libelous remains an open question. Pluto, in the play, bears a marked resemblance to Lord Charles Gerard of Brandon, particularly in his love for shady litigation. In order that this identification may be doubly sure, Pluto is made to say,

Why I myself will swear, who swears more? . . . Yea and there is Instrument an excellent swearer, you know how diligent he was to get and suborn swearers in wronged M Fitton's Cause ⁴

This is an obvious reference to the celebrated lawsuit by which Lord Gerard dispossessed his cousin, Alexander Fitton, of the estate of Gawsworth, in Cheshire, by the novel means of producing one Granger, who admitted forging Fitton's title to the estate.⁵ Furthermore, Pluto's efforts to ruin honest Coffo-Philo correspond very closely to Lord Gerard's treatment of a certain William Carr.

In December, 1667, Lord Gerard was in command of the King's Guards. William Carr, formerly a clerk employed as a paymaster to the Guards but then in King's Bench Prison, prepared a petition to Parliament accusing Lord Gerard of concealing the deaths of troopers so that he could continue to draw their pay, and of other peculations amounting to £2000 per annum.⁶ The petition leaked into print before formal presentation. Lord Gerard claimed a breach of privilege. Carr was summoned before the House of Lords, fined a thousand pounds, and sentenced to three appearances in the pillory and imprisonment in the Fleet at the King's pleasure.⁷ In the play, Pluto rejects Proserpine's suggestion that

⁴ *Pluto Furens*, p. 7.

⁵ *D. N. B.*, articles on Lord Gerard and Alexander Fitton.

⁶ *D. N. B.*, art. on Gerard; Pepys, *Diary*, Dec. 19, 1667; and *English Reports, Full Reprint*, vol. 84, p. 207

⁷ "The House taking Notice of a scandalous printed Paper, published in the name of William Carr, Gentleman, a Prisoner in the King's Bench Prison, against the Lord Gerard of Brandon, a Peer of this Realm: It is ordered . . . that the Marshal of the Prison shall bring the said Carr before this House." 16 Dec. 1667 *Lord's Journals*, XII, 171. See also pp. 172, 174, 176. Pepys comments on Dec. 19: "Here I hear now the House of Lords, with great severity if not tyranny have proceeded against poor Carr, who only erred in the manner of presenting his petition against my Lord Gerard, it being first printed before it was presented, which was, it seems, by Colonel Sands's going into the country, into whose hands he had put it."

they go to Turkey, when Magna Carta hampers their English operations, because "the Grand Seignior, if a General do but cheat him in his muster-roll, sends him a Bow-String."⁸

In February, 1667/8, Carr was indicted by Lord Gerard, in the Court of King's Bench, for running from his colours contrary to Statute 3 Henry 8, cap. 5. The court all agreed that he was no soldier and hence could not be guilty of desertion⁹ In the play, *Practice*, acting as prosecutor for *Pluto*, says,

Coffo-Philo stands here Indicted for that he being no Soldier, nor in Pay, nor in Roll departed from his Colours against the Statute Anni Tertio Hen 8, cap. 5. We will prove him guilty of that Statute, no matter for his being in the Roll, or being no Soldier, or not in pay. To prove this, his Highness swears, and Instrument and many others.¹⁰

On the same day three more indictments against Carr, instigated by Lord Gerard, were quashed by the same Court. *Keble's Reports* gives the following account:

Coleman [Barrister for Carr] moved to quash an indictment for taking 50 li. of one Corbet illcite & decept' by color of a present to the Lady Gerrard for admission of him as cornet into the King's Guards, whereas she never received anything. 2. for detaining 5 li. on pretence of arms, and admission of a souldier, and per curiam both were quasht nisi, and another of like nature, being but a matter of private debate.¹¹

⁸ *Pluto Furens*, p. 21. The charge of falsifying muster-rolls was the main point of William Carr's petition to Parliament.

⁹ *English Reports, Full Reprint*, vol. 84, p. 207; and Pepys, *Diary*, Feb. 7, 1667/8: "There is a great triall between my Lord Gerard and Carr today, who is indicted for his life at the King's Bench, for running from his colours; but all do say that my Lord Gerard, though he designs to ruin this man, will get nothing by it."

¹⁰ *Pluto Furens*, p. 10.

¹¹ *English Reports, Full Reprint*, vol. 84, p. 210. Pepys, *Diary*, Feb. 8, 1667/8, has another long note on Carr and Lord Gerard: "The great talk is Carr's coming off in all his trials, to the disgrace of my Lord Gerard, to that degree, and the ripping up of so many notorious rogueries and cheats of my Lord's, that my Lord it is thought will be ruined; and above all, do show the madness of the House of Commons who rejected the petition of this poor man by a combination of a few in the House and much more the base proceedings, just the epitome of all our publick managements in this age, of the House of Lords, that ordered him to stand in the pillory for those very things, without hearing and examining, what hath now, by the seeking of my Lord Gerard himself, cleared himself of, in open Court, to the gaining himself the pity of all the world, and shame for ever to my Lord Gerard"

In the play it is insinuated that Lady Gerard received the fifty pounds and gave no preferment in return. Capt. Flutter says to Proserpine,

Then Madam, let me speak too; for I gave 50 L besides riding six months for nothing, and yet paid for my preheminiencies, profits and priviledges. Belt, Hooses, and Feathers, and Aims to the Adjutant. Give me but my 50 L and I will say such a prayer, which I will leave in charge to my posterity, it shall be but short, these 3 or 4 words, from being under the command of Pluto and his Emissaries, Goodness Defend us.¹²

Carr had prepared his petition to Parliament over his own name with disastrous results. In his second attack on Lord Gerard he was more careful, and *Pluto Furens* is elaborately anonymous. "C. F." probably stands for Coffo-Philo, once spelled Coffo-Filo.¹³ This hypothesis is strengthened by a speech from the play:

Here is your black Bill of Fare in writing, signed and examined by Alex Fitton, Carr, and Percival Hart, but transcribed by Coffo-Philo.¹⁴

"C. F." stands equally well for Carr-Fitton, which would argue that Fitton actually shared the original responsibility for the play, and that Coffo-Philo is intended as a composite. The fact that Coffo-Philo resembles Carr much more than Fitton, and Fitton's acquittal in the trial, both show that, whatever support he received from Fitton, William Carr actually wrote the play.

Pluto Furens would be a very dull play without its setting; but regarded as a protest against Lord Gerard's abuse of aristocratic privilege in his relations with William Carr, it takes on a certain historical interest. Thus the reestablishment of Lord Gerard as the object of its attack, and of William Carr as its author, restores to *Pluto Furens* an interest considerably superior to its intrinsic merit.

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TEXTUAL ERRORS IN THE FURNESS VARIORUM

As regards textual integrity the Furness Variorum has been considered impeccable. No reviewer or critic, besides the present writer, seems ever to have gone to the trouble to compare the Furness text with the Folio. Shortly after the Variorum *Julius*

¹² *Pluto Furens*, p. 11. ¹³ *Pluto Furens*, p. 6. ¹⁴ *Pluto Furens*, p. 22.

Caesar was published, I reviewed that noble volume in the *Dial* (Chicago, July 16, 1913), and pointed out—on the basis of a comparison with Lee's facsimile—at least twenty-five errors in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation in the text. That these were really errors and not variations in the texts of different Folios may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Furness entered no defence of his text, even though the matter was noticed in the *New York Times Book Review*. Since then I have collated several others of the Variorum volumes with the facsimile and have noted the errata listed herewith.¹

The Tempest—I, ii, 39. saw st (saw'st)—86: os (of: error, due to long s)—217. dulneffe (dulnesse)—261 fitting (sitting)—315: soi (for)—430. busineffe (businesse)—543. resift (resist)—II i, 50: most (moft)—213 sell (fell)—300. fit (sit)—78 saster (aster)—111: leffer (lesser)—is (if)—III, iii, 7 rest (reft)—127 mudded. (mudded. *Est*).

I may point out here that in the recently published Faber and Gwyer facsimile of the Folio (edited by Professor J. Dover Wilson) there is no colon after the word "sacke" (III. ii, 14, folio 11, column b) and no apostrophe in the word "py'de" (III. ii, 66, folio 12, column a).

Cymbeline.—I, i, 10. 2 Gent (2 Gent.)—II, 112: nay, let (Nay let)—114. os (of)—III, 32 fo (so)—IV, 7: fpake (pake)—11: senfelesse (Senselesse)—23: Madame (Madam)—48 Highneffe (Hignessee)—V, 59: os (of)—VI, 18: Yea, "(Yea)—47. stupeffe (stupifie)—100: Ladies. (Ladies)—VII, 61: Madam, (Madam)—84. choosse (choofe)—148: Cossers (Coffers)—198. 'mong'st ('mongst)—241: is (if)—II, ii, 9: left, (left:)—27. inclofed (inclosed)—54: Swist (Swift)—III, 3: losse (loffe)—36: so (fo)—38. Maiesty (Maiefty)—62 must (muft)—64. goodneffe (goodnesse)—166: Last (Laft)—IV, 26: of (os)—148: one of (one)—156: fure (sure)—210. Chaste (Chaste.)—III, i, 24: Ancestors (Anceftors)—40: strut (ftut)—II, 87: pastime (paftime)—42: claspe (clafpe)—63: first (firft)—74: slow: (slow:)—III, 23: often (osten)—31: vnsledg'd (vnledg'd)—61: Mnst (Must)—IV, 16. husbands (Husbands)—26: testimonies (Testimonies)—V, 155: Mistresse (Miftiesse)—VI, 19: sor (for)—VII, 55 Comsort (Comfort)—57. I'd (I'd)—VIII, 6: against (againft)—IV, ii, 44. say (say,)—157: foole (Foole)—194: sicknesse (sicknesse)—260: years (yeares)—273: Brui. (Arui.)—284: Female

¹ The correct (i. e., Folio) readings are enclosed within parentheses.

* It appears that some earlier impressions of this volume contain the apostrophe in "saw'st", my copy says "Tenth Edition" on the title-page. Evidently successive printings have damaged the plates.

(female)—287. lasts, (lasts,)—300 so (fo)—293 curses (Curses)—476 thee. (thee)—iii, 13 ensoice. siom (enforce . from)—iv, 9 Must (Muft)—22. Not (Nor)—v iv, 17 sull (full)—153 sinde (finde)—211 good (good:)—v, 79: sor (for)—159. fide (side)—211 Kitchen (Kitchin)—300. of (os) 510. kindied (Kindred)—516: *Philharmonus* (*Phylarmonus*).

Incidentally I may remark that the commentary on, and the textual notes to, *Cymbeline* are marred by many typographical errors. This applies also to the other volumes in the series.

Othello.—I. ii, 90: Chaimes (Charmes,)—iii, 181. susser'd (suffer'd)—364 be, (be)—399: Trauerse (Trauerse—Folios differ)—II 1, 92. swell (fwell)—208. *Oth* (*Oth*)—273: falt (salt)—ii, 243. Assign'd Assign'd)—202. before (before:)—273. *Iago* (*Iago*)—III iv, 44 moist, (moist)—94: startingly (staitingly,—Folios vary)—iv, 144. Tune (Tone—Folios vary)—170. os (of)—172: much (much,)—iv ii, 60: lippes, (lippes).—121. But (Bnt—Folios vary)—122. bed (bed.—Folios vary.)—136 bewhor'd (be wl or'd—Folios vary.)—138 hearts (heart—Folios vary.)—142. whole. (whore—Folios vary.)—194. humou. (humour.—Folios vary.).

The Winter's Tale.—I. i, 29. encounters (Encounters)—44: excufe (excuse)—108. request, (request)—ii, 298. Sometimes (sometime)—II 1, 149. wished (wish'd)—III. iii, 119 borne (borne)—iv. iv, 16: Custome (Cuftome)—181: *Pol.* (*Po.*)—649: together (together,)—731 Mistresse (Miitresse)—743: Father (Father,)—891: ston'd (fton'd)—v 1, 100: Ghost (Ghoft)—132: forgot. (forgot)—212. Ifue (Issue)—ii, 94: Princede (Princesse)—iii, 20. neere? (neere.—Folios vary).

King John.—I. 1, 35. *Chatillion* (*Chattillion*)—131: kept (Kept)—172. *K* (*K.*)—II i, 38: y (yt)—119. Fro (*Flō*).—320 young (yong)—321. France . . . made, (France, . . . made)—553. Poyctiers, (Poyctiers)—III 1, 129 soule (soule)—172: pencil (pencill)—261: fetter (setter)—iii, 18. kiffe (kisse)—iv, 29: found (sound)—32: kiffe (kisse)—67: fluer (sluer)—iv. ii, 141: sleepe, (sleepe)—78. fear'd (fear d—Folios vary.)—84: soule (foule)—235: sit (fit)—iii, 110: Hnb (Hnb.)—122: there (there.)—v. i, 68: glister (glifter)—vii, 47: much. (much,)—61: faile (saile).

Macbeth (3d edition).—I. iv, 61. leave, (leape.—Folios vary. Faber and Gwyer's facsimile, edited by Dr. J. D. Wilson, has a period after the word; Halliwell-Phillipps and Lee have a comma.)—v, 57: wound (Wound)—vii, 14: euen-handed (Faber and Gwyer's facsimile has no hyphen.)—51: not, (There is no comma in Faber and Gwyer's facsimile.)—II. ii, 81: hands (Hands)—iii, 64: Ayre (Ayre,)—81: stole (ftole)—III. i, 20: preface (presence)—137: it, (F. and G facsimile has a period instead of a comma.)—iii, 24: hee (F and G facsimile reads "hec")—iv, 69: osten (often)—v, 34: Wisdom (Wisedome)—vi, 12: sor (for)—50: thold (t hold)—56: *Waeunt.* (*Waeunt*)—iv. i, 17: Wool (Wool)—22: trouble, (F and G have a battered question mark instead of a comma.)—102: os

(of)—130. bound-brow (F and G facsimile has a period instead of a hyphen.)—182. besore (before)—ii, 62 must (muff)—iii, 40: Tyranny (Tyranny)—102. Kings. (F and G has a period instead of a colon after "Kings").—iii, 265 soi (foi)—v i. 32 os (of)—ii, 26: loue. (F and G has no punctuation mark after "loue")—30. pester'd (F and G reads "pefter'd")—iii, 27. enough. (F and G has a period after "enough"; Lee has an italic colon.)—32. Cursee, (F and G has a period.)—60: flyefrom (flye from)—iv, 29 fpeculatiue (speculative)—6: Here (Heere)—v, 28: flaughterous (slaughterous)—viii, 46: arriu'd (sic—F and G has no period).

Anthony and Cleopatra.—i, ii, 145 againe (F and G has no period^a)—155. must (muff)—iii, 30. heere (heere,)—51: greatest (greatest)—66: as (F and G = a)—104. best (beft)—iv, 36 fo (so)—72. the (F and G = the)—93: stirres (ftirres)—v, 57: kist (kift)—ii i, 3. iust (uft)—ii, 43: at, (F and G lacks comma)—49. Cæs. (F and G lacks period.)—199: straight (ftraight)—245. steeres (fteerces)—v, 48 free (sree)—134: hast (haft)—vi, 4 mine (F and G = mine.)—vii, 69: them (F and G = hem)—79. dar'st (F and G = dar st)—124. Let's (F and G = Let s)—144. the (F and G = he)—157. heere (F and G = heere a)—161. Hoa, Noble (F and G = HoaNoble)—iii i, 8: *Ventidius* (F and G = *Ventidus*)—19. too (F and G = to)^a—iii ii, 29: selfe: (selfe:)—iii, 50. businesse (businesfe)—*Maestrie*? (F and G = *Maestrie*.)—v, 11: so (F and G = fo)—vi, 86: afslict (afflict)—vii, 46: Ingroft (Ingroft)—53: Land, (F and G = Land)—101. with (F and G = wit a)—ix, 2: *Ant*. (F and G = *Ant*)—xi, 48. sustaine (suftaine)—xii, 13: Morne (F and G = Moyn:)—xiii, 60. on, (F and G = on)—152: Seale (F and G = Scale)—205: hast (Haft)—iv ii, 18: feru'd (seru'd)—iv, 30: now? do (F and G = uow do)—v, 6: reuolted, (No comma in F and G)—15. Sir, (No comma in F and G)—34: hoast. (F and G = hoast.)—xii, 48: 'twere— (No dash in F and G)—viii, 12. pitteously. (No period in F and G)—xiv, 39. midd'st (F and G = midd st)—123: thee. (No period in F and G)—xiv, 165: sir, (No trace of a comma in F and G)—xv, 34: full-Fortun'd (No hyphen in F and G)—38. still (ftill)—64. trust (truft)—xv, 105: out. (F and G seems to read "our")—v. i. 3. yeeld. (yeeld.)—11: best (beft)—47: must (muff)—90. still (ftill)—ii, 65: *Octavia*. (No period in F and G)—89: or (F and G = of)—92: not, (F and G = not.)—101: Ocean, (Ocean)—134: will, (F and G = will)—149: pro ect (proiect)—167: Plate (F and G = Plate)—168. possest (F and G = posfest)—177: purchase (purchafe)—182: estates (eftates)—

^a If nothing is said to the contrary, it is to be understood that Lee and Furness are in agreement.

^a It is worthy of note that page 351 of the Folio in Faber and Gwyer's facsimile differs from the corresponding page in Lee's facsimile by nine uncorrected errors.

^a The punctuation of this line has troubled the editors; yet here is a copy of the Folio which punctuates it correctly.

195: Enuy (F and G = Enuy)—231: thee (the)—269. stronger (ftronger)—342: done? (F and G = done)—383. Caesar: (F and G = Caesar.)—391. 2. *Guard*. (F and G = 2 *Guard*).

Love's Labour's Lost—I i, 160. necessitie (necefsitie)—204. srom (from)—ii, 56 os (of)—II i, 61: Os (Of)—213. mothers (Mothers)—259: sor (for)—III i, 98. sollow (follow)—IV. ii, 170. os (of)—V. 1, 85 afsection (affection)—132: fo (so)—ii, 734: sorward (forward)—923. sruitfull (fruitfull)—936. sooles (fooles)—939: Os (Of)—991: os (of).

The collation of the remaining volumes may be left for the future. For the present, the above is sufficient to caution the student not to accept the Furness text too implicitly and to consult more than one Folio when a delicate textual problem is at issue. At the same time I cannot refrain from expressing the wish that all extant copies of the First Folio were collated.

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A NOTE ON A WOMAN KILLED WITH KINDNESS

Probably I am not alone in having been struck by the offhand way in which Thomas Heywood, in his Yorkshire tragedy, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Act I, sc. 1, introduces a wager on a contest between the hawks of Sir Charles Mountford and Sir Francis Acton, upon which important developments in the play are made to depend. The event of the contest is a quarrel between the knights and their henchmen, in which two of Sir Francis's followers are slain. A twentieth-century audience might feel that this match was introduced for the mere purpose of furthering the plot. But if one knew that quarrels over hawking contests were common in the early seventeenth century, might not Heywood's device seem less lugged in by the heels?

In his *Basilikon Doron. Or His Maiesties Instructions to his dearest Sonne Henry, the Prince* (privately printed, Edinburgh, 1599; published, Edinburgh and London, 1603), James I offers the following advice:

As for hawking I condemne it not, but I must praise it more sparingly [than hunting], because it neither resembleth the wars so neere as hunting doth, in making a man hardie & skilfull riddin in all grounds: & is more vncertain & subject to mischances; & (which is worste of al) is ther through an extreame stirrer vp of passions.

(Roxburghe rppt. of the 1599 ed., 1887, p. 145.)

James could not have had Heywood's play in mind, for it was not performed until *ca.* 1603. And although he does not specify betting as a "stirrer vp of passions," considering how generally Englishmen in the early seventeenth century indulged in betting on sports, we should probably not be far wrong in supposing that James had in mind such wagers, or at least some sort of competitive contests. In either case, contemporary audiences, if they were familiar with such practices in the field, doubtless did not feel that the fatal episode of the hawking match in *A Woman Killed with Kindness* was arbitrarily introduced merely to further the plot.

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SOURCES OF WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT'S *THE ROYALL SLAVE*

William Cartwright's name does not shine luminous on the roll of Caroline dramatists; but in his own day he had some claim upon renown as the author of a tragi-comedy entitled *The Royall Slave*. This play, prepared for the entertainment of Charles and his Queen upon the occasion of their visit to Oxford in August, 1636, was elaborately produced—with music by Henry Lawes and scenic effects designed by Inigo Jones—amid much applause: was repeated in the next month for the benefit of the University and strangers; and in November, upon the Queen's request, was acted again at Hampton Court by the professional players of the King's company.¹ *The Royall Slave* is interesting historically not only because it enjoyed the patronage of the Court but also because at least one of its scenes mirrors the 'Platonism' which was fashionable for a decade, and because as a whole it takes a not inconspicuous place in a series of 'oriental' plays which amused the age.² With these aspects the present paper has, however, no con-

¹ Editions of the play were printed at Oxford in 1639 and 1640, and it was included by Moseley in his collection of Cartwright's *Poems*, London, 1651. See pp. xix ff. of the Introduction to *The Life and Poems of William Cartwright*, edited by R. Cullis Goffin, Cambridge, 1918. Goffin quotes several contemporary encomiums which bear witness to the dramatist's success in pleasing his audience.

² I have for several years been engaged in a study of Turks, Moors, and

cern. Its aim is to identify the sources of Cartwright's plot, which may be summarized as follows:

Arsamnes, King of Persia, in compliance with an ancient custom which decrees that a conquest shall be celebrated by giving to one of the captives full powers of rule for three days and then putting him to death as a sacrificial victim, chooses from among his Ephesian prisoners the virtuous and philosophical Cratander. From the first moment of his reign the Royal Slave attracts the general admiration by his wisdom and probity; especially he succeeds in catching the attention of the Queen, Atossa. The jealous king and courtiers seek to divert and corrupt him by providing tempting pleasures; but these he stoically scorns, and farther demonstrates his uprightness by sternly checking the slaves who had been his companions in prison when they attempt to take advantage of the period of his rule for the free indulgence of their coarse lusts. Rising to still greater heights, he next refuses to transgress his oath of loyalty in order to aid his oppressed countrymen, the Ephesians. Meeting Atossa privately, he gives the extremest proof of his devotion to honor by confining his passion for her within the bounds of a strictly chaste Platonic love. She, moved by an equally pure affection, determines to save him from his appointed death. Accordingly she warns the ladies of the court that if they remain in the city they run the risk of falling victims to the violence of the unruly slaves, and suggests to them the wisdom of averting a riot in which their husbands might be injured by withdrawal. The women accompany her readily to Arsamnes' castle, which lies near by; and there Cratander, after he has apprehended some of the slaves who have entered into a conspiracy to assassinate him, joins them. The gates of the citadel are shut against the nobles who issue out in pursuit of their wives. When they clamor for admission, Atossa states her terms: they may enter when the King has agreed not only to preserve Cratander's life but also to free Ephesus. Arsamnes capitulates to the Queen's demand. Yet even after this, danger still threatens the Royal Slave. For the priest insists upon the necessity of a sacrifice; and the heroic captive, too proud and honorable to beg for life, is about to be immolated when an overcast sky and a shower of rain which extinguishes the altar fires give indubitable signs that it is the will of the gods that he should be spared.

Readers of Massinger's plays will recognize some similarities between this plot and that of *The Bondman*. Massinger's hero, Marullo, is, like Cratander, a slave, though a slave only in name. Like Cratander he is enamoured of a noble lady, Cleora. In order that he may gain access to his beloved, the Bondman leads a revolt of the Syracusan slaves while their masters are absent at the wars.

Persians in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, and expect to publish soon the results of my researches in full.

When he has entered his mistress' chamber, however, he chivalrously declares that he has no intention of taking advantage of her undefended state, but means, rather, to expend all his powers in protecting her from violence. Cleora, who is betrothed to another, cannot do more than give modest (though expressive) tokens of her gratitude upon hearing this virtuous declaration; but her heart is wholly won by Marullo's generosity. Throughout this episode, as in corresponding scenes in *The Royall Slave*, the passions of the principal characters are strictly guided by a high and delicate sense of what is honorable. The dénouements of the two plays also are akin. When, after the return of the Syracusan lords, Marullo stands in danger of punishment as a leader of the slaves' revolt, Cleora appears before the court to plead in behalf of the preserver of her reputation and safety, and is thus instrumental, like Atossa, in obtaining a pardon for her lover.

It seems likely, in view of these parallels, that Cartwright depended upon *The Bondman* for some suggestions, at least, as to the general management of his plot. He derived from a very different source, however, the curious version of the 'king for a day' theme from which the action of *The Royall Slave* springs. It is Dion Chrysostom who describes the ancient Persian custom of liberating a captive taken in the wars in order to exalt him to a brief kingship before his humiliation and death:

Non animaduertisti Saccorum diem festū, quem Persae celebrant, quo tu nunc exercitum ducere accinxisti? Et ille statim interrogauit, qualem nam diceret? volebat enim omnes res Persarum nosse. Accipiunt (inquit) vnum ex captiuis ad mortem, collocantque in regis thronum, & eundem illi dant vestitum, sinūtque; eum deliciarum, & concubinis vti, illis regni diebus, & nemo illum vetat quicquam facere quae velit. Post haec autem exutū, virgisque caesum, suspendunt.*

This quotation is taken from a Latin translation which is printed in columns parallel to the Greek text in an edition of Dion published at Paris in 1604. The title page of the volume reads:

* This passage occurs in Dion's *De Regno*; it is to be found on pp 69-70 of the edition mentioned below. Cf. the following speech of the gaoler Molops in the first scene of *The Royall Slave*: "... For you must know, that 'tis the custome of the Persian Kings after a Conquest, to take one of the Captives, and adorne him with all the Robes of Majesty, giving him all Priviledges for three full dayes, that hee may doe what hee will and then be certainly led to death."

ΔΙΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ II. DIONIS CHRYSOSTOMI ORATIONES LXXX Cum vetustis Codd. MSS. Reg. Bibliothecae sedulo collatae, eorumque ope ab innumeris mendis liberatae, restitutae, auctae. Photi excerptis, Synesiiq. censura illustratae. Ex interpretatione Thomae Nageorgi, accurate recognita, recentata, & emendata Fed. Morelli Prof. Reg. opera. Cum Is. Casauboni Diatriba, & eiusdem Morelli Scholiis, Animaduersionibus & Coniectaneis . . .

It seems altogether likely, in view of the date and the importance of this edition, that it would have been known and accessible to the young Oxonian.

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GUILLAUME'S PILGRIM AND THE *HOUS OF FAME*

A revolving tower and a guide half-bird half-human can no longer (since years have brought a sensitiveness-perhaps-unnatural to 'originals and analogues') be found together on the same page without comment; particularly when that page illustrates what seems to be a traditional illumination in the manuscripts of a poem from which Chaucer translated his *A B C*,—the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* of Guillaume de Deguileville. When the 'queynte hous' of this older dream-allegory is discovered to be part of the temptation of Worldly Gladness, where Satan plays for fortunes with the victims enticed by the bird-human-being, who after advice and questions picks up the frightened author for an aerial journey, it seems worth while to look more carefully at this *tour flolant*, unwattled though it be.

The first of the two accompanying illustrations is taken from British Museum MS. Tiberrus A vii (f. 76v), Lydgate's translation of Guillaume's poem.¹ This is late and Lydgate has an unlucky reputation, but he has in this case less added than amplified;² the picture itself, both in subject and treatment, like most of

¹ Tib. A. vii; XV century, according to Miss Loeck's introduction in *EETS.*, ex. ser. 92, p. lxxiii*. It is illustrated with colored drawings.

² V. introd. xiii* of the *EETS.* edition of Lydgate's *Pilgrimage*, ex. ser. 77, 83, 92. A list of the illustrations in Tib. A vii is given on p. lxxiii*; it adds some illustrations, but includes the traditional ones; 5, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25, 26, 31, 35 *et al.* occur in B. Nat. MSS. 829, 377 and 1138.

the others in even this late manuscript, appears to be a traditional one in the series with which the manuscripts of Guillaume's second recension are illustrated.³ It occurs at about the same point in Bibliothèque Nationale MSS. f. fr. 829, 377 and 1138. As such it has come down into the printed edition (Vérard, 1511) from which the second cut is taken. On f. 109^v of B. Nat. MS. 1138 the pilgrim and a bird with a man's face stand by a square tower with twelve windows from which, and from the top, come red flames. Flames issue from five windows and the top of the round tower of B. Nat. MS. 829, f. cxv. There are more openings in the square tower of B. Nat. MS. 377, f. 90^v, and the pilgrim is faced by a birdlike monster with beak, feathers, claws and tail. Chaucer's House of Fame was queynteliche y-wrought'; 'evermo, so swift as thought, This queynte hous aboute wente, That never-mo hit stille stente'; a great noise came from it; 'And eek this hous hath of entrees As fele as leves ben on trees (1945)'; 'And on the roof men may yit seen A thousand holes, and wel mo'. 'hit is founded to endure Why! that it list to Aventure' (1981); 'And hit was shapen lyk a cage' (1985); from its windows, 'encresing ever-mo As fyr is wont to quikke and go' (2077) come the 'wenged wondres' which have been engendered by the lying 'shipmen and pilgrymes' and others who fill it, including a group devoted to 'love tydings' in one corner (2143). The pilgrim in the Vérard

³ For lists and classifications of MSS. see *BETS*. 77, lxiii*, and Stürzinger's Roxburghe Club (1893) edition of B. Nat. 1818, pp. ix-xi. MSS. Bibl. Nat. 1818, 1577, 12462, 1645, B. Mus. Add. 25594, all XIV century, and B. Mus. Add. 22937, Harley 4399, XV century, and the Lyons edition (Nourry) of 1504, are all of the first recension, which has its own fairly constant series (some of which are reproduced in Stürzinger's edition, Roxb. Club 1893) but this recension does not include that illustration in which we are most interested. The same is true of the English prose version in Bodleian MS. Laud 740. The reason for this lies in Deguillville's expansion of the passage in his later version, and may be seen by comparing the second redaction with a literal translation of the first—the *Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode*, edited by William Aldis Wright (from MS. Camb. Univ. Fi. 5. 30, ca. 1430) for the Roxburghe Club (1869). MSS. Bibl. Nat. 829, 377, and 1138, B. Mus. Tib. A. vii, and the Vérard 1511 edition all have substantially the same tradition. Corpus Christi College (Oxford) no. 237 has no illuminations; the Pepys copy (MS. 2258, Magd. Coll. Camb.) is a condensed version with XVII century colored drawings.

text⁴ sees, as one of the perils of the sea of this world, 'une tour sauuaige Laquelle estoit toute quarree Et de tous costez fenestree De fenestraiges tous tournez A ronds poincts et tout compassee Par chascun hors fumees yssoit . . . Et estoit celle tour flotant Sur la mer et soy retournant Une fois ce de hault tout ius Lautre fois ce dessoubz dessus'. The pilgrim hears the sound of viol and song and 'grant revel' and finds out from the bird-woman ('Esbatement mondain', who 'tiens les gens si occupez Qu'ilz en oblient leur createur') that the tower has been built by Satan, who therein 'en feu gist . . . Fait tous fumer et embraser Ceulz qui deluy veulent jouer', and where he makes these covetous and deceived folk play themselves to destruction Lydgate's translation is substantially the same; the 'Tour . . . squar . . . hadde Rounde fenestrallys Percyð thorgh, vp-on the wallys' (21483 ff.); Wordely Gladnesse (half-man, half-bird, 'wynged merveyllously', 21507) tells him that here Satan 'maketh folkys ameraus' (illustrated in Tib. A vii with a man and woman embracing, and two playing at dice), and makes them have 'solace In worldly loye'; 'The folkys wych . . . brenne in thys ffyr,' are those that 'brenne . . . Worldly goodys . . . To encressyn and to wynne, Great tresour to multeplie . . . fflowynge and ebbynge in thys se, Som tyme with gret prosperyte Somwhyle, whan the tourn doth varye, The world they fynde to hem contrarye; Al goth to wrak; they may not chese'; yet though they lose, 'And fynde ffortune in nowncerteyn. Yet they wylle hem awntre ageyn' (21590). Thus have many been deceived.

The pilgrim who sees these wonders is informed of their significance by a bird-man or bird-woman 'Qui grans uncles crochuz avoit', pictured sometimes in the Vêrard cut, sometimes as a flying figure, the pilgrim on its back, its legs winged with bright gold feathers (so in Laud 740, f. 113), or rudely drawn, more bird than man, carrying the pilgrim over the sea (Harley 4399, f. 77r, first recension, XV century, in French), sometimes as more man than bird, but with feathered feet and with the pilgrim on his shoulders

⁴ *Le pelerinage de l'homme nouuellmēt imprime a paris . . . mil oing cens et onze . . . Pour anthoine verard . . .*, feuillet lxxxi verso and lxxxvii recto (signatures p ii and p iii). This is Guillaume's second recension. I quote from Vêrard rather than the manuscripts because it is more accessible.

(MSS. Bibl. Nat. 1577, f. 78^r, French, first recension; Bibl. Nat. 1645, f. 88^v, French, first recension; Bibl. Nat. 1818, f. 104^r, French, first recension; all XIV century).

Set this task of enticement by Satan. and as full of advice and information as the more celebrated garrulous golden eagle who was given 'expres commaundment' by Jove to 'do ese' to Geoffrey Chaucer, Worldly Gladness is a far less trustworthy guide. Though, as the eagle answers Chaucer's request for information about this house such as he had never seen in 'al his age' with '. . . therefore I dwelle Ne shalt thou never cunne ginne To come into hit without my aid' (2001 ff.) and 'with this worde he, right anon Hente me up bitwene his toon' (2027), so also the pilgrim asks Worldly Gladness about the 'tour tournant', is told 'C est ung ieu qu il trouua pieca Et qua moy fort recommanda Afin que ien fisse iouer Ceulx que ie verroie cy passer Essayer il le te fauldra Et feray que saprochera' (Vérard f. lxxxvii), and '. . . soudainemet Vers moy sa queue retourna Et dun de ses piedz magrapa Par le bras me tira ius . . .' (Vérard f. lxxxvii verso).

Poetic inspiration had not yet come to need for its genesis a study of fourteenth century illumination of the French school, but such a romance as this could have furnished much material for transmutation,—with its discourses on facts and theories philosophical, moral and natural, by beings part human, part animal, part Abstraction, of gold wings and ingenious conversation, with its familiar vision framework, its pageant-like processions and revolving towers filled with shipmen and pilgrims (Laud 740, f. 114; *Lyf of the Manhode*, Wright's Roxb. Club edit., p. 83); Fortune and her wheel, half ugly and half beautiful, with a long speech about her powers, her variableness, her unreasonableness and duplicity (Vérard f. lxxvii, Lydgate, pp. 521 ff.; cf. the speeches and actions of Chaucer's Fame in Bk. iii, but especially 1820 ff.); the habitations and the works and the persons of Sorcery with 'yimages . . . oynementys' etc.,⁵ Necromancy,⁵ Astrology 'making reckonings'⁵ (cf. the 'sorceresses and magiciens' that Chaucer saw⁵ with their 'fumigaciouns,' their 'ascendentes and images'. There is also Pride beside a wattled hedge (falwe, red

⁵ Lydgate, *EEITS.*, ex ser. 92, pp. 562, 504, 534; Chaucer, *H. of F.*, vv. 1259 ff.

and grene, and very like a tower, in MS. Bibl. Nat. 1645, illumination on f. 48^v, but we will not be fooled to the top of our bent), making long speeches on the horn 'cleped vantaunce' which sometimes is blown for mere boasting, when nothing has been done, sometimes for a worthy deed.⁶

We cannot think, of course, of Chaucer noting as we do these minute semi-correspondences. But if he had known, well enough to translate his *A B C* from it, a manuscript of such an allegorical dream-journey, it does not seem out of the way to suppose that certain striking pictures, in colors both real and rhetorical, may have remained to reclothe themselves in his mind, loosely connected as they were with the central ideas of his own vision—mutability, and the vanity of fame, her power, and the whole spectacle of deceived mortals, the world too much with them.

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ROSEMOND TUVE

THE INGELD EPISODE IN *BEOWULF*: HISTORY OR PROPHECY?

Lines 2024-2069 of *Beowulf* contain a well-known crux. Do the present tense forms of the verbs employed in relating the Ingeld episode denote past or future time? Both interpretations have been offered, and the purpose of this note is to determine, by purely grammatical evidence, the balance of probability between these two opposing interpretations.

Axel Olrik¹ wrote concerning this passage:

I must utter a warning against the very common but very meaningless assertion that what *Beowulf* relates . . . is not a narrative of what has already happened, but a prophecy of future events.

This opinion is disputed by Professor Lawrence, who offers several arguments against it. In regard to the meaning of the tense forms he says:²

⁶ This is a rather interesting passage, in the literal English prose translation of the first recension, edited by Wright for the Roxburghe Club, pp. 118-19.

¹ I am following W. W. Lawrence's translation (*PMLA*, xxx (1915), pp. 380-81, note 11) of Olrik's *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, II, 38, note 1.

² Lawrence, *PMLA*, xxx, 380-381.

Moreover, there is, I think, no other long passage in the poem in which the "historical present" is used in relating past events, as O. assumes to be the case here.

R. W. Chambers³ voices the same objection to Olrik's opinion:

Chambers supplies the verb *is* in l. 2024, as do Kluge in Holder's edition, Holthausen, Schucking, Sedgefield, and Klaeber. The earlier editors (Kemble, Grein, Heyne, Wyatt, etc.) supplied *wæs*.

Beowulf gives evidence of his astuteness by predicting that the peace which Hroþgar has purchased will not be lasting . . . Olrik wishes to read the whole of this account, not as a prediction in the present future tense, but as a narrative of past events in the historic present. Considering the rarity of the historic present idiom in Old English poetry, this seems exceedingly unlikely.

The latest opinion on the choice between these conflicting interpretations is that of Professor Kemp Malone, who says:⁴

Both interpretations are grammatically possible, but each is open to grave objections. Personally I am inclined to agree with Olrik that Beowulf here was not indulging in prophecy but was telling Hygelac about things that had already happened.

Professor Malone's revival of Olrik's interpretation thus reopens the question. One interpretation must be right, the other wrong. No half-way ground is possible here. Though there are, as Professor Lawrence has shown, several kinds of evidence relevant to the discussion, a final solution may probably be arrived at most simply and clearly by focusing attention on the syntactical problem involved. Was the historical present used in Old English? Lawrence and Chambers both imply that it was used occasionally, but that its use was a rarity, its frequent use highly exceptional or unknown.

The opinion of Lawrence and Chambers can be confirmed by some evidence I have collected on the use of the present tense form in Old English. As every student of Old English knows, the present tense form was used to express many different time relationships. It was used:

³ Chambers, *Beowulf: An Introduction*, p. 21 and nota 3. See also Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic*, p. 194 and note 5.

⁴ *Mod. Phil.*, xxvii, 258-59.

- (1) To express real present time, *Beowulf*, 2653, 2745-46, etc.
- (2) To express future time, *Beowulf*, 292, 293, 2742, etc.
- (3) To express universal truths (the "universal" or "timeless" or "gnomic" present), *Beowulf*, 20, 256, 2029b-31, 2291, etc.

(4) To express a customary action or to describe an action beginning in the past but not completed at the time the speaker surveys the action, *Beowulf*, 265, *geman*; 290, *is*; 381, *hæbbe*; 996, *starað*; 1923, *wunað*, etc. For *wunað* see Klaeber's edition, Intro. cxx and xcvi, 25.6. I think *con* in line 2062 is a present of this kind. This use of the present is similar to the Latin present with *jam* or *jam dudum*, the French with *depuis*, the German with *schon*, and the Spanish with *desde*. Modern English employs a present perfect progressive in such cases: *He has been living here for many years*.

(5) To indicate past action in subordinate—never in main—clauses after verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, seeing. The subjunctive mood is often used in such subordinate clauses. Examples of this use of the present occur in *Beowulf*, 1314, *wille*; 2486, *niosað*; 2495, *purfe*; and 1719, *healde*. (See Klaeber's note on 1923b and cf. l. 1928.) This use of the present is found in Modern German and occasionally in Modern English: *I told him to come as soon as he can*, where the tense of the direct discourse is retained in the indirect.

Considering the many different meanings crowded into the present tense form it would be surprising to find this same form used to express past time. Obscurity would often result. Take this passage for example:

[B10] min fæder folcum gecyþed,
æþele ordfruma, Ecgþeow haten. (262-64).

If *bið* (or *is*) here could express present, future, or past time, how could the coast guard tell whether Beowulf's father was living or dead? The possibility of interpreting *bið* as a historical present would certainly make the meaning ambiguous or unintelligible.

The distinction between present and future was easily made clear by the use of adverbs⁵ expressing the idea of futurity and—this is far more significant—by the use of the Old English distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs. The present tense

⁵ This same device could perhaps have been used to show that a present tense form was a historical present, but it was not used.

form of a perfective verb implied futurity; that of an imperfective⁶ verb usually implied real present time.

An earlier study⁷ of the origin of the historical present, based on the reading of over twenty-five typical Old English works, revealed no case of the historical present except one isolated example (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 34-35). A series of historical presents in an Old English poem would be unlikely in the extreme. Furthermore, although the historical present abounds in Latin works composed in England, no translation of a Latin work into Old English examined by me revealed a single case of this use of the present. Not only this, but the translator always rendered a historical present of the Latin original by a preterit. The Latin version of *The Gospel of Saint John*, for example, contains about ninety-three historical presents, but in no case is the Latin present rendered by an Old English present. A study of the other gospels and of the *Blickling Homilies* shows the same consistent avoidance of the historical present, even in passages which most closely follow the Latin originals.

The historical present, then, rarely or never appears in Old English.⁸ In view of the evidence presented, the use of a single case of the historical present in *Beowulf*, 2024-69, would be surprising, the use of a series of historical presents extraordinary.

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⁶ For example, in the first ten chapters of *The Gospel of Saint Matthew* 108 present tense forms are used to translate futures in the Latin original. Of these 108 verbs seventy-five are perfective and only thirty-three imperfective. Cf. the perfectives *bidd* and *biod* in *Beowulf*, ll. 2043 and 2063.

⁷ See "The Origin of the Historical Present in English," [North Carolina] *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 1-46.

⁸ It could be used, I think, only after the development of the *shall* and *will* future freed the Old English present tense form of the necessity of expressing future action. It is significant that the development of the periphrastic future antedates the use of the historical present. Five cases in Layamon's *Brut* are the earliest examples I have discovered in my reading of about fifty Old and Middle English works.

TO LORENZ MORSBACH, OCTOGENARIAN

The eightieth birthday of Lorenz Morsbach, the eminent Anglist, fell on January 6 of the present year. In honor of the occasion Professor E. Schroder, of Gottingen, wrote the verses which appear below. His tribute to Professor Morsbach lately came to the notice of the editors of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, who sought, and were lucky enough to gain, the permission of the author to reprint them in the columns of this journal:

*INCERTI AUCTORIS POEMATII ANGLOSAXONICUM IN HONOREM
LAURENTII MORSBACCHI OCTOGENARII PRIMUM
EDIDIT AMICUS HAUD INCERTUS*

- Hwæt, wē Gyddinga in gēardagum
mōdfæstra monna mæ̃rða gefrūnon,
hū þā bōcera blæd wīde sprang.
Sindun āgangen gēara hwyrftum
5 twæm siðum fēowertig geteled rīmes,
wintru eahtig, þæs on weststrēame
ācenned wearð cildgeong guma,
from Morsbeces cynne magu wæs geboren,
Laurentius mundbora gelesen tō nemnan.
9^a [se þe on fire bræded wæs fisce gelīcost]
10 wēox on winlonde wynsum ond blīðheort,
freca fletsittend on his fæder būre,
wæs him lust micel tō leornianne,
bōca onbyrgian on Bunnabyrig [bencum].
þā sæt bōcstafa brego Bēcelere on stōle,
15 on Useneres þegnscipe ealdgewyrhta
lārcræft wæs onloceñ, Latinsc ond Crēcisc.
Siððan forð him gewāt frōd guma sēcan
āgenne eard: Englisc wīsdōm
fūs forðweges tō frōfre genam.
20 Georne wæron Gyddingas gūðheardes þegnes:
wearð him Engla wordlæðe ealdorwīsa,
lārsmiþ lofsum, se þe leornungcræft
þurh mōdgemynd mæste hæfde
on sefan snyttro. swutole lārde
25 lēoftæl ond līðe lārcnihtas geonge,
monna mildust ond monþwærust —

oðð-þæt gamol ond gūðrōf gumstōl forlēt.

Nū weriað hearmdagas, sprecað hālwende word
ealdre ūrum, gif he ūs geunnan wile,

30 þæt wē hine swā gōdne grētan mōton:

wīsfæst æt wīne, wīniga bealdor,

gelpcwīða gāl æt gōssymbles wynne.

32^a [tætende torhtne tān rēcelses]

Hāl wes ond hādor ond þīn hāmweorðung!

Hs. des 11. Jahrhunderts, offenbar die Niederschrift des Autors. Doch hat eine wenig jüngere Hand die Zeilen 9^a und 32^a eingeschaltet und anscheinend auch in V 13 das Wort *benicum* hinzugefügt, das den Stabreim überlastet. Die Zusatzverse stehn beide noch unter dem bescheidenen künstlerischen Niveau des in der Hauptsache mit Reminiscenzen arbeitender Verfasser, sichtlich eines späten Epigonen, der auch vor dem Plagiat nicht zurückschreckt. Die Absicht des ersten ist deutlich: der Patron soll als der heilige Märtyrer bezeichnet werden; aus dem zweiten, den ich übersetzen muss 'zärtlich behandelnd den leuchtenden Stab des Räucherwerks', darf man keinesfalls auf einen cultischen Brauch beim Rauchopfer schließen, da solches den Angelsachsen wie allen Germanen unbekannt war.

E. S.

ON ANGLO-NORMAN *ALOPER*

The absence of Middle English examples of the verb *elope* (the earliest English example in the *NED.* is dated 1628) makes particularly interesting the use of Anglo-Norman *aloper* 'elope' in legal texts of the thirteenth century. *Elope* in legal English (used only of a wife) means 'to run away from her husband in the company of a paramour' (*NED.*). As its earliest example of this use, the *NED.* cites the AN. *aloper*:

1338, in *Yearbks 11-12 Edw. III* (Horw.) 587. En bref de dower plede fut qil [*for qele*] alopa de soun baroun.

A yet earlier example, however, with the same meaning, occurs among the parchment slips known as bills, brief petitions addressed to the king's justices by individuals too poor to institute proceedings by regular process:

1292, in *Select Bills in Eyre* (Bolland, Selden Soc.) 31. le dit Jon Isabele od li alapa qe unkes peuis en la companne Geffrei ne entra 'Isabel eloped with the said John so that she never afterward entered the society of Geoffrey [her husband].'

A meaning of AN. *aloper* not found among the examples of NE. *elope* in the *NED.* is 'to abduct, to carry off,' used transitively of women and of serfs. I have found three examples of this usage in documents of the thirteenth century:

1278, in *Rotuli Parliamentorum* I, 1. Coe mustre a nostre seigneur le Roy e a son conseil, Richard Russel, qe come Johanne de Bonevill, par Felypp de Sanpell et Willem son frere, & Rauf de la Roche, feust allopee, pur le quel fet meimes celui Richard, ke rien ne scut de ceo trespas, fut pris 'Richard Russell lays this before the King and his Council: whereas Johanna de Boneville was carried off by Philip de Sanpell and William his brother and Ralph de la Roche, for which deed this same Richard, who knew nothing of this trespass, was arrested.'

ca. 1289, in *The Mirror of Justices* (Whittaker, Selden Soc.) 28. ceux qi robbent ou emblent autriz mariages ou allopent noneins ou autri serfs oveqe autri biens 'those who steal or take marriages belonging to others, or abduct nuns or the serfs of others with other men's goods.'

ca. 1289, in *ibid.* 25. par autres qi allopent autries femmes ou gardes ovesqe lur biens 'by others who carry off men's wives or wards with their goods.'¹

It is customary (and doubtless proper) to derive AN. *aloper* from the hypothetical ME. ancestor of NE. *elope*. According to the *NED.*, this ancestor is itself based on one or the other of two past participles: either the hypothetical past participle **alope(n)* of the hypothetical ME. verb **aleapen* 'to run away' (from the hypothetical OE. **andhleapan*), or else on the actually occurring past participle *ilope* of the ME. simple verb *leapen* (from OE. *hleapan* 'to run, to leap'). This derivation, in either of its two forms, is open to the objection that ME. verbs are very rarely formed from past participles. Moreover, the oldest recorded sense of AN. *aloper* is not 'run away' but 'carry off, abduct,' as we have seen. Finally, the obvious sexual connotations of AN. *aloper* indicate that, if it is to be connected with NE. *leap*, the meaning of that word pertinent to the etymology of *aloper* is not 'run' but rather 'copulate (with), ravish.'

That 'copulate' is one of the meanings of NE. *leap* is well known, and is duly recorded in the *NED.* under *leap* 9. Note

¹ The substantive *alopement* is found with a corresponding meaning: ca. 1289, in *ibid.* 25. Rap est proprement alopement de femme pur desir del mariage 'rape is properly the abduction of a woman with the desire to marry her.'

in particular the passage there quoted from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* II. ii. "I had rather be Sir Tim the school-master, and leap a dairy-maid." The cognate English verb *lope* (from ON. *hlaupa*) also has the meaning 'copulate' in early NE. use, as illustrated by the following verses (dated 1529 in the *NED.*) from the *Complaynt* of Sir David Lindesay:

249 Schir, quod the fount, tak my counsall,
And go, all, to the hie boirdall.
Thare may we lope at lybertie,
252 Withouthin ony grauntie.

I have found no Old or Middle English examples of this meaning of *leap* or *lope*, but obviously such a meaning might well be current for hundreds of years below the literary level. The late OE. substantive *brydlop* 'wedding' is best explained as having the literal meaning 'bride-copulation', and if this is the right explanation of the term the corresponding verb *lope* probably meant 'copulate' from very early times.

Our semantic series, then, starts with *leap* or *lope* not in the sense 'run' but in the equally primary sense 'leap.' The association of the act of leaping with copulation early gave rise to the special sense 'copulate with, ravish.' The sense-development from 'ravish' to 'abduct, carry off' and finally to 'run away with' (when applied to the woman instead of to the man) followed naturally enough. The English prefix *a-* implicit in AN. *aloper* may be explained in various ways. Perhaps it is best taken as a mere intensive, like the *a-* of *abide*, *arise*. The shift from *a-* to *e-* exemplified in NE. *elope* is of slight importance in view of the constant interchange of the two prefixes in Anglo-Norman. Resort to derivation from a past participle in order to explain the prefix seems needless.

ELSIE SHANKS

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MÉRIMÉE AND VALLE-INCLÁN AGAIN

Dr. A. H. Krappe has recently called my attention to the fact that the subject of my short article in *MLN.*, XLV, 402, has been treated by Professor A. G. Solalinde, *Rev. de Filología Española*, VI, 389-91. My note, then, was nothing more than a repetition, which I regret very much.

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REVIEWS

Les Gloses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de Raschi.

Par A. DARMESTETER et D. S. BLONDHEIM. *Tome premier: texte des gloses.* Paris: Champion, 1929. lxxvi + 212 Ss.

Die jüdisch-romanische Literatur des Mittelalters, vorah die Glossen und Glossarien, haben auch für die Geschichte des romanischen Wortschatzes grosse Bedeutung. Aber die Hebung dieses Schatzes ist mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten verbunden, denn sie bedingt eine Vertrautheit nicht nur mit dem Hebräischem an sich, die zu erwerben ja kein all zu grosses Kunststück ist, sondern vor allem auch mit der Arbeit der jüdischen Bibelkommentatoren, mit dem Talmud usw., die man sich nur nach eingehender Beschäftigung aneignen kann, mit einem dem Arbeitsgebiet des Romanisten, auch wenn er seine Grenzen noch soweit absteckt, sehr fern liegenden Gegenstand. Andererseits aber ist auch eine gründliche Vertrautheit mit dem Romanischen nötig, denn ganz abgesehen vom Mangel der Vokalzeichen bietet die Ueberlieferung so viel Unklares und Falsches, dass das Richtige zu erkennen nur bei selbstständigem Urteil huben und drüben möglich ist. Dementsprechend hat der Orientalist Neubauer, der als einer der ersten ein hebräisch-französisches Glossar aus der Bodleiana veröffentlichte (Bohmers *Romanischer Studien*, I [1875], 160 ff.) sich mit einem Abdruck begnügt, der, wie es bei dem Herausgeber zu erwarten ist, durchaus verlässlich ist, wogegen die kleine Schrift von Grünwald, *Zur romanischen Dialektologie*, 2. Heft, *Das Altfranzösische in Raschis Bibelkommentar*, 1883, nach beiden Seiten durchaus ungenugend war. Voll gerüstet zu der Arbeit, weil in beiden Sätteln fest, war A. Darmesteter, und er hat denn auch mit der ihm eigenen Ausdauer das weit zerstreute Material zu sammeln begonnen. Aber ein frühzeitiger Tod hat ihn an der Ausführung dieses wie manches andern Planes gehindert. Einige andere Veröffentlichungen, z. T. an Darmesteters Anfänge anschliessend von Brandin und Mayer Lambert, liessen noch mehr sehen, was alles hier verborgen war und steigerten den Wunsch, dass endlich ein Sachkundiger sich des Schatzes annehme. Das hat nun Blondheim getan. Gleich Darmesteter beherrscht er beide Gebiete vollkommen. Nach einigen kleineren Arbeiten veröffentlichte er zunächst ein Buch: *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus latina: étude sur les rapports entre les traductions bibliques en langue romane des Juifs du moyen âge et les anciennes versions*, 1925, und nun auch die Glossen Raschis. Zu Grunde liegt das Material, das Darmesteter aus 36 Handschriften zusammengestellt hatte, daher denn auch pietätvoll der Name Darmesteter auf dem Titel steht.

Aber der Herausgeber hat nicht nur diese 36 Handschriften nochmals mit der Abschrift verglichen, er hat noch die Lesarten von 27 andern vollständigen und von 26 Bruchstrücken hinzugefügt. Welche gewaltige rein materielle Arbeit darin steckt, mag man daraus entnehmen, dass die Zahl der Glossen 1102 beträgt. Nach einer Beschreibung der verschiedenen Quellen folgt nun also das Glossar, in alphabetischer Ordnung. Es galt dabei, aus den oft sehr stark auseinandergehenden Lesarten die richtige herauszufinden. Die Abschreiber oder besser Nachfolger Raschis sind nämlich mit ihrer Vorlage noch viel freier umgesprungen als die Abschreiber litterarischer Texte, sie gehöerten nicht nur verschiedenen Gegenden Frankreichs sondern auch Italiens an, daher neben französischen auch provenzalische, katalanische, italianisierende oder italienische Formen anzutreffen sind, ganz abgesehen von Verstümmelungen hinter denen das Richtige zu erkennen gar oft die blosser Vergleichung der Varianten nicht ausreicht.

Was diese grosse Leistung zur Bereicherung unserer Kenntniss des altfranzösischen Wortschatzes beiträgt, kann hier nicht im Einzelnen ausgeführt werden, doch mögen einige Beispiele einen Begriff davon geben. Lat. *atriplex* erscheint im Frz. in drei Formen: *arache*, *arroche* und *arolle*, ganz abgesehen von dem wallon. *arip*, vgl. Wartburg, FEW. I. 186, und zwar gehört die erste dem hohen Norden, die zweite dem Zentrum und Westen, die dritte dem Norden und Osten an. Die Beurteilung dieser verschiedenen Entwicklungen ist schwer. Ich hatte z. T. die griechische Form *atrappha* zugrunde gelegt und dieser Gedanke ist von Horning *ZrPh.*, xxxii, 20 und namentlich von Wartburg näher ausgeführt worden, nur *arolle* würde die lateinische Gestalt wiedergeben. Nun kommt Raschi mit *adrelces*, Hs. 11 *adrpis*, aber diese Handschrift italianisiert (Blondheim S. VII), also noch eine weitere Entwicklung, die zu keiner der überlieferten passt, aber ziemlich genau, vielleicht sogar ganz genau das wiedergibt, was wir erwarten, also eine sehr altertümliche Form, die die sekundären, unter noch nicht klar gelegten Umständen eingetreten Veränderungen nicht aufweist. *Estainboc* 425 steht im Widerspruch mit allen französischen Belegen bei Rolland, *Faune populaire*, 7, 220, denen ich noch *bokehin* in Montana (Wallis), also aus einer Gegend, in der das Tier noch bekannt sein kann oder konnte, beifüge. Der bisher älteste Beleg (*Romania*, xix, 303) stammt aus dem Jahr 1240. Die Wortfolge des deutschen Wortes, die in ital. *stambecco*, engad. *stambuoch* festgehalten ist, erscheint also von allem Anfang an durch die französische ersetzt. Das *estainboc* Raschis kann nicht Italianismus sein, auch kaum deutsch, wenn man *sterke* 971, *stok* 972 vergleicht, sondern würde wieder eine alte französische Form darstellen. Sehr merkwürdig ist 551 *gloon* "morceau de bois fendu." Hs. 11 schreibt *glubu*, wozu der Herausgeber bemerkt "it. (?) *glovo*." Ich zweifle nicht, dass es

sich tatsächlich um jenes got. *kluba* handelt, das in Norditalien und Südfrankreich weit verbreitet ist, vgl. REW. 3790, Bertoni, *Atti e memorie della r. deputazione di storia patria*, v. serie, Bd. x; Verf., *ZrPh.*, xxxix, 84. Das Wort war bisher nur in Südfrankreich und Norditalien nachgewiesen; es entspricht nhd. *Kloben*, muss aber nach seinem Ausgang -a und seiner Verbreitung gotisch sein. Ware es aus dem Frankischen entnommen, so müsste es *glo(v)on* lauten, d. h. die Form, die wir hier vor uns haben. Dass dasselbe Wort in den verschiedenen romanischen Gegenden in verschiedener Gestalt je nach der Sprache der Eroberer weiterlebt, ist öfter zu beobachten.

Diese wenigen Beispiele mögen genügen, um den Wert der Veröffentlichung zu zeigen, deren Fortsetzung man mit Ungeduld erwartet. Weitere Arbeit des Verf. oder Anderer wird wohl auch die 30 am Schlusse stehenden dunkeln Glossen aufklären; zur ersten 1073 *aislustra aislusrna* "éclairs" mochte ich auf jene Sippe hinweisen, die REW., 3021; 5142 und von Göhri, *RDRom.*, iv, 55-67 behandelt ist.

W. MEYER-LÜBKE

Bonn

La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au xviie siècle.

Par GEORGES ASCOLI. 2 vols. Paris, Gamber, 1930. Pp. viii + 517 + 360.

In 1927 M. Ascoli published his *Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française. I. Depuis la guerre de Cent ans jusqu'à la fin du xvie siècle*, a well-informed volume that promised a more important sequel, devoted to the seventeenth century. The latter work, which has just appeared in two large volumes, gives us the first thoroughgoing account in existence of French opinion of England and of English influence upon French thought in the period discussed. The author first outlines English political history in the seventeenth century in order to show the interest taken by the French in such events as the Gunpowder Plot, the expulsion of Henrietta Maria's French attendants, the execution of Charles I, the Restoration, and the downfall of James II. He then discusses the knowledge of Great Britain obtained from descriptive works, from travelers' relations, and from acquaintance with Englishmen and Scotchmen in France. Finally he shows what English works were known in France and what influence they exerted there.

M. Ascoli's knowledge is vast. He handles his material, summarized in a bibliography of 1750 titles, with excellent judgment, and presents it in an impartial and attractive manner. He shows how difficult it was for the French, separated from their neighbors

by language, religion, and difficulties of travel, to understand or appreciate them. They recognized their valor and usually their sincerity, but found them proud, cruel, and ill-mannered. He does not hesitate to admit, however, that the French were not themselves above reproach, for Henrietta Maria's walking up and down with her attendants while a Protestant sermon was being preached and talking so loud that she "troubla toute la fête," and the conduct of Frenchmen who had the words of a play translated aloud for them during its performance were not calculated to impress the English with the superiority of Gallic manners. On the other hand, the jostling of the French on the streets of London by Englishmen who failed to ask pardon—a form of international *rapprochement* now supposed to be especially characteristic of Americans—or the epithet "French dogs" hurled at them upon their arrival at Dover did not help to promote mutual understanding. Nevertheless, concludes A., "ce qui me frappe c'est que, dans l'ensemble, l'Anglais, de cette analyse, ne ressorte point antipathique" (I, 446). While I do not doubt that the conclusion is sound, I would call M. A.'s attention to the following dissenting opinion, expressed by La Mesnardière in his *Poétique*,

J'ay veu par la frequentation, que les Anglois sont infidelles, paresseux, vaillans, cruels, amateurs de la propreté, ennemis des étrangers, altiers et interessez.

A. finds that there are genuine reflections of English manners and customs in Tristan's *Page disgracié* and Hamilton's *Grammont*; that the English books most widely known in France were those of a scientific or philosophic nature, especially those of Bacon, Harvey, Joseph Hall, and Locke; that English poetry was practically unknown before the last twenty years of the century, when are found the first mentions of *Paradise Lost* and of Shakespeare's name. The only English novel that was really popular, unless we count Barclay's Latin *Argenis*, was Sidney's *Arcadia*. As for the drama, Saint-Evremond was influenced by Ben Jonson, Van Brugh's *Provoked Wife* was translated into French, while it is possible that some knowledge of the brutality of English tragedy may have been shown by Corneille when he wrote the inner play of the *Illusion comique* and that a few hints as to dramatic situations crossed the Channel, but in general the stage of Shakespeare and his contemporaries meant nothing to the French. Such were the modest beginnings of English literary influence in France.

The author lightens the presentation of his material by a judicious choice of curious extracts. The descriptions of London give a vivid impression of the city, in which the French found much to charm them despite the rigid observance of Sunday and the gloomy skies that induced a Spanish ambassador, after his return home, to ask a friend, still in London, to "saluer le soleil

de ma part, quand vous le reverrez!" (I, 293). A French traveler is much impressed by doors that "se referment toutes seules, sans passer jamais le lieu où elles doivent se fermer" and by windows that are raised "sans qu'il soit besoin de crochet pour les arrêter" (p. 301). And there are early compliments to English gardens, "faits comme il plaît à Dieu, qui en sait bien plus que Monsieur Le Nôtre" (p. 289). In short, the work makes good reading while furnishing an indispensable tool for scholars concerned with historical and literary relations between the two countries.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Histoire du Parnasse. Par MAURICE SOURIAU. Paris, Edition Spes, 1929. Pp. liv + 466.

Le Parnasse jouit, ces temps, chez les historiens de la littérature, d'une popularité bien forte—seconde seulement à celle du Romantisme. M. Souriau nous arrive avec un gros volume, qui est en un certain sens (p. xxxi) une suite à son grand travail sur *l'Histoire du Romantisme* en 3 volumes. M. S., qui a pris sa retraite il y quelques mois, a une admirable manière de se reposer!

Le nouveau volume est aussi abondant que les précédents, d'une documentation aussi précise, et d'une grande pénétration historique et critique. Il est difficile de ne pas donner raison à l'auteur sur presque tous les points.¹ Les rôles respectifs des plus importants des poètes parnassiens sont extrêmement bien indiqués: pourquoi ce n'est pas Théophile Gautier, et pourquoi ce n'est pas Banville, et pourquoi c'est Leconte de Lisle qui est le chef, et pourquoi c'est Hérédia qui devait lui succéder: et l'indépendance de Coppée, et la quasi-expulsion de Sully-Prudhomme (p. 349-50). Les trois phases, formation, triomphe et dispersion, sont clairement accusées, de même que la difficulté qu'il y aurait à donner une formule du "parnassisme" qui s'appliquât également à tous les poètes du groupe; l'opposition entre le Romantisme et l'Hellénisme de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle paraît irréductible à M. S.

Dirons-nous pourtant que la sévérité de certains jugements étonnent dans une œuvre qui veut être avant tout objective? Il ne

¹ Parfois non sans regret. Ainsi cette conclusion sur l'œuvre cependant si belle de Leconte de Lisle: "Alors qu'est-ce son art, et qu'y a-t-il au centre? Nous venons de faire en matière de philosophie religieuse, un travail analogue à celui qu'accompliront ceux qui ont violé la tombe du pauvre petit Touth an Kamon: ils découvrent des merveilles, de plus en plus surprenantes, au fur et à mesure qu'ils s'approchent de la dernière chambre, de la dernière enveloppe: mais au centre il n'y a plus qu'une momie ligotée dans ses bandelettes. Au centre de l'œuvre de Leconte de Lisle, il n'y a qu'une foi morte" (p. 180).

s'agit point des dénonciations d'historiens antérieurs du Parnasse (tels Mendès ou Calmettes, qui ont sciemment déformé les réalités), mais de maintes exécutions impitoyables d'écrivains après tout considérables: Banville (p. 63, ou 75); Glatigny (p. 99); Villiers (117), France (p. 173) et surtout Baudelaire (26 ss). A propos de ce dernier on ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer combien les historiens peuvent juger différemment: qu'on compare au Baudelaire de M. Souriau celui de Maclair (qui, en passant, n'est pas nommé dans la bibliographie)! D'autre part ces notes si personnelles nous ont valu de nobles pages, courageuses et vengeuses sur Déroulède (Livre IV, Chapitre XV, "La question Déroulède," pp. 329-338).

Il faut ajouter qu'on comprend un peu M. Souriau. L'époque qu'il étudie est trop près de nous, et nous avons par les journaux et mille autres canaux, des moyens de documentation minutieuse où les "potins" ont la belle part; il est difficile de ne pas se laisser influencer; bien des pages de cette histoire du Parnasse ont un effet déprimant. Il serait à souhaiter que des hommes doués de si belles intelligences fussent moins mesquins souvent. Du livre de M. Souriau, on ferait une collection navrante de ces petites gens de poètes se jalousant, se détestant, se dénigrant les uns les autres. Pourquoi faut-il qu'un grand poète insiste pour appeler l'autre dont il est manifestement jaloux, une "fichue bête" ou "bête comme l'Himalaya"; pourquoi en appeler un autre "animal" lequel répond par "cochon"? Faut-il nous résigner à croire en effet que le fameux *Art poétique* de Verlaine ne contient pas un vers qui ne soit autre chose qu'un morceau de rancune contre Leconte de Lisle (p. 397)? Décidément les poètes n'ont rien à envier aux représentants de la "rabies theologica". Et c'est, hélas! au sujet de Leconte de Lisle que ce contraste entre les poètes admirateurs de la dignité humaine, chantres de la fierté dans la souffrance, et le pauvre être humain, éclate surtout. Quel grand poète et quel petit homme! C'est à désespérer de l'humanité de lire certaines pages du livre de M. Souriau (ainsi, Livre IV, chap. I, ou VII, ou XIV, ou plus loin p. 350, etc.). Quel manque de dignité surtout, quels sentiments de petit bourgeois vis à vis de V. Hugo: avoir pu dire en apprenant la maladie qui devait emporter le grand vieillard: "Il l'a bue et mangée, sa gloire; eh bien, qu'il la digère!" Et avoir trouvé le mot si bon qu'il le répétait aux funérailles. A côté de cela, que la vie de V. Hugo—qu'on a tant attaquée—était belle et digne!

Il manque un index à un livre qui sera autrement si utile; et la table des matières est vraiment trop sommaire pour remplacer en aucune manière un index.

ALBERT SCHINZ

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Alcionée, Tragédie de Pierre Du Ryer. Edition critique par HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER. Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press; Paris, les Presses Universitaires de France, 1930. Pp. 112. \$1.25. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, no. xiv.)

Professor Lancaster is continually meriting the gratitude of all those interested in the French drama of the seventeenth century. Last year there appeared the first two volumes of what will be a monumental work on the whole period;¹ this year he makes available in beautiful clear type, with broad margins, with all necessary notes, full introduction, and index of names, an important play of one of those minor dramatists the study of whom is necessary, if one is to understand properly the immense production of this period so prolific for the theatre. Already, in 1912, in his book on *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*,² he had called attention to this author, whose life and works deserved to be more fully known. He has under press an edition of another of the tragedies of Du Ryer, *Saül*, which merits equal consideration, and there will soon appear two other tragedies, *Esther* and *Scévole*, which he is preparing with his students.

The Introduction and foot-notes to the present edition are in French, which adds to its usefulness, since anyone able to read the text will be able also to make use of the critical material which is supplied. In the Introduction of 20 pages is given a very brief account of Du Ryer, and the tragic life of a poet capable of excellent dramatic production, but compelled to do hack work and the better paid translation of Latin books, in order to earn his living. There follow a discussion of his plays and an estimate of their value, which would rank Du Ryer in the second category of dramatic authors of the first half of the century, beside Mairet, Rotrou and Tristan.

Comme poète il est inférieur, non seulement à Corneille, mais à Rotrou et à Tristan, comme versificateur à Mairet, mais il est plus original que Rotrou, plus fécond que les auteurs de *Sophonisbe* et de *Marrane*. Il est certainement supérieur à ses autres rivaux, Scudéry, La Calprenède, Desmaretz, etc.

The editor, basing his opinion on Ménage's statement that Montdory took the leading rôle, and the evidence of the influence of the *Cid*, dates *Alcionée* in the spring of 1637, altho the privilege is of 1640, and the date frequently ascribed to its performance, following les frères Parfaict, is 1639. Consideration of the sources,

¹ H. C. Lancaster, *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part I, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929.

² H. C. Lancaster, *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912.

of which the principal is the episode of Lydia in the *Orlando Furioso*, canto xxxiv, brings out the importance in Du Ryer's mind of the psychological problems, and L. says:

C'est une pièce purement classique. Les personnages s'analysent, se livrent à des débats passionnés qui font progresser l'action. Les bien-séances et les unités sont respectées. . . . Il n'y a qu'un seul événement, le suicide du héros, qui se donne sa blessure mortelle derrière la scène, puis vient mourir devant nos yeux. . . . L'action se limite à la préparation de ce suicide dans les âmes de trois personnes. . . . L'héroïne est cornélienne, le héros digne du théâtre romantique, mais l'action est entièrement psychologique, développée d'après les principes de Racine, quoique la pièce ait précédé *Andromaque* de trente ans

A little further on we find that Du Ryer was also interested in the presentation of questions of state:

Il n'en est pas moins vrai que c'est une tragédie politique d'une importance considérable, car Du Ryer a su y discuter des questions d'état et représenter des personnages politiques avant que le *Cinna* de Corneille n'ait paru.

But to those who know Racine and Corneille there is something lacking. It is possible to find this psychological development and these political ideas, but they do not strike us so forcibly. L. explains this by saying: "Malheureusement Du Ryer n'était pas suffisamment poète pour faire ressortir ces qualités. Son vocabulaire, comme celui de la plupart des écrivains de son école, est trop restreint, manque de couleur et de pittoresque." This is not quite all of it. In spite of the author's concentration on the dramatic conflict in the soul of his personages, we are not intensely interested—not as in *Bérénice* with its even scantier plot. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the story is not so well known to us, and that we do not feel so strongly the "point d'honneur" of the royal pride of Lydia, which will not let her marry one beneath her by birth, even tho elevated by his military prowess to be a conqueror of kings. In *Alcionée* there is the victory of love over loyalty and patriotism which makes him less heroic to our matter-of-fact generation.

The choice of the first edition of the play as a basis for the present text is justified by a comparison of the published versions. In the foot-notes, the few variants of importance are indicated, and citations given of the portions of the *Orlando furioso*, which had been used by Du Ryer, together with references to other lines of this play, and other plays of Du Ryer, which aid in correct interpretation, or show the poet's fondness for certain ideas or figures. The correct form is also given where erratic spelling or omission of accents or punctuation might obscure the meaning. This has been done with remarkable thoroughness and accuracy, and a careful reading did not disclose errors or mis-prints.

Alcionée in itself will probably never win again the favor it

met at first, for it was highly rated by contemporary authors and was sufficiently popular to be revived by Molière, in 1659, with considerable success, but the characteristics noted above will make it one of those plays which a student of the development of the classic French drama should know. Its new form will make this easy and pleasant.

CASIMIR D. ZDANOWICZ

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Molière. Von WALTHER KÜCHLER. Leipzig, Teubner, 1929.
Pp. 271.

This book is not a life of Molière, nor a history of his plays. The work of the dramatist's predecessors is summarized too briefly for the reader to learn how much he owed to them and no new sources are pointed out. Much controversial material is brushed aside while the author goes to his main object, the interpretation of Molière as essentially a writer of comedies, one in whom the search for the Comic dominated all other considerations. The point of view is, as the author declares, the same as that of Michaut, but, owing to the far more limited scope of his production, he is able to present his argument with even greater force. According to K., Molière was no philosopher and only to a limited extent a moralist or satirist, but he was one who, seeking primarily to make men laugh, succeeded in composing comedies that are more continuously amusing than those of any other dramatist. If one understands that he was not greatly concerned with instructing or attacking, one will be spared the heated discussions roused by *Tartuffe* or *George Dandin*, and one will not share the opinion expressed by Goethe and M. J. Wolff (cf. p. 117) that the *Misanthrope* is a tragedy. Ideas are, indeed, expressed, and manners described, but not for their own sake. There is action, but its primary purpose is to produce an uninterrupted series of comic situations. And the characters, even Don Juan and Alceste, do not possess the complex personalities we find in life or that other authors have described. They may be called caricatures, but the word is to be used without disparagement, for they give us the impression of being alive.

This interpretation needs certain modifications in view of various personal and literary influences that were exerted upon the dramatist. He was himself more complex than his creatures and cannot be simplified into their mould. Nevertheless K.'s view is, I believe, in the main sound. He has a deep appreciation of Molière's genius and he no more attempts to belittle him than to give him a broader personality than he possessed. The book should be read

by all who seek to find in Molière a philosopher, a moralist, a romantic individualist, or a ruthless critic, rather than the supreme master of the comic art.¹

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Elizabethan and Other Essays by SIR SIDNEY LEE. Selected and Edited by FREDERICK S. BOAS. Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. xxii + 344. \$6.00.

These essays, which Dr. Boas has selected with much judgment, were very well worth collecting. The volume will be a lasting memorial, I think, to a scholar whose contributions to knowledge it is easy, and at present fashionable, to underrate.

Sir Sidney Lee was in fact a difficult person to appreciate truly. As the able organizer of factual research in the *D. N. B.* and the author of long (and at times rather platitudinous) 'official' lives of Shakespeare, Queen Victoria, and King Edward VII, he enjoyed a popular repute that exposed him to gibes from those who fancied themselves capable of seeing a good deal deeper into critical millstones than he attempted to do; and the suspicion of being a dull dog was intensified by the circumstance that he maintained a provokingly skeptical, or at least indifferent, attitude to both the conspicuous schools of Elizabethan study in his time: the personal, 'romantic' biographers of the type of Edward Dowden and Sir Walter Raleigh, and the more recent scientific bibliographers and 'disintegrators.'

He was, however, as these incisive essays attest, a sounder thinker than his critics sometimes implied, and (as Dr. Boas remarks in his Introduction) was essentially a humanist of the kind now called 'new.' What was taken to be superficiality was mainly disillusion. An Oxford classicist and a Jew, he held aloof equally from modern romanticism and modern science, and was usually more concerned to prove the negative than the positive argument.

¹ A few corrections follow. P. 15, the first line from *Sylvie* is quoted as if complete and the importance of politics exaggerated. P. 16, 1628 is not the correct date for *Mélie*; for "Clovis" read "Cloris." P. 17, *les Visionnaires* should not be dated 1640. P. 69, K. opposes Michaut's contention that the first performance of *Tartuffe* in three acts was that of a complete play on the ground that Molière would not have ended his comedy with the triumph of *Tartuffe*, but this objection applies only to Michaut's form of the theory. I suggested in 1923 (*Modern Language Journal*, Nov., pp. 69-70) that the play was complete in three acts, but that the third act originally ended in *Tartuffe*'s discomfiture. This form of the theory K. does not discuss. P. 149, Michaut has shown that *Dandin* was not necessarily, as K. holds, a reworking of *Barbouillé*, for the latter play may have been based upon the former.

His natural bias was to value influence above spontaneity and the cosmopolitan above the native. In proportion to his opportunities and industry, he discovered few new historical facts and he developed no new methods of investigation in his field; but his addresses on 'The Place of English Literature in the Modern University' and on 'Modern Language Research,' which open the present volume, can hardly be too highly commended for their lucidity and completeness of analysis. Similarly his papers on the 'Principles' and 'Perspective' of biography show admirably the emotionless and impersonal zest he had for the Plutarchan art to which above all others he was devoted. Characteristic of him are his denunciation of all the types of favorable 'bias' in a biographer and his differentiation between biography and the two genres which he esteemed much lower, history and autobiography. What he says here is brilliantly put, and shows how little connotation the adjective held for him in the great work whose editorship he inherited from Leslie Stephen, *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Unaccommodated man was his enthusiasm,

Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king
Over himself,

blown upon by planetary rather than parochial influences. Such was Shakespeare in his judgment, an inheritor of the culture of all Europe, neither Stratfordian nor particularly English. In the Sonnets, according to Lee, Shakespeare reproduces the 'Pythagorean' philosophy of Ovid, and repeats the wording of a dozen Italian and French poetasters. In the plays he offers no real hint of his own opinions or character. The Elizabethan age as a whole seems to Lee derivative rather than creative. Two fine essays, 'Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance' and 'Tasso and Shakespeare's England,' deal with the literary debt to Italy; 'The Example of Spain' develops with much learning and persuasiveness the unflattering thesis that English geographical and colonial enterprise in the sixteenth century only feebly imitated the great achievements of Spain.

These occasional papers, written at different periods and for very different audiences (the four earliest were contributed to *Scribner's Magazine* in 1907), have an impressive core of thought, skeptical on the whole, but closely reasoned and stimulating. It may seem inconsistent that one who finds so much more significance in the individual life, recorded in biography, than in the group movements portrayed by history should find himself unable to account for great men like Shakespeare, Spenser, and Raleigh save as imitators and agents, primarily actuated by influences from overseas. But the dilemma is fundamental and honest, implicit in Lee's rather pagan and pessimistic view of life. The ebbs and

flows of civilization have little meaning for him except as they bring into view the life-drama of the individual, but even his greatest men never succeed in quite detaching their personalities from the currents on which he sees them drifting.

The book offers much food for thought, and is at many points corrective of facile notions. Students of Shakespeare will find in the article on 'Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets' a really significant addition to previous knowledge, involving a fuller explanation than had hitherto been given of what Meres meant when he remarked that 'the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare.' The essay on 'The Impersonal Aspect of Shakespeare's Art' defends Browning's paradox about Shakespeare unlocking his heart. I do not think that the paradox is made wholly plausible, but the argument is masterly and sounds a valuable warning against the dangerously easy tendency to read Shakespeare's personal feelings into his dramatic utterances.

TUCKER BROOKE

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Tottel's Miscellany, 1557-1587. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. 2 vols., Harvard University Press, 1928-1929. Pp. xix + 345, ix + 385. \$5.00 each.

The completion of this work calls not so much for a review as for an expression of gratitude to Professor Rollins and the Harvard University Press. Students of poetry long have desired a complete and accurate edition of this anthology. Most of us know it only through the reprint made by Edward Arber in 1870 (reissued 1897, 1921), a work all too scantily annotated and, as Professor Rollins shows, inaccurate of text. Before Arber, J. P. Collier reprinted the miscellany, but his work suffers from like defects, with the additional one of being extremely hard to come upon. The history of earlier editing is marked with frustration and disaster. George Sewall superintended a reprinting in 1717, the first after 1587, but succeeded only in producing, says Professor Rollins, "the most corrupt text issued since 1557." Thomas Park dreamed of getting out an edition, as did Joseph Haslewood, but without tangible result. Bishop Percy and George Steevens actually edited the miscellany, and in 1808 their work went through the press; but a fire destroyed the edition after a few copies had been delivered. G. F. Nott's unfinished and unpublished edition (c. 1814) would have been excellent, but either it proceeded only to the stage of page proof and that incomplete, or it too was lost in a printing-house fire. Chalmers printed the collection, but as *dissecta membra*, in his *English Poets* of 1810.

With thoroughness of method and breadth of knowledge enhanced by his previous editing of the other important miscellanies of the sixteenth century, Professor Rollins cuts a Roman road through the jungle of comment, conjecture, and legend about *Songes and Sonettes*. He reviews the work of previous editors, whether of the miscellany or of Wyatt, Surrey, or Grimald. He collects in his notes every finding as to source and authorship, and properly credits each. He reprints Italian, Latin, and French sources in full, and also many alternative versions and later adaptations of poems first printed in 1557. He has patiently recorded variant readings from all early editions, not to mention a long list of those introduced by Arber. And throughout, he adds important discoveries resulting from his own researches.

We now may say that there were ten editions of *Songes and Sonettes* in the thirty years beginning with 1557. For some time it has been known that in 1557 the July (second) edition was completely reset and reissued; and Professor Rollins describes for the first time a copy of an unrecorded edition of 1559. We now may name as certainly among the "uncertain authors" Thomas Norton and John Harington, with two poems by Norton and one by Harington identified. We have the text of a poem by Surrey as published in his own lifetime. We have new light upon the sources utilized by poets of the miscellany, notably in the case of *The power of loue ouer gods them selues* (no. 241), which Professor Rollins shows to be a fairly close translation from thirteen lines in the first chorus of Seneca's *Hippolytus*. French influence upon writers of the miscellany proves to be slighter than previously has been supposed. In connection with the influence of *Songes and Sonettes*, the editor reveals the wholesale borrowings of Brian Melbancke, who wove into his euphuistic novel *Philolimus*, 1583, many passages from the miscellany, printed as prose. The view that Richard Tottel edited the poems from a manuscript possibly collected by John Harington seems reasonable; as does Professor Rollins's suggestion that the suppression after the first edition of thirty poems by Grimald (and the reduction of his name to initials) means only that Grimald, then a dignified ecclesiastic, did not wish to appear publicly as a writer of lyrics in the vernacular.

The present reviewer questions only one sentence of the extensive Introduction. "Poets like Googe and Turbervile," says the editor, "christened their verses 'songs and sonnets,' but no genuine sonnets can be found among them." The statement is true for Turbervile and long has passed current as applying to Googe; but if one straightens out Googe's divided pentameters in the poems *To George Holmden* and "Vnhappy tonge why dydste thou not consent,"¹ one finds that these are right sonnets of the "Shake-

¹ *Eglogs, Epitaphes, and Sonettes*, 1563 (Arber's reprint), pp. 89, 95.

spearean" pattern. To Professor Rollins's notes on Nos. 133 and 155 (two of Grimald's translations) it should be added that both of the Latin poems Grimald utilized were included in early editions of Virgil² as epigrams of that poet; hence Grimald doubtless intended these as translations from Virgil. As late as 1624 the same epigrams were translated by John Penkethman in his *Epigrams of P. Virgilius Maro*. Finally, we may note that in the first line of Surrey's elegy on Wyatt,

W.[yatt] resteth here, that quick could neuer rest,

the poet took over by translation the epitaph which had been placed on the tomb in Milan of the great Italian man of war, Jacopo Trivulzio (d. 1518). Camden³ gives the epitaph as follows:

HIC MORTVVS REQVIESCIT SEMEL,
QVI VIVVS REQVIEVIT NVNQVAM.

Other records transmit briefer versions of it.

At the end of the Introduction Professor Rollins suggests that "the reputation of Tottel's *Miscellany* has gone on increasing because it has had few readers." But his own findings disprove this conclusion. Practically every general anthology of English poetry since 1557 has included some poem or poems first printed by Tottel in that year. The readers of *Songes and Sonnettes* complete may be few in number, but any anthology is likely to be read in part and by snatches. The fact is that if we read sixteenth-century lyrical poetry at all (as who does not?) we come into the presence of this great collection; and though we may think of it as an antique, to be viewed and gingerly handled, we might do better to see that like some Tudor houses this fabric has been in use throughout the generations and is still serviceable and fair.

HOYT H. HUDSON

Princeton University

Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III. By PETER ALEXANDER, with an introduction by ALFRED W. POLLARD. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Pp. viii + 229. \$2.75.

The author of this book shows courage in attacking established views and established reputations; and that is a circumstance for which we have reason to be thankful; but, when the courage is accompanied by a confidence that amounts to cocksureness, irritation is apt to be engendered, especially when, as here, the basis for confidence seems very unsound. Mr. Alexander gives us good

² E. g., Lyons, 1529; Venice, 1532; Venice, 1558.

³ *Remaines*, 1614, p. 359.

reasons for believing him to be right in his main contention, that the "Contention" quartos are pirated versions of 2 and 3 "Henry VI" (he certainly makes out a much better case than he did in his attempt some time ago to treat "A Shrew" similarly); but, while saying so much, it is still possible to think that the latest craze regarding the make-up of plays from actors' parts and from memory (however superior to the old idea of shorthand notes taken in the theatre) is being pushed much too far; and it is certain that many of the arguments by which Mr. Alexander strives to bolster up his case are lamentably weak—far from being so strong as the Malone case which he is so confident he has knocked out. His final chapter is full of the wildest conjecture—as, for example, that Kyd's lord was Pembroke, that Shakspeare gave "Edward II" to the press, to keep alive Marlowe's memory, and that Marlowe had written his masterpiece "in Shakespeare's manner"—a highly ridiculous assumption. His theory that the "Falconbridge", "tilting", and "O'Neill" passages in the "Contention" were "echoes" of passages in "Edward II" is about as absurd as anything can be, since the passages suit the historic facts in "Henry VI" and do not fit those in "Edward II". Mr. Alexander quotes these parallels as adduced by Professor Tucker Brooke, and ignores that scholar's proof that the "Edward II" passages must have been the later; yet that proof shatters Mr. Alexander's case utterly. In the face of it, how ridiculous it is to read "It is now all or nothing: Marlowe is either the author of the whole of 2 and 3 Henry VI or there is no room here for him at all."

On the other hand Mr. Alexander writes sensibly on the matter of verse-tests and on the difficulty of securing adequate bases for the determination of the differing styles of different writers; and he is right too in protesting against reckless attributions to writers for whom there is not a particle of external evidence, when there is external evidence in favor of another. He is right in attaching importance to contemporary evidence that is ignored or depreciated by the wild men who do not find it fit in with their views; but he goes to the other extreme when he asks us to believe that the Shakspeare folio gives us undiluted Shakspeare. One almost expects him to go a step farther and declare the author to be Bacon. He does not say so explicitly; but he leads us to assume that he considers "Timon of Athens", "Henry VIII", "The Shrew" to be wholly Shakspeare's, as well as the three "Henry VI" plays, "Richard III", and "Titus". We may certainly infer so much from the fact that he considers "Pericles" was omitted from the folio as being in part the work of another dramatist, Heminge and Condell being unwilling to insert any play not wholly Shakspeare's. And, even if we grant his contention that Shakspeare would not have been called on to revise the work of men of greater reputation than himself so long as they worked for his company,

it is plain, or should be, that he might well have been set to revise the work of men whose plays were written for another company and later came into the hands of the one whose "poet" he was.

Mr. Alexander strives very hard to destroy the force of the argument Malone drew from Greene's reference to Shakspeare, and does not scruple to treat Malone's arguments as annihilated. That his arguments are so much better than Malone's will not be so evident to others as it is to himself. The view he puts forward, that Greene was attacking Shakspeare not as a plagiarist, but as an actor who had taken to writing, is an old one; it entirely ignores the definite charge made by R. B. in "Greenes Funeralls". (Professor Pollard, in his introduction, amazingly enough treats this as a misinterpretation of Greene's attack.) Mr. Alexander follows the late Dr. J. S. Smart in regarding the word "his" in Greene's phrase "with his Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde" as implying that his mangled quotation was Shakspeare's own work. It is a more natural interpretation to see in it no suggestion of authorship: when he was wishing to refer to Shakspeare's "tygers hart", what other word than "his" could he use? To do as Dr. Smart and Mr. Alexander have done is veritably to make a mountain out of a molehill. Yet again Mr. Alexander apparently does not realise that Greene's use of the word "upstart" goes far towards invalidating his theory that Shakspeare had commenced author before 1589. He connects this up with an acceptance of Aubrey's assertion, on the authority of Beeston, that Shakspeare had been, in early life, a schoolmaster. He treats as a first-class authority the old chatterer who informs us that Marlowe was killed by Ben Jonson, and has nothing but contempt for the traditions recorded by Rowe, who is fully as worthy of consideration. That Lucy had no deer-park does not, as he supposes, destroy the tradition that Shakspeare got into trouble for poaching or that, for some reason or other, he had a grudge against Lucy to which he gave expression in "The Merry Wives". (That this passage gave rise to the tradition is a far-fetched idea.)

Professor Pollard's introduction is not up to the standard one expects from him. He endorses the amazing opinion of Sir Edmund Chambers that "Titus and Vespasian" was an early version of "Titus Andronicus". Surely it dealt with the Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus. He advances weak arguments in favor of Shakspeare having been a Queen's man; he believes that Mr. Alexander has proved that the parallels between Marlowe's work and the Contention plays must be written off; and he considers that, "If Shakspeare ever set himself to imitate Marlowe, what he wrote would be indistinguishable from Marlowe at his best", while the fact is that, the greater and more individual a writer is, the less he is capable of imitating another. It is, on the

other hand, satisfactory to find him disagreeing with the author in the latter's absurd view that there is no spurious matter in the folio.

E. H. C. OLIPHANT

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All's Well That Ends Well, The New Shakespeare. Edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER COUCH and JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Pp. xxxvi + 202. \$2.

All's Well has been one of the least popular of Shakespeare's plays. No authentic text besides that of the First Folio is known, and the Folio text is far from satisfactory. On the English stage the first recorded performance of the play occurred in 1741, almost a century and a half after its first writing, and so far as known, it has never been played in America. Slight public favor has caused marked editorial neglect of the play as a whole, and of numerous problems presented by the text. The present editors justly claim to have been the first to attempt solution of many of its cruces.

Herein lies the outstanding virtue of this edition. Professor Wilson has frankly faced these textual difficulties and is refreshingly bold in suggesting new explanations. Convincing are his glosses of "higher Italy" (II. i. 12) as "Tuscany"; of "the great figure of a council" (III. i. 12) as an astrological metaphor; of "knot-herbs" (IV. v. 17) as "garden-herbs." Less satisfactory is the interpretation of "Who's his tailor?" (II. v. 17), which to the present reviewer means merely that Parolles owes much to the cut of his clothes; and also the suggested emendation of "Bajazet's mule" (IV. i. 42) to "Bajazet's mate," inasmuch as Queen Zabina's scolding had scarcely become a proverb, and here the allusion seems to require a tongue of discretion rather than valor. However, in all such cases even a false explanation may lead to the final discovery of truth, where silence leads nowhere.

But if notes and glossary in this volume show unusual diligence in the banishment of error, so much cannot be said for the attitude taken by either one of the co-editors toward the play as a whole. *All's Well* is not to be ranked among the great plays of Shakespeare. Yet when one reads in "Q's" Introduction that this is "a rather nasty play," "one of Shakespeare's worst," and "a hopeless skrimble-skramble"; that "the business of Parolles" is "inept," that Lafew's proffer of his daughter in marriage to Bertram "may surely challenge the crown for fatuity among all of Shakespeare's last-Acts devices"; and that the entire "concluding Scene is clearly bad playwright's work, being at once spun-out and scamped," one

is prone to discount the judgment of the editor, so virulent is he in decrying his wares.

Sir Arthur finds most of the play bad, and damns Shakespeare for making it so. Professor Wilson, on the other hand, finds much of the play bad, but excuses Shakespeare from the badness. Specifically he charges up most of the comic dialogue against one or another unknown dramatist. He concludes that the

text is the product of a Jacobean revision (c. 1605) of an Elizabethan play perhaps by Shakespeare but if so probably containing pre-Shakespearian elements, that this revision was undertaken by Shakespeare and a collaborator, the bulk of the work developing upon the latter who was indeed left to carry out the final shaping of the play and to finish off many scenes begun by his great fellow-worker.

All this strikes one as ill-founded speculation unhappily expressed.

For, first, twentieth-century criticism has not found the play so "nasty" or "bawdy" as these editors insist on terming it. Sir Sidney Lee sees in the drama "an ideal of essential purity and refinement";¹ J. L. Lowes comments on "the indomitable and fearless purity of Helena";² J. Q. Adams observes that "the maiden who loves not wisely but too well is rendered . . . pure and true";³ Neilson remarks that in Helena's story is "the pathos of a passion more fatal than wilful";⁴ and though Massfield admires Helena less than do these others, he observes that "Shakespeare saw her more clearly than any man who has ever lived. He saw her as a woman who practises a borrowed art, not for art's sake, nor for charity, but woman fashion, for a selfish end."⁵ Over against these studied reflections of modern criticism one regrets to place the half-sneering verdict of "Q" that Helena is "a heroine of the pushing, calculating sort that knows its own mind and will get its own way to its own ends without inconvenient scruple—and if affection helps advancement, so much the better!"

Second, some of the very passages that "D. W." rejects as un-Shakespearian are easily paralleled in other Shakespeare plays. Helena's discussion with Parolles of virginity is surely akin to the innocent Desdemona's dialogue with Iago (*Othello*, II. i) on the subject of womanhood. Parolles, himself, belongs to the school of Captain Pistol, whose creation has thus far not been attributed to an unknown collaborator. The reflective rimed passages of this drama are often to be matched with similar speeches in the *Lear*.

This does not tell against the theory of imperfect revision, which has been accepted for two centuries or thereabouts by every intelligent critic of the play. The stylistic unevenness can scarce be

¹ *Life of Shakespeare* (1916), p. 234.

² *All's Well* (Tudor Shakespeare), p. xiv.

³ *Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 302-3.

⁴ *Shakespeare's Works*, p. 296.

⁵ *William Shakespeare*, p. 148.

accounted for otherwise. But Shakespeare's own revision of his previous work is more in accord with what we know of Elizabethan practice than collaborative revision of another's writing. Moreover, in the light of present evidence, the revision seems more likely to have taken place about 1605 or 1606, and the first writing about 1600 than earlier. For the play, on the one hand, recalls *Henry V*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Measure for Measure*; on the other hand, *Lear* and *Othello*.

In its essence, the plot is slightly more unpleasant than that of *Othello*, and the language hardly more "bawdy." True, the action is less rational and the characters decidedly less real. The central fact in the story as taken over from Boccaccio is the substituted bedfellow, a *motif* that Shakespeare deliberately added to the *Measure for Measure* story, presumably after he wrote the *All's Well*. On this incident the entire plot of *All's Well* hangs, and Shakespeare was bound to use it in recounting this narrative, though it is not at all essential to the *Measure for Measure*, not being found in the Promos-Cassandra story. Following his practice in refashioning source material, he first attempted to motivate the incidents, fitting the actors to their deeds. Then he added complications to the plot, creating meanwhile a few additional characters, probably in answer to the specific demands of his company. For some reason his motivation is less skilful than usual, leaving Boccaccio's version in several details more credible than the drama. Then readers and play-goers feel the loss of illusion when a story so definitely medieval is enacted by rational folk of modern habit. As Bottom observes, there are things in this comedy that will never please. But to rail against the dramatist in new-found superlatives or to attribute what we dislike to mysterious collaborators is to darken counsel. For a more thorough study of the text and the judgment of sound scholarship thereon, we shall have to wait a little longer.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

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L'Influence du Symbolisme français sur la Poésie américaine (de 1910 à 1920). Par RENÉ TAUPIN. Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée.) Paris, Champion, 1929. Pp. 303.

M. Taupin performs more than he promises in his detailed and carefully documented book, for he includes a survey of American poetry from 1880, a detailed account of the abortive Symbolist influence at the end of the nineteenth century, a brief discussion

of developments since 1920, and a considerable amount of criticism of the poets whom he treats. The body of his book is, of course, devoted to the Imagist movement and the work of T. S. Eliot, which he considers a second phase of Imagism. As a member of the London group which gave rise to the Imagist school, and as a friend or acquaintance of most of the Imagists, M. Taupin has much first hand information, and he has supplemented this with an exhaustive examination of available printed material, down to the shortest-lived of the reviews. There has been no study of the Imagist movement or of French influence upon modern American poetry that compares in intensiveness or extent with M. Taupin's.

Everyone is aware that French influence played a large part in the Imagist movement—though many persons may be surprised to discover how large the part and how direct the imitation—but some readers may take issue with M. Taupin as to the importance for American poetry as a whole of the Imagist movement, and especially of those members of the movement most influenced by the French. M. Taupin does not wholly escape the dangers of a thesis. In his details he is usually incontestable; in his conclusions he is often open to question. He sees the Imagist movement as a happy renaissance in American poetry, but there are many who will see it today as comparatively insignificant and without lasting influence, and its great innovation, free verse, as having but little more importance and vitality. This is a controversial point, but certainly M. Taupin is too arbitrary in dismissing most of the outstanding names in modern American poetry thus:

Reste à savoir si la tradition anglaise continuée par E. A. Robinson, par Edna S. V. Millay, par Lizette W. Reese; si la poésie de la vie soit régionale soit nationale continuée par Masters, par Sandburg, par Frost sont les solutions les plus logiques. Ces très anciennes théories reviennent, reviennent de temps en temps. Mais elles semblent aujourd'hui assez peu vivaces.

He is perhaps too arbitrary also in dismissing the question of Anglo-Saxon influence in the French Symbolist movement by saying: "Cette idée si intéressante qu'elle soit, ne demande pas à être approfondie ici." A number of French critics have found the English and American influence upon Symbolism so great, some even finding that movement essentially un-French, as to invalidate such a statement of M. Taupin's as

La vie que ce petit mouvement (Imagism) lui a rendu (to America) en même temps que l'influence française qu'on rencontre à presque tous les tournants . . . semblent bien prouver que c'est . . . la vie intellectuelle de la France qui est la plus apte à pénétrer l'Amérique.

One might wish that M. Taupin had added to his extensive study of the development of free verse in America through imitation of the French some discussion of the effect of adopting a verse based upon time values from French into English, in view of the

essential differences of the languages and of their traditional prosodies.

Errors in fact are negligible. The most striking is the inclusion of Dryden as an Elizabethan. Some persons will quarrel with some of M. Taupin's criticism of recent American poets, but he shows considerable acquaintance with their work and an interesting critical judgment. His book will be stimulating to all those interested in the subject and should not be overlooked in subsequent studies of American poetry of this period.

E. LOUISE SMITH

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Eighteenth Century Comedy. Edited by W. D. TAYLOR. New York, Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. xxvii + 414. \$80.

The Best Eighteenth Century Comedies. Edited by JOHN EARLE UHLER. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1929. Pp. xii + 480.

Introduction to the Study and Interpretation of Drama. By J. W. KAISER. Amsterdam, N. V. Swets and Zeitlinger, 1929. Pp. 79.

None of these volumes will to the scholar appear indispensable, but to teachers of courses in the drama of the eighteenth century or in the general survey of the English drama, two of them at least will be of more than passing interest. The scholar, of course, may wonder why the usual plays of the period are put forth twice again when there is a crying need for reprints of less excellent but more representative eighteenth-century plays which are inaccessible to those who work far from large libraries. The teacher will be glad to have the orthodox best in attractive and reasonably priced volumes. Each of the collections reprints five plays, beginning with Farquhar's *The Beaux' Strategem* (1707). Mr. Taylor's book is another addition to the honorable line of the World's Classics. A brief introduction discusses the changes in the eighteenth-century theatre, the new ideals of morality and manners, and the genius of the writers as reflected in the drama, and relates each play reprinted to the general history of drama in the period. But it is not the introduction that makes the book valuable: it is the plays themselves. There is that amusing blend of the laughing and the moral comedy, *The Beaux' Strategem*; Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*, which Parson Adams thought the only comedy fit for a Christian to see or read; Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*; Fielding's *Tragedy of Tragedies*; and Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*. The whole is a companionable little volume for the student or the general reader with a taste for old plays.

Professor Uhler's volume has a somewhat different purpose. It is designed less for the general reader than for classroom use, and also for school and college dramatic clubs and 'Little' theatres that may wish to present on their stages five of the best comedies written between 1700 and 1800. The editor reprints, therefore, *The Beau's Strategem*, *The Beggar's Opera*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Rivals*, and *The School for Scandal*, all of which have been revived with notable success during the past few years by Messrs. George C. Tyler, Nigel Playfair, J. C. Duff, and Howard Lindsay. Professor Uhler has himself produced them in the Homewood Playshop at Johns Hopkins. The notes and apparatus are intended, therefore, to serve the twofold purpose of making the texts useful in class and in the theatre. There are suggested topics for papers on eighteenth-century drama, a reading list of eighteenth-century plays, and a bibliography, as well as suggestions for stage presentation and illustrations of appropriate stage sets. Whether or not one may share Professor Uhler's optimism with regard to prospective production of these pieces by student dramatic clubs that prefer Broadway successes, he will recognize that at least one valuable service is performed for the student—the stage is ever kept in mind and the plays are not thought of as dead.

But Mr. Kaiser's *Introduction* is less easy to justify. His pamphlet is a plea for a study, based on the works themselves, of the psychological processes of artistic creation, and though he takes care (p. 44) to disclaim any connection with Freud, it is evident throughout that the basis of his speculations is nevertheless Viennese—if not of Freud, then of Alfred Adler. "The object of the present study," he writes, "is to demonstrate that a true Study of Literature cannot restrict itself to the gathering of facts concerning the forms used in literary works and the history of the development of literary representation, characterisation, etc., with an artistic appreciation of the existing works and biographies of the principal authors." For the "arbitrariness of literary criticism," which ignores "the true value of artistic creation," Mr. Kaiser would substitute a study of the author's "psychic tendencies" or "projections" as they reveal themselves in drama.

Mr. Kaiser's meanings are not always easy to paraphrase: hence, in fairness it will be necessary to quote his own words as far as possible. Drama, to him, is a "product of a psyche which unconsciously projects its arrangement towards a certain problem into an apparently multi-personal demonstration of Life. Born of a feeling of inferiority and the desire to prevail, it aims at a proof of the appropriateness of the dramatist's individual style of life. To the artist the drama he created has the unconscious value of a justification of his behaviour pattern." That is, a drama, while outwardly a portrayal of life, or an interesting fiction, is

essentially, in the hero, a portrait of the dramatist himself, revealing, in the various characters and forces presented, his conception of himself, the exigencies threatening his individual manner of living, and his proposed method of rising above them. And the degree to which the spectator appreciates the play depends upon the degree to which he also finds confirmation and justification of his individual manner of living. A drama, therefore, has two meanings—a conscious, or apparent, story, and an unconscious. And in the unconscious Mr. Kaiser finds the greater charm. It is obvious, then, that his book is subjective criticism of a modern sort.

These axioms the author then applies to various dramas, specifically to *Cyrano* and *The Merchant of Venice*. The former play, of course, lends considerable color to Mr. Kaiser's conceptions of drama generally. He can, and does, relate the play to a sentimental legend of Rostand's own life, told in Paul Faure's *Vingt Ans d'Intimité avec Edmond Rostand*, in which Rostand himself actually played the part of Cyrano and one of his friends that of Christian. In *The Merchant of Venice* it is Antonio who is the dramatist's ideal self, melancholy and frustrated, aiding his should-be self, Bassanio, to attain that which he himself can not seek—Woman, and finally attaining the superiority through the ring episode. The life pattern unconsciously portrayed is that which the author, who refers to Shaw's Preface to *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*, and Emil Ludwig's essay on Shakespeare in *Genie und Character*, reads in the *Sonnets*. The details of the interpretations in the case of either of these plays are too intricate to retail here. The scholar who has studied his Shakespearean drama historically as of the theatre, relating it to social and dramatic patterns accepted by the dramatist and his audience, to his stage, and to the raw material he appropriated for it, will find much to vex him.

Every age will interpret its heritage of dramatic literature in its own way. To the average reader, Mr. Kaiser's *Introduction* will seem but another application to old plays of the pseudo-science and the jargon of the "new" psychology. But it is more individual than that. It is the author's way of reading Shakespeare and other dramatists, and it satisfies him. It is unfortunate, however, that Mr. Kaiser adopts so uncompromising a tone in his conclusion. "In fact, those who did not wilfully close their eyes to the information which the sonnets of Shakespeare yield, will not refuse to consider the value of this interpretation. But those who preferred to shape their conception of the man Shakespeare according to their taste and prejudice, and consequently were wilfully blind to the genuineness of the feelings revealed in the *Sonnets*, will also show the 'courage' to resent the ideas expressed in this study and the light they throw on the individuality of the poet." Surely there are men of sound taste and judgment who are without prejudice or wilful blindness, and who, lacking substantial evidence,

prefer to keep an open mind about the subjectivity of the *Sonnets* as about many matters Shakespearean and otherwise. And surely Mr. Kaiser's reading is not the only one. Most scholars will prefer studies less axiomatic and more objective.

K. J. HOLZKNECHT

New York University

Pineapples of Finest Flavour or A Selection of Sundry or Unpublished Letters of the English Roscius, David Garrick. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by DAVID MASON LITTLE. Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. xx + 101.

The obscure and somewhat pretentious title, "Pineapples of Finest Flavour," hardly prepares a reader for a selection of letters as well edited and as contributive as are the forty-four letters in this volume. Apparently all that Mr. Little means by his title is that Garrick was an especially gifted letter writer, something certainly which nobody with knowledge of the subject has denied for the past century. Mr. Little says that in his little book he has

selected only those letters which would seem to be the most interesting or the most significant in depicting Garrick as the actor-manager and as a human being wielding a deft pen. Eventually it is my humble intention to render a more substantial contribution to those lovers of the eighteenth century in the form of a complete edition of the actor's letters.

Anyone who knows the great variety of activities covered in Garrick's correspondence and his extraordinary skill in putting himself into his letters must be deeply grateful that such an edition is on the way from the hands of so competent a workman.

It is probably more the human being than the manager who comes out from these forty-odd letters and they will be rather hard reading for anyone who does not know well the personal history of Garrick and of the theatres in Covent Garden and Drury Lane during his lifetime. The first ten letters do add considerably to our understanding of David Garrick as a growing boy and his close relations with his family. His generosity, his almost unceasing good humour which yet could at times change to crushing rebuke the letters as a whole show. Moreover, with the notes, the letters make clear that if Garrick was quick to resent an injury, supposed or real, and to write with hot temper in regard to it, he usually carefully rewrote and that what he finally sent was greatly tempered compared with the first draft. Here and there we catch sight, too, of the trained critic behind the actor and technical manager. For instance, writing to Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, he says what might well be repeated again and again of the plays submitted in all sorts of competitions,

There is a certain merit in the Writing of the dialogue, but wholly void of dramatic force and interest to give it Success in the representation.

Or again, treating the characterization of the same play,

Lady Ethrington bids the fairest for a dramatic personage but she is not new—the follies of her Ladyship have been so highly and exquisitely expos'd in one of the last Dialogues in Lord Littleton's Collection that I should be afraid of It's Success upon the Stage.

Or writing to the Reverend Charles Jenner he says of the comedy of the moment,

I could wish that You would think of giving a Comedy of Character to ye Theatre, one calculated more to make an Audience Laugh than cry--the Comedie Larmoyante is getting too Much ground upon Us, and if those who can write the better Species of ye Comic drama don't make a stand for ye Genuine Comedy and vis comica the Stage in a few years, will be (as Hamlet says) like Niobe all tears.

For the prefatory material and the careful notes with which Mr. Little has provided his reprinting of these letters, any student of the 18th century must be grateful. It is to be hoped that by the time Mr. Little issues his edition of the collected letters he may be able to run down more of the references than has been possible in this book, for sometimes they are a good deal less specific and helpful than could be desired.

GEORGE P. BAKER

Yale University

James Clarence Mangan and the Poe-Mangan Question. By HENRY EDWARD CAIN. Washington, D. C., Catholic University Press, 1929. Pp. xiv + 95.

Mr. Cain has presented an interesting problem in attempting to evaluate the Irish poet, James Clarence Mangan. He treats, first, the man's genius in translating German lyric verse, and, secondly, his relationship to Poe. In the latter case Mr. Cain has examined the idea held by certain critics, notably John J. O'Brien and D. J. O'Donoghue, concerning resemblances between the poets and has endeavored to test the probabilities, likewise held by these critics, that Mangan influenced Poe in matters of literary technique. He designates the assumption of resemblances as the "Poe-Mangan affinity" and the question of indebtedness as the "Poe-Mangan hypothesis". Such a problem furnishes opportunities for casting new light not only on Mangan—the purpose of Mr. Cain's work—but also on Poe.

The part most adequately treated deals with Mangan's powers as a translator, where Mr. Cain offers proof of the Irish writer's rather unusual knowledge of German, a fact which enabled him

to give literal renderings. In addition, he shows the ability of the poet through "versatility in use of rhymes and meters and stanzas" to heighten, in some instances, the lyrical qualities of the German originals.

He has not been so successful, however, in his handling of the Poe-Mangan part of the problem. Meager documentary proof, drawn in large measure from secondary sources, has led Mr. Cain to some unwarranted conclusions. For example, he would have one believe that the resemblances in mentality and genius between the two poets sprang from their being victims of dipsomania. Although the medical opinion, which he quotes in Poe's case, may be correct in assigning to Poe this weakness, yet students of Poe's thinking will not agree with Mr. Cain in attributing the poet's genius to a diseased condition of the brain. They will recall that Poe added to a native gift for poetry the fundamentals of poetic technique,—a training he gave himself through long-continued interest in philosophy and science, and in this sustained study rather than in hectic flights of a diseased mind, they will see explanation for his artistry. Likewise, Mr. Cain's presentation of slight evidence mars his treatment of the hypothesis that Poe had caught from Mangan suggestions regarding rhyme schemes and varied uses of the refrain. Conscious of a similar note ringing in the work of both poets and affirming that "Mangan had been experimenting in the use of internal and interlaced rimes long before Poe used them" (p. 55), he yet counsels one to dismiss the idea of Poe's indebtedness, stating as his reason the lack of any substantiating proof for it, either "direct or indirect".

In spite of this rejection, however, the reader feels Mr. Cain's sympathy with the hypothesis as well as his disappointment that he has not been able to verify it. One wishes that he had followed his intuition by entering into further investigation of the circumstances attending the writing of the "Raven". In all probability, here he might have found reasonable grounds for concluding that Poe's sensitive ear, well-trained to detect pleasing metrical effects, caught a specific suggestion from Mangan's verse.

University of Iowa

MARGARET ALTEBTON

Froude and Carlyle. By WALDO H. DUNN. Longmans: London and New York, 1930. Pp. xx + 365. \$5.00.

The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte. By MARGARET STORRS. Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1929.

For the first time since Mary Carlyle, on May 5, 1881, precipitated the "Froude-Carlyle controversy" by printing in the

Times an attack on Froude's integrity, the subject has received the unbiased and painstaking examination it deserved. Like Byron, Carlyle has challenged his biographers and critics to produce the ultimate appraisal. But until the present volume appeared, admirers of Carlyle, as they saw him in Froude's biography or through the incoherent ravings of Mr. David Wilson or Sir James Crichton-Brown, had little to reassure them as they sought to construct a valid picture of the man as he really was.

Professor Dunn's invaluable work, *English Biography*, has for several years represented his wide knowledge of the field of biography, its problems, and its own peculiar laws. He now brings to bear upon one of the most vexed questions in biography not only his knowledge of the biographer's problems but also judiciousness, patience, a passion for inclusiveness, and thoroughness that makes the book not merely a persuasive vindication of Froude but a compendious source-book on the whole controversy considered from all angles. After setting forth the controversy in brief, he states in admirably concise chapters, the steps by which Froude became involved in writing Carlyle's life, how Mary Carlyle jealously resented Froude's possession of valuable papers, how Charles Eliot Norton sought to discredit Froude on the publication of the *Reminiscences*, and how, after a lull from 1888 to 1903, the affair again flamed up with the publication of the *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, to be kept alive by the propagandist biography of Carlyle by Mr. David Alec Wilson now appearing. The controversy is not, however, so simple as this implies. Professor Dunn maintains that Froude's posthumous pamphlet, *My Relations with Carlyle*, represents the facts as they were. He also adduces evidence to support the following conclusions: (1) that Jane Welsh at one time was indeed passionately in love with Edward Irving (contrary to the convictions of the anti-Froudeans), and that her marriage with Carlyle did in fact constitute a *mésalliance* in the eyes of many of their friends, (2) that Craigenputtock was, as Froude maintained, a dreadful ordeal for Mrs. Carlyle, in view of her health and her upbringing, (3) that Mrs. Carlyle had reason to regard Carlyle as excessively attentive to Lady Ashburton, (4) that Carlyle was not only "gey ill to deal with" but also, as Froude had it, "gey ill to live with", the two phrases amounting to the same thing, and (5) that the fundamental cause for marital infelicity between the Carlyles was what Froude in the biography hinted it to be, and his *My Relations with Carlyle* said it was: sexual incompetence. The anti-Froude partisans are thus answered with as much evidence as Professor Dunn can marshal. They are, moreover, taken to task for the very vices of which they accuse Froude; they are shown resorting to the very tricks which they have denominated "Froudacities", and we are assured that, in the interest of truth, their

work must be done all over again by competent scholars. We thus need a revised and definitive edition of Froude's biography of Carlyle, a critical edition of the *Reminiscences*, and of all the letters of both of the Carlyles, whether already edited by Froude or by his enemies.

Froude and Carlyle is therefore another effort to bring Carlyle into the domain of careful scholarship, to divest the subject of his life and work of the preconceptions resulting from personal animus and the feuds of Carlyle's friends and enemies. The reader of Professor Dunn's book feels no compulsion to agree with the author; the facts are presented in an impersonal manner, and the necessary documents (including many letters for the first time published) are placed in a generous Appendix. The reader can reason for himself. On the whole, he will probably agree with the author that "Froude is right in tendency all the while, and entirely right in the end." In spite of numerous errors of detail, Froude's biography is finally shown to be as admirable as many Carlyleans thought it was.

Miss Storrs' work restricts itself to a rigorous consideration of the contribution of Kant and Fichte to Carlyle's *Weltanschauung*. She has not made as much use as she might of her predecessors in the field, but if we miss any consideration of the assertions of Kraeger, Fehr, Bos, Lehman, or Leopold, we may observe that she has planned her investigation on lines other than those of a complete survey of the critical side of her subject. After a close scrutiny of all of Carlyle's references to German philosophy and of all passages suggestive of German influence, the author brings to bear upon them the apposite elements in Kant and Fichte. The result sometime threatens to show us more of Carlyle's philosophers than of Carlyle himself. But in the end we are convinced (1) that Carlyle read very little German philosophy at first hand, (2) that he understood very imperfectly what he did read, and (3) that what he seems to have understood he re-worked into a form considerably unlike the original, and applied the resultant ideas in such a way that neither Kant nor Fichte would have regarded Carlyle as in any real sense one of his adherents. That all of this is true becomes very clear as the author takes up Carlyle's conception and application in his own teachings of Kant's notions of the ideality of space and time, the distinction between Reason and Understanding, and Fichte's convictions about the Divine Idea, about history, heroes, the progressive development of the world, and the doctrine of work. Thus we may feel certain that Carlyle employed German Idealism to provide a conceptual foundation for the vague, undefined remnants of a puritanism from which he had removed all theological imagery. He was impatient of abstract thought, repelled by "the disease of metaphysics." He turned to some of the simplest and most helpful ideas in Kant

and Fichte in order to reassure himself of the reality of the unseen, the integral place of duty in the fabric of the universe, and the apocalyptical nature of history and of great men. That he misunderstood the little he knew of German thought is significant in any estimation of Carlyle's originality and of the degree to which he carried Ecclefechan into the heart of his thought.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

Michigan State Normal College

The Sorrows of Young Werther by Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Newly translated into English by WILLIAM ROSE. London: Scholartis Press, 1929.

The language of Goethe's *Werther* presents to the translator a problem of unusual difficulty. With an intimate knowledge of the author and his time he has to interpret a vocabulary which reflects vividly the contemporaneous revaluation of life and is thus replete with keywords of the *Genieperiode*. These must then be rendered in a speech form accessible to our own age and worked into that rhapsodic flow of lyrical letters the charm of which no impressionable reader can resist. A close reproduction of rhythm, melody, and the characteristic color of the original is, of course, paramount to the work of every translator. Mr. Rose, who some years ago wrote a valuable book on *Weltschmerz in German Literature*, has succeeded in combining all these requirements.

There naturally are a few words and phrases concerning which the reviewer might take issue with him. *Gushes*, for instance, is too strong an expression for the gentle *quillt* in the idyllic letter of May 12. *Active, speculative powers* should not be separated by a comma thus referring to the same quality, but Goethe's *and* must be kept since it distinguishes two different trends of the human mind. *Ein Mann von Sinn* is a man of understanding, of fine feeling, *intellect* being especially out of place here as Werther uses it in a later passage (*Verstand*, June 11) in a deprecatory sense. In the characterization of the pastor's wife (Sept. 15) the second version of Goethe's text, although weakening the expressions of the first, gives nevertheless a good interpretation of their meaning: *hageres, kränkliches Thier > Geschöpf, eine Frazze > eine Närrin*; thus *brute* might be rendered better with *creature*, and *ugly creature* (*Frazze*) with *fool* in the sense of distorted soul (see *verzerrte Originale*, May 17).

But it is not fair to press details in a translation of such evident scholarly merit and fine introjection. Mr. Rose's treatise of 45 pages adds an excellent introduction, giving succinctly the neces-

sary biographical and historical data and a review of the extant English translations of *Werther*.

Of the 12 illustrations I should personally have preferred to see those of Berthon, Morreau, and Ramberg omitted since they do not harmonize with Chodowiecki's naive simplicity; Moreau le Jeune is too theatrical, Berthon too spacious vertically. But the reproduction is good and, as well as the bookmaking in general, a credit to the publishers. It is to be hoped that this edition of *Werther* is the beginning of a series of translations from Goethe, for the centenary of his death should not leave us without an adequate English rendering of at least his principal works.

ERNST FEISE

BRIEF MENTION

Les Relations de Société entre l'Angleterre et la France sous la Restauration (1814-1830). Par MARGERY E. ELKINGTON. Paris, Champion, 1929. In the preface to her book Miss Elkington makes clear the question which she attempts to solve in her study of the social relationships between France and England during the period of the Restoration:

La distance est grande entre l'indifférence, pour ne pas dire l'hostilité, des Français de 1814 à tout ce qui est anglais, et l'anglomanie littéraire et l'intérêt général pour l'Angleterre qui se manifestent vers 1830. Comment ce changement s'est-il opéré?

Any adequate discussion of this question would necessitate the study of a much wider field than we find discussed in this book. The explanation of the change in point of view to which Miss Elkington refers is probably to be found not in the period which she studies, but in the growing interest in England and in things English which manifested itself throughout the whole course of the XVIIIth century. The anglomania of 1830, then, must be treated as a gradual development, while the hostility of 1814, noted by Miss Elkington, was probably merely passing and was due to political causes. Furthermore, any such change in point of view as that to which our attention is called, must, of necessity, exert an influence and even more show the influence, of the interrelationship in the fields of science, of philosophy, and of literature. The fact that Miss E. fails to answer the question proposed to our satisfaction is due, not to any failure in studying and presenting the facts for the limited period and subject which she treats, but to a lack of study and discussion of the background of this period.

ELIZABETH L. MOORE

Anne Brontë: Her Life and Her Writings. By WILL T. HALE. Indiana University Studies, No. 83, 1929. Pp. 44. For the convenience of the student of the Victorian novel this study collects for the first time the facts relating to Anne Brontë that are scattered through books primarily devoted to discussion of Charlotte and Emily. It offers nothing new in the way of biographical data, most of which is drawn from Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* and from Clement K. Shorter's *Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle*. The critical estimate, however, is a definite contribution in scope and tone. It defends Anne against Miss Sinclair's charges of weakness and ineffectuality. Though making no attempt to rank her as an artist with her more gifted sisters, the study places *Agnes Grey* in historical perspective and argues a more appreciative consideration of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*. The grounds offered for the latter are the author's defiance of Victorian social and religious conventions, a defiance all the more remarkable in the light of her character and earlier work. "She rushed in where even Thackeray dared not tread."

MATHILDE PARLETT

The Magazines of the 1890's. By E. LENORE CASFORD. University of Oregon Language and Literature Series, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1929. Pp. 39. Inquiry into the justice of the evil reputation attaching to the magazines of the 1890's and appraisal of their literary and historical value are the aims of the first number of the University of Oregon Language and Literature Series. It presents a critical study of *The Albermarle*, *The Yellow Book*, and *The Savoy*, together with briefer accounts of the format, contributors, and publishing relations of the less known periodicals, *The Anti-Philistine*, *The Butterfly*, *The Dome*, *The Hobby-Horse*, *The Pageant*, and the *Quarto*. The detailed analyses survey well this phase of the work of the Decadents, and furnish data inconvenient to assemble from the files of these periodicals, which are few and widely dispersed in the libraries in this country.

MATHILDE PARLETT

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